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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXII.

JANUARY, 1887.

THE RENAISSANCE OF NATIONALISM.

ONE of the most notable features of our recent literature has been the revival of interest in matters connected with the war of rebellion. That such a revival must some time have occurred was a thing inevitable in the nature of events. Immediately upon the conclusion of any great conflict, but more especially of a civil war, there always comes a period when public interest in the causes and incidents of the strife may be said to lag. The soldier is glad to be at home and rest from "war's alarms," and the non-combatant has heard more than enough about the struggle in which he had no part. So when the returning heroes have been fairly welcomed home, their trophies counted, their personal adventures related and their presence become again familiar, the people turn away from the agony of strife and seek relief in lighter themes. The conquerors pall of triumph and the conquered shun whatever reminds them of defeat.

Two forces especially tended to produce this result among the people of the North, who constitute the chief part of our reading public. An almost incredible proportion of its population were opposed to the prosecution of the war—the attempt to coerce the rebellious States. As the period of conflict recedes it seems more and more wonderful that the National cause prevailed. Year by year the fact grows clearer to the observer's eye that the burthen

of war at the front was hardly greater than that of disaffection in the rear. The next generation will find it hard to believe that of the four men living at the outbreak of the war who had occupied the presidential chair not one tendered his support to the National cause, or offered sympathy or patriotic counsel to his overburdened successor at the head of the Government. It will be deemed almost incredible that during the whole four years of that terrible struggle not one of these men, all of whom were citizens of Northern States, made any public utterance intended to strengthen the Union cause or indeed any utterance at all upon the subject, except in one case, when compelled by public clamor to make a lame excuse for his own apathy. Already it is hard to realize that when the conflict drew to its close one of these men refused to decorate his house in honor of our final tri-victory, or display the emblems of mourning on the death of the great leader whose marvelous tact and unfailing steadfastnesss had brought us through those years of unmatched peril. Still more difficult will it be for posterity to understand that our ex-Presidents were simply types of a very large element of our people. These very naturally desired the war, its causes and overshadowing glories to be forgotten just as soon as possible. They made haste, therefore, to turn the public attention into other channels and to clamor for oblivion in regard to the past.

There was another and most peculiar influence tending in this direction. The political organization then having control of the country had in it two elements which looked with especial disfavor on the ascendency within itself of those whose fame rested on military renown. One of these was what was known as the "Abolition Element." These men regarded themselves as, in a sense, the possessors of an exclusive proprietary interest in the Republican party of that day, and thought that the laurels of its first administration, both civic and military, ought to relate back to them as the ultimate cause, rather than rest upon the heads of the immediate agents. Such men as Chase, Sumner, Seward, Greeley, and a host of lesser lights, felt deeply aggrieved at being overshadowed by men like Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, and Stanton, and other military leaders whom they regarded, if not as trespassers on their demesne, at least as men who had merely adopted their ideas and reaped advantage from their labors. It hurt them all the more to know that these recipients of popular acclaim were

not inclined, during the combat, to submit to their dictation, nor after its close to attribute to them, as they thought, due credit for the result. They could not understand that there had been a change of base in the great onward march, and that only those who were leaders in the new movement could wear its freshest laurels. These men and their followers, who were many and zealous, joined with the former element to deprecate preferment based on military renown, until it became almost a disadvantage to one having political aspirations at the North to have carried a musket or drawn a sword in defense of the country.

To these influences was added also that of certain party leaders who had gained position and prominence during the war, very largely on account of the absence in the military service of those who would otherwise have been their rivals. To perpetuate their power, these men organized their followers and dependents and instructed them to clamor lustily for oblivion for all things connected with the period of war except its political phases. They declared that the struggle was over and all that pertained to it should be forgotten; that soldiers should be remembered with pensions and "homes" *ad libitum*, but for the public service, statesmen trained in the schools, gentlemen polished by social experience and millionaires imbued with the knowledge how to make the many subserve the interest of the few, able to subsidize the press, corrupt delegates and purchase votes and influence—that these men were needed both by party and country to steer the ship of state through the breakers that threatened when war was ended. They inculcated the sentiment that patriotism was well enough in war, but trickery was the keynote of political success in peace.

We should not fail to note also as a force which exerted a powerful influence in producing the result we have indicated, that morbid sentimentality which insisted upon ignoring the righteousness of the National cause and the noble simplicity of motive which inspired its supporters, because of a silly fear that the feelings of those who fought on the other side might be injured by the assertion of these facts.

That such a state of public sentiment must some time come to an end, the dullest might easily predict. The fact cannot always be neglected that the Nation was right, and the South and its sympathizers wrong. So, too, the impression cannot always prevail that the men who were victorious were so greatly inferior

in patriotism, genius and fortitude to those whom they overcame. It was certain to be demonstrated that the military disadvantages which beset the Union cause were fully equal to those which confronted the Confederates, and that the disaffection of the Northern people went a long way towards equalizing the respective powers.

Besides this our Northern public has only recently had the opportunity of scanning the rebellion from the inside. The truth is that public sentiment had grown so strong in favor of the superiority of Southern statesmanship and Southern strategy, that it became almost imperative to explain why they did not succeed. This made it incumbent on every man of high rank in the army or government of the Confederacy to excuse himself and show that, wherever the fault might rest, he, at least, was not responsible for the failure of the attempt at dismemberment. The chief executive himself set the example. His elaborate apology for the ill-success of the Confederate cause awakened little attention, as the Northern press, like the Northern people, had not sufficient interest in the subject to question its accuracy or rebut its conclusions. Not so, however, the subordinates on whom he weakly and ungenerously sought to cast the stigma of failure. Each one of these made haste to repel the insinuation of default.

With the revival of interest in the events of the war and the conduct and capacity of the leaders of the opposing armies has come also an inclination to revise and readjust our estimates of the political leaders and forces of that time. This, too, was inevitable in the very nature of things. To these contemporaries, the better part of whose activities pertained to a period ante-dating the civil war, such a thing as a just estimate of its leaders, either civil or military, was evidently impossible. The events which occur while men are rising to the zenith of their power, and which constitute the chief elements of whatever fame they may achieve, very naturally color the estimates they make of those who were opponents or co-workers.

Histories, sketches, and memoirs have not been rare since the guns of Moultrie thundered against Fort Sumter. Few men of any note during the period immediately following have escaped the stylus of the literary assassin, while very many have insisted on giving their fame the *coup de grâce* of autobiographic defense.

The character of these works has changed from time to time with the change in public sentiment already indicated. The earlier ones were yet marked with the heat of conflict and its antecedent struggles. Greeley's "American Conflict" showed, with the ghastly clearness of a side-lighted photograph, the view of one whose whole soul had been absorbed by the "Anti-Slavery" idea. Alexander H. Stephens's "War between the States" is its companion piece of antipodal irrelevance. Each was written in justification of views which subsequent events made comparatively unimportant. Sherman's "Memoirs" were red with the glow of battle and full of the reckless abandon that characterized the yet recent march through Georgia. Gen. Joe Johnston, besides writing in self-defense, was yet suffering from the sense of galling injustice on the part of the Confederate executive, and is constitutionally inclined to stand in the shadow of his own greatness. Gen. Badeau's fertile pen was justly prolix in defense of his great chief, but the field was too near for him to maintain a due perspective. Dodge's "Bird's-Eye View" declared the causes of conflict to be immaterial. Vice-President Wilson gave a ponderous history of the "Anti-Slavery Conflict," constructed upon the theory that the rebellion was only an insignificant sequel—the physical result of the antecedent struggle.

It is only within a very recent time—hardly more than a few months indeed—that the attention of the American people has been turned in serious earnest in this direction. The younger portion have awakened to a positive and active interest in the events in which their fathers participated or witnessed, animated by that pride which always exalts the exploits of an ancestor, while the survivors of those who fought have passed the period of satiety and are fast approaching the reminiscent stage which occupies itself in "reviewing the rear."

The prime cause of such a re-awakening at this time is not far to seek. The financial misfortunes of General Grant turned the national attention upon himself, and the physical sufferings which followed hard upon them, as if a persistent evil fate pursued the simple-minded soldier to his tomb, intensified our sympathy. When the hand that had so firmly held the sword, took up the pen with the same grim determination to re-conquer a competence for his family with which it had undertaken the suppression of the rebellion, our attention was divided between

the suffering hero and the events which made his name memorable. The result has been that the people have greedily consumed everything accessible on this subject. And what a wealth of rich material has been supplied. The President of the republic whose brief but glorious life began and ended with his official tenure, has put in his reserpt of defense against his enemies and of accusation against his subordinates. Grant has given us his artless commentary, written in the agony of dissolution, but obedient to the injunction of his great superior, "with malice towards none and with charity for all." Mr. Blaine has compiled his curiously skillful "Twenty Years." General Logan has told of the war and its causes. The celebrated series of war articles in the *Century* is approaching the end of its second year with undiminished interest. And these are only a small portion of the literature the last two years has given us on the subject.

This inquiry is as yet chiefly confined to particular men and specific events, but these are too closely connected with the great underlying question of right and wrong that affected the two opposing ideas to permit that to be long neglected. Inspired by an unparalleled benignity, the American people have hitherto consented to keep in the background the chief question involved in a determination of the contrasted statesmen and leaders. They have been willing to consider Lee and Jackson and Johnston in contrast with Grant and Sherman and Thomas, from a purely military standpoint, as if they were merely players in a great game of chess, in which skill alone, and not manhood, was to be taken into account—as if the question of loyalty to the Nation were a mere accident, for which the one class were entitled to no credit and the other deserving of no disparagement. This has gone so far that there was even a tendency to forget altogether the fact that a war could not be waged for the preservation of the Union unless some one was responsible for the attempt to destroy it.

Posterity will hold that the first duty of every man, North and South alike, was the active and zealous support of the Union cause. It will no more excuse apathy than it will condone hostility. It may, indeed, admit sincerity of purpose and honesty of conviction as a mitigating circumstance, but by no means a justification. It will say of one class, they thought they were right, but *were* wrong; of the other, they not only thought themselves in

the right, but *were* right. History does not excuse errors. The present may condone faults, but the future is relentless in its condemnation of wrong.

In nothing is the truth of what has been said more clearly shown than in the revision of the popular estimate of the central figure of that time. Twenty-six years ago the first life of Abraham Lincoln was written. It was a campaign book intended to say all that could be said of its subject, and pass lightly over anything that might be considered detrimental to his popularity. This biographical introduction to the American people was followed by many others in the same vein. Except his own speeches we had no other knowledge of the man until he came to assume the executive control of the nation. In these latter, indeed, the true man shone and the instinct of the people recognized it. Yet despite their strengh, simplicity and marvelous diction, he came to the discharge of his great task entirely uncomprehended by the intellect and culture of the land. To friend and foe alike he was only a lucky accident—a western circuit lawyer, noted for his power to wheedle backwoods juries and lead the coarse mirth that flowed about the tavern fire. His life was simple, honest, able and his record singularly clear from public or private wrong.

Doubtless a vast majority of the Republican party, when once they found themselves successful, regretted that instead of the inexperienced backwoodsman, they did not have in the Presidential chair the scholarly and veteran Seward, or the astute and plausible Chase. In truth, it was mainly because these men were called into his Cabinet that the party gave that confidence to his Administration at the outset that it did. They had the most unswerving confidence in his purity, and almost equal confidence in their skill. They believed him incapable of intentional wrong, and thought his advisers would show him how to do right.

With modifications, this estimate of his character has continued until recent times. While justice has been done to his patriotism, patience, and humanity, it is only recently that his intellectual capacity has been generally recognized and admitted, whether by friend or foe. Even the lives of Lincoln published after his death have, until recently, proceeded more or less upon this hypothesis. Dr. Holland's work is devoted chiefly to the laudation of his motive, and leaves the impression that he was favored by Providence because of his beneficence and simplicity, as fools are

specially cared for. Mr. Raymond's "Life," which is expressly valuable, as showing his relation to the cabal in the Army of the Potomac and the difficulties that surrounded him in the selection of commanders and the administration of the army, still leaves a feeling of pity for the "Great Uncouth," who, innocent of the ways of the world, had strayed from the wilds of Illinois into that den of lions, the capital of the United States, to be torn and baffled by those stronger and wiser.

These and kindred works induced the general belief that he was the tool now of one cabinet officer and now of another; controlled now by this cabal and anon by that. The fact that he was able to harmonize his cabinet at all was believed to be dependent on a sort of low cunning by which he played one against the other. This impression was deepened by the unique biography bearing the imprimatur of Mr. Ward H. Lamon, which seems to have been written with the sole purpose of belittling every quality of its subject, except his power to deceive.

Within a few years, however, a broader knowledge resulting from fuller investigation—the connotation of views and philosophic study of his character, have made necessary the revision of the accepted judgment.

The works in regard to the central character of the epoch of rebellion which have recently appeared, are among the most significant fruits of this renaissance of national thought.

A little more than a year ago the most distinguished of living Confederate generals declared, in an article in one of our great magazines, that Mr. Lincoln "was a man matchless among forty millions in his fitness for the place he held and the task he had to perform." So far as is known, no one, even among his countrymen of the South, has dared to take issue with him. On the contrary, one scarce less distinguished than himself in the support of the Confederate cause, openly laments that the chief executive of that evanescent republic was not his equal, and attributes to that fact the ill success of the rebellion.

Soon after one of our leading journals, referring to this revision of opinion in regard to Lincoln, said: "The people of the country, and especially those living at the East, are *just beginning* to appreciate the intellectual character of Abraham Lincoln." A half decade ago either of these utterances would have caused a smile, if not a sneer.

The first and most important of the works which has compelled this readjustment of the general estimate of the "Liberator" and his contemporaries, is that very remarkable "Life of Abraham Lincoln," prepared by Mr. Isaac N. Arnold. It gives for the first time the view of a competent observer as to the intellectual growth and character of Mr. Lincoln. The author—himself a man of no mean ability—was a professional and political friend of Mr. Lincoln from his first entrance into political life until his death. A man himself of entire intellectual uprightness, he appreciated the sincerity of Mr. Lincoln's character, and saw that what others mistook for cunning, if not hypocrisy, was the simple result of his conviction. He does not paint a being of superhuman characteristics, but a man large and fair in intellectual power and attributes at the first, who grew steadily in power without receding a whit in his moral character or losing any of that intellectual honesty which made a conclusion once reached a constant factor in his political conviction—a man to whom truth and policy were one and the same thing, not because "honesty is the best policy," but because it was the only policy he could pursue.

Next came the work of Mr. William O. Stoddard. This beside being complementary of Mr. Arnold's volume, in setting forth with peculiar clearness certain phases of his early life and growth, shows more distinctly than has ever before been done, the difficulties attending the conciliation of the Border States, the paramount necessity of preventing their defection, and the exquisite skill of the backwoods president in dealing with this vexed question during the first months of his power.

Following this comes the volume of "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," written by prominent men, who were not only his contemporaries but more or less closely associated with him at some period of his career, compiled by Mr. Allen Thorndike Rice. Probably no collection of reminiscences of any great man ever embraced the observations and conclusions of so many men able to observe carefully, decide justly, and express accurately as this. As a rule, too, the articles are written by men who are capable of sufficient self-effacement to enable them to exercise a candid discrimination in regard to the conduct and attributes of the man of whom they write, so far as their knowledge of the circumstances under which he acted might extend.

One of the most distinguished patriots of that era said to the writer, soon after Mr. Lincoln's death:

"It is a great misfortune; for it will now be a quarter of a century, at least, before the world will learn just what sort of a man Abraham Lincoln was." It is probable if Mr. Wade had lived until now that he would have seen, as many of these writers evidently do, that he then very imperfectly apprehended a character so great and many-sided that, like a statue of heroic size, his character needs distance, elevation, and the perspective of events to show its true proportions and essential harmony.

These facts show something of the extent of this revival of interest and inquiry. There can be no doubt that the American people have thought and read more upon this subject during the past two years than upon any other—perhaps very nearly as much as upon all others—and far more than in the ten years since the half decade succeeding the close of the struggle.

Among the more notable results is the fact that it would be hard to find an intelligent man who would be willing to question the intellectual pre-eminence of Mr. Lincoln or the absolute devotion of Grant to the cause of the Republic. It has come to the masses of our people almost as a revelation that this backwoods lawyer was not only a man of tender heart and exalted patriotism, but of the most commanding intellectual power and the most varied and abundant resources. Instead of being ruled by his cabinet or used as the instrument of any clique or cabal among his supporters, he was able to harmonize the most conflicting elements and utilize the most refractory influence. Within three months after his inauguration we find him teaching the diplomats how to avoid difficulty without yielding to dictation, no doubt saving us from war with England, by his verbal corrections of one of the most important dispatches ever drawn by our State Department. We learn from his commanding generals, that whether in the beleaguered capital or under the fire of the enemy's guns, he always showed the same calm, unshrinking courage.

We have come at length to know that this man of whom our scholars have been wont to speak half-apologetically as an accident of democratic institutions, showing how ready are the uninformed rabble to prefer the popular, rather than the capable, leader, was not only the equal but the superior of all those by whom he was surrounded, in that tact and skill which go to make up the

statesman, and that courage, integrity, and devotion to the common weal which constitute the patriot. But most remarkable, perhaps, of all, the literary world finds itself almost reluctantly compelled to admit that this uncouth Esop, with the twang of the West and South in his speech, was easily the master of all men of his time, in ready, accurate and forceful use of the English tongue. There were orators, statesmen, and scholars galore, in that wonderful epoch. The hearts of the North and the South were stirred to their depths. Strangely enough, the South, which has always boasted of the forensic genius of its people, hardly produced a solitary effusion that has any chance of becoming classic, while our Northern literature is adorned with many gems of prose and verse that are destined to immortality. But among them all there is not one that will live in history as the equal in power, in elegance, in breadth of philosophy and perfection of diction, as well as in subtle harmony with the circumstances and surroundings in which they were uttered, with the Gettysburg oration and the second inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln. The revival of nationalism in our literature has taught us already, that we can only appreciate his character when we look at him over the heads of those by whom he was surrounded.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

SOCIALISM: ITS FALLACIES AND DANGERS.

THERE are so many grades and shades of diverse opinion loosely included in and attacked or defended as Socialism, that it is necessary to briefly make clear what it is that I attack in this paper. I understand and define Socialism as denying all individual private property, and as affirming that society, organized as the State, should own all wealth, direct all labor, and compel the equal distribution of all produce. I understand a socialistic State to be that State in which everything would be common as to its user, and in which all labor would be controlled by the State, which, from the common stock, would maintain the laborer and would take all the produce of the labor. That is, I identify Socialism with Communism.

In England this definition, though admitted by some Socialist writers and speakers, is challenged by many honest, earnest Socialists, whose objections are entitled to respect; but, the more carefully I examine their several positions, the more thoroughly I am disposed to adhere to the above definition. Many who describe themselves as Socialists I should describe as social reformers, and with them I have little or no quarrel. There are some who attempt to explain Socialism so as to distinguish it from Communism. "Socialism," says Mr. Besant, "merely implies that the raw material of the soil and the means of production shall not be the private property of individuals, but shall be under the control of the community; it leaves intact a man's control over himself and over the value of his work—subject to such general laws as are necessary in any community—but, by socializing land and capital, it deprives each of the power of enslaving his fellows and of living in idleness on the results of their labor instead of on the result of his own" (Modern Socialism, p. 10). A great deal in this sentence turns on what is meant by "means of production." Does it, at the same time, include the

rudest implement, the huge iron works and plant, and the most minute, delicate, and costly tools ? Does it mean that in every-day life each citizen has equal right to require the State to place at her or his sole disposal, uncontrolled, and for such period as the worker may please, such "raw material" and "means of production" as the worker is of opinion are necessary to enable him to get the best value for his labor ? If yes, where is the control of the means of production by the community ? If no, how can the scheme leave intact a man's control over himself, and over the value of his work ? How is the willful damage or the deterioration of the means of production, by an incapable worker, to be guarded against ? How is the abandonment of a difficult industry to be prevented ? How are the instruments of production to be obtained by the laborer, and on what conditions, and under what security that they will be surrendered to, and kept in good condition for, the State ? and if three laborers require instruments of production of a kind of which there only exists sufficient for two laborers, what is to happen ? How is the State, in furnishing the raw material and means of production, to determine between a man who thinks he can manufacture a medicine ; one who believes that he can make a watch ; one who hopes that he can execute a marble statue ; one who is confident that he can make a microscope ; one who is sure that he can build an aërial ship ; one who guesses that he can find coal in an untried district ; and one who thinks that he can fill a tub of coal or wagon of ironstone by means of a shaft already sunken ? Is the determination to be made by authorities locally chosen to act in such localities or nationally chosen to act for the whole country ? and how will it be possible to avoid favoritism between hard and easy fashions of labor ? If the State leaves intact a man's control over himself, this determination is impossible.

Whoever, on behalf of the State, is guardian of the raw material and means of production, must either in each case determine the kind of labor for which the man or woman is best fitted, or he must allot, first come first served, without reference to fitness. If all raw material is to be the property of the State, may the person who has, in the process of manufacture, added value to some portion, take the whole of that portion away to a foreign market where he believes the highest value will be obtainable for it and for his work upon it ? If yes, how is the State to be sure that the

value of its raw material will ever come back? If the State is to control the sale of the finished article, where is the worker's intact control of the value of his work? Mr. Hyndman says: "Socialism is an endeavor to substitute for the anarchical struggle or fight for existence, an organized co-operation for existence."* I note on this, that while the struggle for existence has been clearly far too bitter, not only as between employer and employed, but also as between the workers themselves, and has certainly been most oppressive on the poorest and weakest, "anarchical" is an absurd word of description, and that the vitality of the whole definition depends on the translation of the words "organized co-operation." Voluntary co-operation is organized co-operation determinable by the will of each co-operator, as far as he or she is concerned, and subject to the conditions agreed to as to such withdrawal, but this clearly is not what is meant by Mr. Hyndman. When in debate I pressed for explanation, it was refused, and Mr. J. L. Joynes, a prominent Socialist and one of the best educated among them, wrote in rebuke of my demand that "no 'scientific' Socialist pretends to have any scheme or detailed plan of organization." They only pretend to desire to destroy existing society because of its evils; to-morrow may grow, if and how it can, without the slightest precaution against the development of a worse state. What Mr. Hyndman meant by anarchy he thus explained: "There is many a man who works as a skilled laborer to-day, who if a machine is invented whereby man may benefit, will be turned out to compete against his fellows on the streets to-morrow. That is what I say is anarchy." And as the cure for this he asked for "the collective ownership of land, capital, machinery, and credit by the complete ownership of the people." As to labor-saving machinery, or cost-reducing machinery, or produce-increasing machinery, it is true that as each new invention is introduced, the introduction very often renders it necessary that persons who have pursued one method of earning their livelihood shall adopt new methods and there is often difficulty in finding new employment. If the worker is advanced in life, it is very difficult for him to adapt himself to other labor. But it is not true that the introduction of machinery has permanently reduced the number of workers in the country where most machinery is used, nor is it true that the rate

* All the quotations from Mr. Hyndman are from the debate with myself: "Will Socialism benefit the English People?"

of pauperism has, on the whole, increased in the countries where the most machinery has been introduced. Mr. Hyndman's definition means communism or it means nothing. If the collective ownership of everything by everybody is not the total negation of private property, then words have no value.

Many so-called socialistic experiments have been tried in various parts of the world, but none of these have yet been permanently successful. Such as have seemed temporarily to achieve a certain measure of success have been held together: (1) By some religious or quasi-religious tie, and those have in turn broken up when the effect of the tie has weakened; or (2) by personal devotion to some one man, and these have broken up when the man has died or grown weary; or (3) while directed by some strong chief or chiefs, and holding together only so long as the direction endured. And even the temporary success has only been maintained whilst the community were few in number. Whenever an apparent success tempted many recruits, then the experiment collapsed, and this because, whilst the members in the community were limited, the individual members of the community did not lose sight of the personal advantages accruing from their individual exertions. Each small community held its own property hostile to, or, at least, clearly distinguishable from, the property of other individuals, or communities, dwelling near. Every individual of the so-called socialistic community could estimate the addition to the common stock, the owners of which were so limited in number that he could calculate his share of the increased wealth. The incentive to increased exertion was constant in the hope of increased well-being, and in some of the communities the individual members had and often exercised an option of withdrawal, taking away with them on leaving a proportion of the property created or increased. But none of the communistic experiments, either in the United States or in this country, have been more than large co-operative enterprises, the property of the adventurers belonging to the corporate body. And there is little doubt that these experiments have done something to produce—as in the case of the Familistère of M. Godin—some modifications of the more unpleasant side of the fiercely competitive struggle for existence, and that they did pave the way, at any rate in England, for the co-operative institutions, which for exchange and distribution have already been eminently successful. And though co-operative enterprises for produc-

tion have yet done comparatively little, it is in this direction that I look for the utilization of the best in modern socialistic energy.

Modern Socialism is more ambitious of exercising State authority, and is therefore more dangerous than was the socialism of fifty years ago. The socialism of Owen, Cabet and Frances Wright was the experiment, in each case of a few, in their own persons, at their own risk and cost, patiently conducted, and, even in failure, giving example of great devotion and much self-reliant effort. Modern Socialists claim to experiment with the State as a whole, and without waiting even to convert the majority. Modern Socialism appeals to the poorest and most hungry to break up all accumulated wealth. It works chiefly by denunciations of the rich and well fed. It has no patience to gradually build up a new system; it regards reform as its enemy; it proposes to begin by destroying the existing state of things. Unfortunately, the social evils in all old countries are great and sore, but if they are to be diminished they must be reformed in detail; there is no magic four-leaved shamrock at the disposal of the reformer. The worst and most mischievous advocates of Socialism are those who justify and encourage the unemployed in the use of force—and especially of the terrible phase of force revealed by modern chemistry, as an agent in changing the present state of society. In some countries Socialists call themselves "Anarchists," repudiating alike all law, rejecting all directing government; in other countries they call themselves "Social Democrats," and call upon the State to feed, clothe, and employ those who are ill fed, badly clothed, or lack employment. These Socialists are the real enemies of progress, they afford excuse to those who desire reaction. The State can give the people neither food, nor clothing, nor work, save to the extent, and as the citizens themselves, provide the State with the means to do these things. If the State is to do for each individual that which the individual is unable to do for himself, then if it be done at all it can only be done by a despotism. State Socialism is utterly at variance with individual liberty; it is totally hostile to the institutions of a free democracy.

Great publicity has been recently obtained in England, and chiefly in London, for a comparatively small knot of men, styling themselves "Social Democrats," and also describing themselves as "Scientific Socialists," some of whom give us ill-digested versions of German Socialism. They have, like the Salvation Army,

been chiefly prominent in holding meetings, to the detriment of traffic, in inconvenient places, whilst convenient places were disregarded by them. By these means they have brought on their heads several police prosecutions, which prosecutions had the color of unfairness as being directed against hysteric Socialism, while hysteric Salvation-armyism escaped scot free. They have also succeeded in provoking a criminal prosecution by the use of language which, if it had any meaning, was in the highest degree inflammatory and exciting, but which language was held not to be connected with or intended to provoke the riotous results which followed its use. These men have, however, neither the influence nor the devotedness of the men who preached and practiced experimental Socialism under Robert Owen from 1817, and who, fifty years ago, were stirring the whole of the midland and northern counties of England, holding great meetings and establishing scores of halls and institutions in the northern towns. The new Social Democrats, while calling loudly for the dissolution of the present social state, denied that they ought to be called upon to produce or formulate any scheme for the government of the society which is to follow the revolution they acclaim, and they refuse to discuss any of the details of life in the proposed new social state ; though they profess at once to be ready by force, argument failing, to destroy what exists in order to make way for what they desire. Mr. Hyndman, professing to be a leader of the Social Democrats, declares that "force, or fear of force, is unfortunately the only reasoning which can appeal to a dominant estate, or which will even induce them to surrender any portion of their property." A socialist State, if it could be realized by force, which I do not believe, could only so be realized after a shocking and murderous civil war; a war which, however it ended, would leave, for more than one generation, legacies of bitter hate and of demoralizing desire for revenge.

The Social Democrats mix up in their programme some desirable objects which are not at all socialistic, with others that are not necessarily socialistic. They then add declarations conflicting in character, which are either so vague as to be meaningless, or are else, in the highest degree, communistic and revolutionary. They call for the "organization of agricultural and industrial armies under State control" and claim "that the exchange of all production should be controlled by the workers," but they decline

to explain how this is to be done, or to meet detail objections urged against the feasibility of the proposals. All labor under State control means the utter stagnation of special industrial effort; the neutralization of almost all industrial enterprise; the stoppage of the most efficient incentive to inventive initiative. What can the organization and control of all labor by the State mean? In what would it end? By whom and in what manner would the selection of each individual be determined for the pursuit, profession, or handicraft for which he was deemed fittest? Would resistance or refusal on the part of any individual to perform the labor for which he had been selected be treated as crime? Would preference for any other kind of labor than that allotted be allowed? I am told that thus I am raising undue difficulties, but I want at least to know how the new State machine will work before I consent to suddenly break up the old one. That there are many evils in connection with exchange and distribution is true. In many departments there are too many concerned in the distribution of the necessaries of life, as brokers, merchants, and retailers, and the cost to the consumer is thus unnecessarily and outrageously augmented. But this can be cured by the gradual extension of the co-operative distributive institutions and stores which have already proved so useful. These co-operative societies, whilst rendering the cost of exchange less onerous and otherwise improving its character, also encourage habits of thrift and self-reliant effort on the part of the individual members. In a socialistic state there would be no inducement to thrift; no encouragement to, no reward for, individual saving; no protection for individual accumulation; no check upon, no discouragement to individual waste. If the establishment of a socialistic State be conceived possible, it is certainly not possible to imagine such a State co-existing with free expression of individual opinion, either on platform or through the press. All means of publicity in a socialistic State will belong to and will be controlled by the State. It is not conceivable that a socialistic government would provide halls for its adversaries to agitate for its overthrow, print books and pamphlets for its opponents to show that its methods and actions were mischievous; organize costly journals and give the conduct to hostile men to excite public feeling—and yet if all this were not done, utter stagnation of opinion is the only possible result. The "Social Democrats" urge that the "surplus value" of labor is "the keystone of the

socialistic argument." They say, "the laborers on the average replace the value of their wages for the capitalist class in the first few hours of their day's work; the exchange value of the goods produced in the remaining hours of the day's work constitutes so much embodied labor which is unpaid; and this unpaid labor, so embodied in articles of utility, the capitalist class, the factory owners, the farmers, the bankers, the brokers, the shopkeepers and their hangers-on, the landlords, divide amongst themselves in the shape of profits, interests, discounts, commissions, rent, etc." Is it at all true that wages and other outlay by the capitalist are replaced in the first few hours? Are not the large fortunes more usually the result of exploitation on a very large scale, a small daily profit being secured on each workman? And without the capitalist where would be the workshop, the plant, or the raw material? It would be far better if, in co-operative production, workmen would be their own capitalists; but surely the owner of the capital, without which the exploitation cannot take place, is entitled to some reward. If not, what becomes the first inducement to economy and enterprise? How is the capitalist to be persuaded to put his savings into fixed capital as factory and plant? Why should he, beforehand, purchase raw material on which labor may be employed, and the value of which raw material may diminish? Why should he subsist labor while so employed and take the risk of loss in exchanging the article produced, unless he is to have some profit? And why should not the farmer be sustained by the laborer if that farmer grows the food on which he subsists while working? Why should not the shopkeeper be rewarded for bringing ready to the laborer articles which would be otherwise difficult in the highest degree for the laborer to procure? If the laborer was obliged to procure his own raw material, to fashion it into an exchangeable commodity, and then had to find the person with whom he might exchange it, there are many to whom the raw material would be unaccessible, and more who would lose much of the profits of their labor in fruitless efforts to exchange. But for capital, fixed and circulating, there are many natural objects which would be utterly inaccessible to labor; many more which could only be reached and dealt with on a very limited scale. But for capital, the laborer would often be unable to exist until the object had an exchangeable value, or until some one was found ready with an equivalent article and desiring to exchange, and

the banker, the broker, the shopkeeper, though they are, unfortunately, sometimes too greedy for gain, may and do facilitate the progress of labor, and would not and could not do so without the incentive of profit.

It is too true that "wage" is often much too low, and that the conditions of labor are often oppressive, and to meet this I urge the workers in each trade to join the unions already existing, and to form new unions, so that the combined knowledge and protection of the general body of workers may be at the service of the weakest and most ignorant. It is for this that I obtained from the House of Commons last February the establishment of a labor statistical department under the Board of Trade, so that careful and reliable statistics of the value of labor and cost of living may be easily accessible to the poorest laborers. I would further urge the more thorough experiment in, and establishment of, co-operative productive societies in every branch of manufacture, so that the laborers, directly furnishing their own capital, as well as their own industry, may not only increase the profit result of labor to the laborer, but may also afford at least a reasonable indication of the possible profit realized by capitalists engaged in the same kind of industries. I would also increase wage (if not in amount, at any rate in its purchasing power) by diminishing the national and local expenditure, especially the national expenditure for warlike purposes, thus decreasing the cost of the necessaries of life. I would, so far as Great Britain is concerned, try to shift the pressing burden of taxation from labor more on to land, and on to the very large inherited accumulations of wealth.

Socialism is dangerous in England, because it claims to be revolutionary in an age and in a country where the most extensive reforms have been peacefully effected during the past fifty years, and where the enormously wide extension of political power gives opportunity for the acceleration of the many reforms yet required. Socialism is dangerous here, for its present advocacy is hysterical, not practical. While I do not believe that Socialism can make the revolution its advocates menace, I do believe it may make disorder, turmoil, riot, and disturbance. Socialism, as advocated by the Social Democrats, is especially dangerous, because it furnishes excuse to reaction, and gives occasion for the possible restriction of the right of public meeting; a right which has so much aided political progress in this country during the present century. I

may, perhaps, be permitted to terminate this article by repeating, with very slight variation, the words I used on April 17th, 1884, at the close of my debate with Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the elected representative of the Social Democratic Federation, at which debate fully 5,000 persons were present.

You say you desire revolution—you say you are clamoring for it. These are the words you use. You say: "We are urging it on;" and I say it is the duty of every honest man to delay and prevent revolution. Revolution, if it must come, is terrible; if it must come, it is horrible; revolution means ruined homes, it leaves behind the memory of bloody deeds. I speak for the English people, which through generations of pain and toil gradually has climbed towards liberty, the liberty of which they have won some glimpses, and towards which they are climbing still. I speak for the people—who are ready to suffer much if they may redeem somewhat, who know that the errors of yesterday cannot be sponged away in a moment to-day, and who would try slowly, gradually, to mold, to modify, to build, but who refuse to destroy, and who declare that those who preach international Socialism, and talk vaguely about explosives, are playing into the hands of our enemies, and giving our enemies an excuse to coerce us.

C. BRADLAUGH.

THE PROGRESS OF MINNESOTA.

A STATEMENT is desired of the progress of Minnesota since the civil war. This period so nearly coincides with its existence as a State that an extension of the sketch may be pardonable.

A territorial government was established for Minnesota by act of Congress of March 3, 1849, under which the first Governor, Alexander Ramsey, entered upon his duties June 23, 1849. On the 26th of February, 1857, Congress passed an act authorizing the formation of a constitution for admission into the Union. A constitution was accordingly adopted and the officers provided for therein elected on the 13th of October following, and upon the formal admission of the State by Congress, May 11, 1858, the "North Star" rose upon our national azure.

Minnesota lies between the parallels 43° 30′ and 49° of latitude. Its western boundary is cut by the ninety-seventh meridian, but without great divergence, and its very irregular eastern boundary gives it an average breadth of about five degrees. Its area is 53,943,379 acres, of which about 3,608,000 acres are covered by the waters of more than 7,500 interior lakes. It occupies the centre of the great interior plain of the continent, containing the head waters of the Mississippi, flowing into the Gulf of Mexico; of the Red River of the North, whose waters seek the Arctic Ocean, and the sources of streams which, through the great lakes and the St. Lawrence River, reach the Atlantic. The head of steamboat navigation, also, in all of these water-ways, is in the North Star State.

The population of Minnesota, according to the earliest census, taken June 11, 1849, was 4,513. By the enumeration of 1857, preparatory to admission, it was 150,037. The financial disasters and prostration of business in 1857 checked the growth and prosperity of the young State, and the war of the rebellion drained it of men. The massacres by the Sioux Indians in 1862, previous to their

final removal from the State, frightened away the timid of the settlers, and a storm of unexampled severity in January, 1871, was used to prejudice us with the seekers of new homes, by agents of competing areas in favor of which degrees of latitude were thought to testify. But the following census figures of population show an increase marvelous as a whole, and in some periods almost unparalleled: In 1860, 172,023; 1865, 250,099; 1870, 439,706; 1875, 597,407; 1880, 780,773; 1885, 1,117,798.

Of the total population in 1880, 513,097 were born in the United States, while of the foreign born, over 25 per cent. were German, 9 per cent. were Irish, 40 per cent. Scandinavian, less than 5 per cent. British, and about 8 per cent. native of other European countries. This mixture of foreign blood in the proportions above shown tends to the maintenance in perfection of a stock drawn originally from almost the same sources, rather than to its deterioration.

How are these people thriving?

The total valuation of the property in the State, as assessed for taxation and excluding all statutory exemptions, was, in certain years convenient for comparison, as follows: In 1849, $514,936; in 1860, $36,743,408; in 1880, $258,055,543; in 1885, $399,789,766; and in 1886, $458,424,777. The above includes no railroad property, all of which is exempt from assessment, the railroad companies paying to the State a percentage of their gross earnings in lieu of all other taxes. This percentage amounted to $642,258 for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1886.

The wealth of the people per capita was, in 1849, $114.10; in 1860, $213.59; in 1880, $330.51; and in 1885, $357.65.

The number of persons of both sexes engaged in all gainful avocations enumerated in the federal census of 1880 was 255,125. Of these 131,535 were in agriculture, 59,452 in professional and personal services, 24,349 in trade and transportation, and 39,789 in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining pursuits. Some indications will be quoted of progress in all of these occupations, except those of the second group, the prosperity of which, as a whole, is measurable by that of the other classes.

The whole number of farms in 1860 was 18,181, containing on the average 149 acres; in 1880, 92,386 farms averaged 145 acres. The acres of improved land in farms in 1860 was 556,250; in 1880, 7,246,693. The unimproved land was 79.5 per cent. of the

total land in farms in 1860; in 1880, only 45.9 per cent. In 1860 the value of farms, including fences and buildings, was $27,505,922, and of farming implements and machinery, $1,018,-183; in 1880, the value of farms was $193,724,460, and of farm machinery, $13,089,783.

The direction of agricultural effort is recently changing from the almost exclusive growing of the cereals, and principally wheat, to a more mixed farming, especially to stock raising and dairy products. Much attention is paid to the improvement of breed of both horses and cattle, and to the manufacture of superior butter and cheese. At the New Orleans Exposition in 1884–5, Minnesota butter took the first premiums against all competitors. This success was deserved and expected, and has just been repeated at Chicago. It goes without saying that the best wheat and the finest flour were found in her exhibit at New Orleans, but that her fruit growers took the first prizes there for apples and grapes, was a surprise to those who did not remember that the Wilder medal for finest fruit exhibit had been previously won by Minnesota at the Philadelphia Exhibition of the American Pomological Society in 1883.

The course and progress of our agriculture may be seen at a glance from the figures taken from the United States censuses of 1860 and 1880, and the State statistical volume of 1885, each of which reports products of the year before its date:

	1860.	1880.	1885.
Wheat (bushels)	2,186,993	34,601,030	50,475,013
Barley	109,668	2,972,965	7,001,526
Corn	2,941,952	14,831,741	16,761,495
Oats	2,176,002	23,382,158	36,978,079
Potatoes	2,565,485	5,184,676	6,583,844
Flax seed	.....	99,378*	1,486,527
Grass seed	.....	30,376*	286,794
Hay (tons)	179,482	1,636,912	2,296,402
Wool (pounds)	20,388	1,352,124	2,070,213
Butter	2,957,673	19,161,385	32,000,000†
Cheese	199,314	523,138	4,000,000†
Milk sold (gallons)	.....	1,504,407	6,000,000†
Value of all live stock	$3,642,841	$31,904,821	.....

Agriculture remains the occupation of the majority of the inhabitants, but recently commercial and manufacturing pursuits

* From State report. Not given in the United States Compendium.

† Estimate of State Dairy Commissioner for 1886.

are rapidly coming forward, and the increase of population tends to the cities. This is illustrated by the astonishing growth since 1880 of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, those contiguous "cities which, like double stars, are separate to their dwellers, yet which, to the observer, seem but one."

	Minneapolis.	St. Paul.	Both cities.
1880	46,887	41,473	88,360
1885	129,200	111,397	240,597

The paid-up capital stock of the banking institutions in the State, June, 1884, was $16,294,099; their surplus, $2,310,144; and the deposits, except those in private banks which are unknown, $27,339,949. In 1886, their capital was $20,149,100; surplus, $3,195,836; and deposits, $34,992,873. The bank capital and surplus of Saint Paul is $8,115,885; of Minneapolis, $7,027,066.

The wholesale trade of Saint Paul rose from $36,948,983 in 1881 to $81,195,836 in 1885; that of Minneapolis amounted to $33,136,000 in 1881 and to $61,082,200 in 1885. Sales of flour and lumber from mills are not included.

The first railroad construction was of ten miles in 1862. The completed miles numbered 1,092 in 1870; 3,099 in 1880; 4,226 in 1885, and at the close of 1886, 4,951 miles will be ready for operation.

Since 1868 the State has published very full agricultural statistics, but has adopted no adequate means for obtaining returns of other industries. The United States furnishes the following regarding manufactures:

	1860.	1870.	1880.
Number of establishments	562	2,270	3,493
Number of hands employed	2,123	11,290	21,247
Capital invested	$2,388,310	$11,993,729	$31,004,811
Wages paid	712,214	4,052,837	8,613,094
Value of materials	1,904,070	13,842,902	55,660,681
Value of products	3,373,172	23,110,700	76,065,18

Sawed lumber was the first manufactured product of Minnesota, and remains second in importance to that of flour. The values of the lumber cut, as reported by federal censuses since 1850, were $57,800, $816,808, $4,378,191, and $7,366,038. The lumber product of 1886, it is estimated, will amount to 960,000,000 feet of pine, with the equivalent of ten per cent. additional

in shingles and lath, and 40,000,000 feet of hard wood. The total value will be fully $14,000,000. About one-third of the pine is sawed at Minneapolis, about one-sixth at Stillwater, the same at Winona, and nearly as much at and near Duluth.

The products of the flour and grist mills were in 1850, $500 in value; in 1860, $1,300; in 1870, $5,718,887, and in 1880, $41,519,004. Wheat was the material used for more than 98 per cent. of the above. There will have been, in round numbers, 8,500,000 barrels of flour made in the State in 1886, more than three-fourths of it being the output of Minneapolis mills.

The production of building materials other than lumber is very rapidly increasing; red and cream-colored brick, gray and white limestone, white, pink, and brown sandstone, gray and black granite, lime, cement, and artificial stone.

Mining is an infant industry with us. Iron mines are opened at Tower, from which the first shipments of ore were made in 1884, of 62,124 tons. Eleven hundred men are now employed in them, and the shipments in 1886 amounted to 305,954 tons.

So much for the material thrift of State and people. What is their provision for education of youth, for care of incapables, for repression of crime, for preservation of health, for moral growth?

The theory of the Minnesota educational system is that the State shall furnish free instruction to every resident child, in common and grammar schools, high schools, the university and professional schools. The system is fully adopted and is in operation as far up as the university and such professional schools as are already established.

One-eighteenth of all the land in the State is devoted to form a permanent school fund, which, already amounting to $7,311,898, will probably finally reach $18,000,000, or $20,000,000. In addition to the revenue from this fund, taxes are levied annually at the pleasure of each district for the support of common and graded schools. From the aggregate thus obtained in 1885, which was $2,442,612, schools were maintained in 5,234 districts, employing 7,136 teachers, and having 243,059 pupils enrolled between the ages of five and twenty-one years. There were 346 new school-houses built that year, at a cost of $508,070. The value of all school-houses and sites is $6,906,166; of school apparatus, $97,243; and of school libraries, $31,796.

High schools, fifty-nine in number, assisted by appropriations

of State funds and subject to examination by a State High School Board, prepare students for the State University. Graduates from grammar schools may enter the high schools, and graduates of the high schools may enter any college or university in the State without further examination.

The University has a special grant of lands for its support and receives large appropriations annually. It now has a faculty of 30 professors and instructors, and numbers 406 students, of whom 25 are post-graduates, 113 are in the preparatory, or sub-freshman class, 86 in the artisans' training school, and 50 are pursuing special courses. The Agricultural College, now a part of the University, operates an Experimental Farm of 250 acres. The invested fund of the University amounts to $851,526, to which the sale of its remaining grant will add $400,000 ; its grounds, buildings, and apparatus are valued at $983,000 ; its library contains 10,000 volumes and its museum 20,000 specimens.

Three Normal schools, with twelve to fifteen instructors each, apparatus, libraries, model schools, etc., taught 1,565 learners the last year and graduated 98 teachers. Their grounds, buildings, and equipment are of the value of $350,000.

A school for the deaf and the dumb, one for the blind, and one for imbeciles, are among our most favored and most successful institutions. Their structures and sites represent investments of $300,000.

Besides these State educational institutions, many private schools exist, and, notably, denominational colleges, or those under the special care of various religious denominations, as Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Catholics.

The insane are cared for in two asylums, in which adequate accommodations are afforded for 1,600 patients. Inebriates may become the subjects of treatment in these. A third asylum is now locating, and its construction will be commenced another season.

Several orphan asylums are supported by private and municipal bounty.

The one State prison has at length been found insufficient for this day, especially as it does not permit the separation of first term offenders, of whose reclamation there is reasonable hope, from the older and hardened criminals. Provision is made for

the location of a second prison, which will doubtless be of the kind known as reformatories. These prisons, with our most successful Reform School for juvenile offenders against the law, and for incorrigible children, and the State Public School, now just completed and opened, for the care of younger children of indigent or criminal parents, whose offspring might otherwise become criminal for want of attention and protection, will complete our system of correctional establishments. A non-partisan State Board of Corrections and Charities visits and examines all the penal, reformatory and eleemosynary institutions of the State, and, though without authority to manage or control either, by counsel and suggestion, and through recommendations to the Legislature, brings about co-operation in action and a better co-relation of functions of all.

A State Board of Health, acting largely by the agency of local boards, which it is authorized efficiently to direct, has proved itself adequate to protect against the spread of contagious and infectious diseases among men and also among domestic animals.

Derived from peoples long since civilized and Christian, the inhabitants of Minnesota inherit and cherish the religious character and morality of their ancestry. The church and Sunday-schools supplement the instruction of the secular schools. Vicious practice and crime are as infrequent as among any other equal population.

Such are the beginnings of the progress of Minnesota.

L. F. HUBBARD.

THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

THE National Bank Act requires that banks having a capital of $150,000 and more than that amount, shall keep on deposit with the Treasurer of the United States not less than $50,000 of United States bonds as security for circulating notes, and that banks having a capital of less than $150,000 shall keep on deposit an amount equal to one-fourth of their capital as security for circulation. Circulation has ceased to be a profit, and, in many cases, is a burden to the National banks under existing laws. Many of the small banks of the country hesitate to organize under the National system, because they are obliged to buy United States bonds at the present high premium. Legislation is therefore suggested, which will authorize all banks having a capital in excess of $150,000 to keep on deposit $25,000 of United States bonds; and all banks having a capital of from $50,000 to $150,000, to keep on deposit an amount equal to one-eighth of their capital; or, what probably would be still better, authorize the smaller banks having a capital of from $50,000 to $75,000 to organize upon a deposit of $5,000, and banks with a capital of $75,000 and less than $150,000, to organize or continue business upon a deposit of $10,000 of United States bonds. This would permit all National banks which do not desire circulation, to conform to the law without the necessity of purchasing United States bonds at the present high rate of premium.

Such a bill would be improved if the amount of circulating notes to be issued should be increased to one hundred per cent. upon the par value of the bonds, instead of ninety per cent., as now authorized by law. This would be in accordance with the McPherson bill, which passed the Senate last winter, but which failed to pass the House. Indeed, the premium upon 4 per cent. and 4½ per cent. bonds is now so high in the

market, that the percentage of issue could be largely increased with safety to the bill holder. A law which authorizes the issue of ninety per cent. upon 3 per cents., worth only par in the market, and only ninety per cent. upon a 4 per cent. bond, worth 128 in the market, would seem to be imperfect. The holder of $100,000 of United States 4 per cent. bonds can readily borrow $120,000 in the New York market upon such bonds as collateral, and many banks hesitate to deposit bonds as security for circulation, which have a margin of more than one-third upon the amount of circulation issued. The rate of issue upon 4 per cent. and 4½ per cent. bonds should be increased to ninety per cent. upon the average market value of the bonds for the six months previous; and if, at any time, the security should be deemed to be insufficient, the Comptroller can call upon the banks for an increased amount, as now authorized by law, or the circulation can be reduced as the bank notes are redeemed from the five per cent. fund, deposited by the banks in Washington for that purpose, and the Treasurer can also be authorized to withhold the interest upon the bonds.

2. Provide for the refunding of the 4 per cent. bonds, amounting to $738,000,000 now outstanding, into 2½ or 3 per cent. bonds, offering the inducement to the holders of these bonds to exchange them for the new ones to be issued, the Government paying to the holders the difference between 2½ per cent., or 3 per cent., and 4 per cent.—the difference in value to be ascertained by an exact calculation by the Actuary of the Treasury Department.

If a farmer had a long mortgage upon his farm, bearing 8 per cent. interest, and he had the ready means to pay a portion of the amount, it would be a good proposition for him to offer the holder of the mortgage a payment of interest in advance, reducing the rate of interest upon his mortgage from eight per cent. to five per cent. if possible. There would be no difficulty in a farmer understanding a proposition like that. He would be able to use his ready means and improve his credit, and the transaction could be so arranged that the party to whom he made the payment would also be benefited by receiving his interest in advance.

In like manner the Government, having a large amount of surplus funds on hand, can use say 100 million dollars of that surplus by giving to the holders of the 4 per cent. bonds an

opportunity to exchange their 4s for a bond bearing a less rate of interest, the Government paying to the holders of the 4s the difference between that rate and a lesser rate for the next twenty years in advance.

It can be shown that such a proposition, if carried out, would be to the advantage not only of the Government, but also to the advantage of the bondholders. The former would reduce its surplus and really pay in advance a portion of its outstanding interest debt upon favorable terms, which otherwise it will be compelled to pay hereafter in annual installments for twenty years, and the latter would then have the use of a large amount of funds now invested in premiums which would be available for loans at rates greatly exceeding the borrowing power of the Government.*

It is believed that if the bill should pass authorizing the refunding of the fours into two-and-a-halfs, that the former would be presented to the Treasury for that purpose. United States bonds are held for a specific purpose. National banks hold them as security for circulating notes or for Government deposits. Savings banks and trust companies hold them as a reserve; and insurance companies and other corporations are required by law to deposit them with the State authorities. A bond of the United States bearing a less rate of interest could be used equally well for all these purposes.

If private individuals are the owners, it is because United States bonds are exempt from taxation, and afford to them, as they believe, the safest form of investment.

According to a report of the Actuary of the Treasury Department, an investment in the fours in the month of November last, realized to investors an average rate of interest of 2.32 per cent. only. The holder of the fours, by converting them into the new bonds, could still possess every advantage he now enjoys, and would realize a slightly increased rate of interest; while a large amount of principal now invested in premium, which is unremunerative,—in the aggregate more than 100 millions,—would be replaced in his hands for investment in United States bonds or in any other funds yielding a greater income.

The value of the new two-and-a-halfs could be increased, and the inducement to the holder to make the exchange also increased, by providing that the circulation to be issued upon the new bonds,

* Report of Comptroller of the Currency, 1882, p. 21.

when deposited by the National banks as security therefor, shall not be subject to the present tax of one per cent. per annum, or, if taxed, not exceeding one-half of one per cent., making the bonds more desirable as a basis for circulation than either the fours or the four-and-a-halfs, which will soon be the only bonds outstanding.

It would seem to be plain that if the necessary legislation is not obtainable from Congress for authorizing this conversion, it is not because the financial policy, and the necessity for such legislation, is not apparent.

If the rate were reduced to 2½ per cent., all the public debt of the United States would then, four years hence, in 1891, be at a lower rate of interest than that of any other government.

The Government will undoubtedly decline to purchase the 4s for its sinking fund at the present high rate of premium, but if it should authorize the payment of its interest in advance, and reduce this debt from the present rate to 2½ per cent., it could then, subsequently, if thought advisable, after the 4½s are paid, in the year 1891, purchase the new 2½ per cent. bonds then outstanding, which would be redeemable in the year 1907.

3. Provide a safety fund from the tax upon circulation, which should be reduced to ½ per cent. per annum, and from the estimated loss arising from the failure to present lost or worn out National bank notes for redemption during the last twenty years, amounting to about $4,500,000. When this safety fund amounts to $5,000,000, authorize the issue of circulating notes at the rate of $100,000 of circulation upon $80,000 of bonds; the loss, if any, from the inability of insolvent banks to redeem their circulating notes, to be charged and paid from this safety fund. The statistics in reference to the failure of National banks during the last twenty years shows that if circulation had been issued at the rate of $100,000 upon $80,000 of United States bonds deposited, there would have been no loss whatever to the holders of the circulating notes of insolvent banks. But with a safety fund in hand of $5,000,000, steadily increasing by a tax of one-half per cent. upon the circulation outstanding, there would be no possibility of loss to the holders of the notes of an insolvent National bank if such notes were issued at the rate of $100 for every $80 of United States bonds deposited.

The banks might also be authorized, at their option, to deposit

in part gold or silver coin or bullion instead of United States bonds, and such a circulation would be greatly to be preferred to the silver certificates now in circulation.

If, however, the 4 per cent. bonds could be funded into 2½s by the payment of interest in advance, and circulation issued at par upon the bonds, and the present tax upon circulation repealed, the issues of the National banks could be maintained without the necessity of a safety fund, until the maturity of the bonds.

Either one of these propositions would give relief to the banks, and all combined would have the effect of continuing the National bank circulation for twenty years, or until the date of the payment of the 4 per cent. bonds now outstanding. Under such an arrangement the circulation of the National banks would not be likely to diminish, but would increase during the next twenty years. These propositions provide for an absolutely secure National bank circulation. They are eminently practicable and easy to execute, if the proper legislation can be obtained.

In any event, there is no reason why a law should not be passed authorizing National banks, if they desire, to reduce their circulation and the bonds required to be held as security therefor, and authorizing that circulation shall be issued at par upon the bonds, as previously provided in the McPherson bill. Surely all parties can agree to allow National banks to retire a portion of their circulation and their bonds, if they desire to do so.

The report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1886 shows a decrease in the circulation of the National banks for the year ending November 1, 1884, of $24,170,676; in 1885, of $15,545,461, and in 1886, of $56,593,533, making a total of $96,309,670. The banks hold 57 millions of threes, all of which will be called in the course of a few months—reducing the circulation from 210 millions, the present amount, to about 170 millions during the coming midsummer months, and increasing the funds on deposit in the Treasury for the retirement of National bank notes from 88 millions on December 1 to nearly 120 millions.

It is evident that unless legislation is obtained during the present session of Congress, the National bank notes now outstanding are to be largely reduced, and that silver certificates are to be issued in their stead; but it does not follow that on this account the National banking system will cease to exist, for the system will continue as long as the banks continue to hold the

minimum amount of bonds required by law. The banks which have been organized during the last few years have not been organized on account of the profit upon circulation, but rather because it is found by experience that a bank can more certainly build up a deposit account under the National system than any other. This is very evident from the numerous conversions of State banks and private bankers into the system, and the numerous organizations in the new States and Territories, where the rates of interest are so high that there is a loss, instead of a profit, on circulation; and also from the fact that many associations which have left the system on account of the restrictions of the act, have found it to their interest again to return. So long as the National banks continue to retain their reputation as the safest places of deposit, the system will attract to itself new organizations and continue to retain the old.

It is probable that, not long hence, the constitutional question will be raised whether Congress has not the power to authorize the organization of National banks without requiring them to deposit any United States bonds whatever, and in view of a recent decision of the Supreme Court, there would not seem to be much doubt as to the construction of such a law by that tribunal.

If a law should be passed authorizing the National banks to reduce the bonds now on deposit to one-half the amount now required, as given in the first proposition, the National banking system could continue during the next twenty years upon an aggregate deposit of about $50,000,000 of bonds by the different banks now organized, or which are likely to be organized, until the year 1907; and in the course of the next twenty years many strange things may happen, and among them, possibly, an increase of the National debt.

JOHN JAY KNOX.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, bills have been introduced by Senator McPherson, of New Jersey, and Hon. James F. Miller, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, authorizing a reduction of the bonds held as security for National bank notes. The bill of Senator McPherson, like his previous bill, which was first presented in the year 1883, and which passed the Senate during the last Congress, contains a clause providing for the issue of circulating notes at the par value of the bonds, while the House bill provides for the issue of ninety per cent. only, in accordance with the present law.

Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, on December 18th, renewed his proposition, which was under consideration in 1883, providing for the refunding of the long

Government bonds into 2½s, and for the payment of maturing bonds having a higher rate of interest previous to those bearing a lesser rate.

On December 13th, Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, of this city, introduced a bill in the House, authorizing the Government to anticipate the payment of interest on the bonded debt, in excess of the rate of three per cent.; for stamping the bonds which are presented so as to show the reduced rate of interest; and also authorizing such stamped bonds to be received as security for the issue of circulating notes to the National banks, at the par value thereof. The first section of this bill is as follows:

SECTION 1. That out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and empowered, to anticipate the payment of so much of the interest on the interest-bearing bonds of the United States as shall be in excess of the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, by the payment in gross of such sum in each case as shall be equal to the aggregate present worth of such excess of interest thereon. And for the purpose of ascertaining such present worth, the interest upon the amount paid by the United States in anticipation of such excess of interest shall be computed at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum reinvested quarterly, so as to secure to the United States the benefit of compound interest thereon.

THE GOOD WORKS OF FALSE FAITHS.

FACTS are as dangerous to handle as dynamite. They refuse to fit where they were meant to stay. They explode in the adjusting and scatter destruction. In deciding upon the quality or the origin of a religion from its permanency, or from its condition at any one time, one is especially liable to this explosion of facts.

In the spiritual, in the intellectual, as in the material world, nothing is independent, self-existent. Nothing is, but from something that was. No life exists but from antecedent life. A nation is not made full-grown, isolated. It came from another nation; it sprang from some insignificant tribe. Development is a wide if not the universal law. One human being sees but a small part of the procession of events, but the procession goes on. Birth, growth, decadence, death is the order of all systems, the history of all movements. But in death, not all dies. Out of death springs other life, waxing while the first wanes. At any point in time we do not see the evolution. We see only a cross section. Of all the rest, we must judge from that. At the present moment we see Christianity crown of the world. Other systems are on the decline, or in late stages, or inferior positions, or have perished altogether. But is the fact that they have perished or are perishable, proof that they had never a divine principle which is imperishable? May not an ethnic religion have gathered corruption and fallen into dishonor, which once was pure, if simple, and leveled society upward, placed it morally on an ascending grade? May not a preparatory religion have accomplished its object, have fulfilled its prophecies, have carried out its hints, have yielded to its successors, have become itself decadent, effete, without thereby forfeiting its claims to be in its essence a divine and preparatory religion, the harbinger of Christianity, the fore-runner of Christ?

On scriptural grounds no one can with reason maintain that

Christianity is the only religious system that has approved itself of God, or that Hebrew law was the only school-master to bring us to Christ. The Bible itself gives us an infallible rule—infallible not only by reason of its being Scripture, but because it answers to human consciousness—a general principle which touches the very depth of revelation, of natural theology, of human history. Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights. So, then, not Christianity alone, but every faith that wrought good works and high character is from above.

Not heeding the ancient polities which have perished with the nations that framed them and were framed by them, we see even within the realm of written records such shining manifestations of human reason as must have come from the source of reason, the Father of Light, in whom is light, the light which is the life of men. The Romans were heathen and knew not Christ, but what virtue was wrought in them, what valor, what obedience, what self-denial, what devotion to duty, what reverence for unseen law, what administration of justice, what capacity for organization, what establishment of order! So wisely and greatly they lived and decreed, that it was finally given to Rome to give to the world a system of law which survived her empire, and deep down among the strong foundations underlies the very structure of modern society. Somewhere in the heart of their body politic must have been something divine, something whose tendency was upward, some sense of duty working itself out in right action, or the nation could not have grown so great, could not, in departing, have left upon the sands of time footprints of permanent rectitude, could not have left upon the wide-stretching ocean of life its moonglade of everlasting light.

"From my mother I learnt piety and beneficence," said a Roman heathen whose blind eyes were lifted in vain to the rosy dawn of Christianity, whose hands were imbued in the blood of its martyrs—"and abstinence not only from evil deeds, but even from evil thoughts." When he heard of the assassination of one of his rebellious subjects, he was sorry, he said, "to be deprived of the pleasure of pardoning him."

Is this but an isolated instance of heathen purity, heathen piety and forgiveness? Even so it would still be heathen purity, piety and forgiveness, a sublime and mysterious hint of Chris-

tianity, to be accounted for outside of Christianity. But the uncle and predecessor in empire of this man was as wise, as gentle, as virtuous, as beneficent as he. More than this, the nation which produced them both not only rose and ruled and fell, but it made its mark for good—and powerful and moulding good—on all the following generations. Supporting and, indeed, explaining this, it is to be remembered not only that this man bequeathed the imperishable private record of his blameless, aspiring, inward life, but as an acute Christian scholar has testified, the great record for his outward life "is the clear, consenting voice of all his contemporaries—high and low, friend and enemy, pagan and Christian—in praise of his sincerity, justice and, goodness. Long after his death his bust was to be seen in the houses of private men through the wide Roman Empire. These busts of Marcus Aurelius, in the homes of Gaul, Britain, and Italy, bore witness to their reverential memory of the passage of a great man upon the earth."

This does not mean isolated greatness, uncomprehended excellence. Those busts of Marcus Aurelius bore witness not only to the passage of a great man upon the earth, but to a wide-spread virtue, an instinct of goodness, a correct standard of judgment, a national recognition of real Divinity.

The spirit of Paul was stirred in him when he saw the city of Athens wholly given to idolatry; but even while preaching to them the new doctrine of Jesus Christ, he admitted the great truth to which their philosophy had attained: the preparatory quality in their ethnic faith. He rejected only the corruptions of this faith. The ancient faith itself he not only did not reject, but accepted as the foundation upon which to build his new structure of life and immortality, whose plan was revealed in Christ.

What its ancient faith did for Greece, what, under the ancient faith, Athens did for the world, the best conscience, the highest achievement of the world testifies. An eloquent writer, a most pure and blameless as well as a most royally endowed child of Christian civilization, testifies:

"If we consider merely the subtlety of disquisition, the force of imagination, the perfect energy and elegance of expression, which characterize the great works of Athenian genius, we must pronounce them intrinsically most valuable; but what shall we say when we reflect that from hence have sprung, directly or in-

directly, all the noblest creations of the human intellect? All the triumph of truth and genius over prejudice and power, in every country and in every age, have been the triumphs of Athens. Wherever a few great minds have made a stand against violence and fraud, in the cause of liberty and reason, there has been her spirit in the midst of them; inspiring, encouraging, consoling; by the lonely lamp of Erasmus; by the restless bed of Pascal; in the tribune of Mirabeau; in the cell of Galileo; on the scaffold of Sidney. But who shall estimate her influence on private happiness? Who say how many thousands have been made wiser, happier, and better by those pursuits in which she has taught mankind to engage. To how many the studies which took their rise from her have been wealth in poverty, liberty in bondage, health in sickness, society in solitude. Her power is indeed manifested at the bar; in the senate; in the field of battle; in the schools of philosophy. But these are not her glory. Wherever literature consoles sorrow, or assuages pain; wherever it brings gladness to eyes which fail with wakefulness and tears, and ache for the dark house and the long sleep,—there is exhibited, in its noblest form, the immortal influence of Athens."

If every good gift is from the Father of Lights, whence must Athenian philosophy have had its source?

Even to that Mohammedan state which we now chiefly associate with the stolid, the decadent, the unspeakable Turk, was there not a past worthy of other than condemnation? It is not only the poet who tells us of a

> "Something which possessed
> The darkness of the world, delight,
> Life, anguish, death, immortal love,
> Ceasing not, mingled, unrepressed,
> Apart from place, withholding time,
> But flattering the golden prime of good Haroun Alraschid."

History has told us also of the golden prime of the nation, of the time when a mighty government, grasping the sword and proclaiming the name and unity of God, went nigh to conquer the world, and to conquer it not only by the sword, but by its own order when Christendom was devoured with disorder, by its own zeal for God when Christendom was dead with unbelief—a government so majestic in its strength, so inexhaustible in its vitality, so automatic in its movement, that even to thoughtful and

Christian minds it seemed likely to overpower and outlast all Christian polities and governments.

It may be true, as Dr. Hamlin thinks, that there is none that doeth good, no, not one, in the Greek, Mohammedan, and heathen systems of to-day; but nothing can invalidate the testimony of the world to the benefits which it has received from the fruit of those systems in their prime. Because rankness and wrong characterize their decadence, it does not follow that they owe their origin wholly to these sources. The light that shone upon these upward ways, that guided human intelligence towards truth and beauty and love, that softened fate and glorified pain, and purified passion, and revealed wrong with its illuminating torch—was light from Heaven. It is not creditable to learning, it is not stimulating to piety, to deny it.

If the same tests were to be applied to Christianity that the professors of Christianity apply to the ethnic religions, is it certain that even Christianity would have an assured and permanent position as the one divine religion? Dr. Hamlin's convictions give us a chill doubt. He seems to imply that the Greek and Armenian churches are as proper places for missionary work, as thoroughly remote from Christianity as are the heathen temples. He includes in one hopelessness, "heathen, Moslems, nominal Christians." "Oriental apostasy from Christ" he presents as equally unproductive of progress, hope, freedom as Buddhism. But there must have been a time when the pure truth of the gospel lay in the Greek church. Theology as it left the lips of Christ was Greek theology. If in so few years the pure gospel of Christ can be hardened, neutralized, lost in nominal Christianity and oriental heresy, in arrested civilization and a warped and stunted intellectuality, why may it not be that other faiths, corrupt and deadening now, had once their moment of pure, free flow from the fountain of divine truth?

John Coleridge Pattison, the delicately-reared and carefully-educated child of a titled English family, gave his life to the upbuilding of the kingdom of heaven on those parts of the earth that were least uplifted above the kingdom of beasts. All the civilization of Greece and Rome and England he abandoned for the redemption of savages; of cannibals. A singular power of acquiring languages he considered as a Pentecostal gift of tongues, and he consecrated it to the islands of Melanesia, preaching Christ to

twenty barbarous tribes, speaking to each in his own dialect wherein he was born. To do this it was necessary to encounter a climate so near the equator that a European was reckoned to be able to exist in it only three months of the year. To secure the confidence of his savages he threw himself greatly into their power. His wont was to row in as far as might be and then swim or wade ashore. With his own hands he taught pupils to sweep and care for their rooms ; to print and to weave nets. With his own hands he made them garments and performed all menial work, that he might thus lead them to the lowest stage of civilization and show them the nature and the dignity of work. To win their entire trust, this high-bred Englishman, the cultured and fastidious child of a nation that lugs its bath-tubs across every desert and up every mountain the round world over, chose and firmly kept the horrible solitude of close companionship with barbarism, lived among filthy and fetid cannibals, lay down at night in a long hut side by side with forty or fifty naked savages—wildest, beastliest mould of heathendom—and rose up in the morning to shape this dreadful mass into the likeness of God.

And when his work had begun to reveal itself, when he had rescued from their beastliness a group of Christian pupils, loving, lovable, intelligent, devoted to himself, and joining sympathetically in his work, what happened ? Labor-ships, ships seeking labor, and *commanded by white men,* came from afar, decoyed his humble people on board, pretending that the bishop was there, put them under the hatches, and sailed away. After that there was danger. The islanders could not always discriminate between the missionary whites and the kidnapping whites. But the greater the danger the more steadfastly the bishop persisted in landing alone, whenever it was not certain that he was well known and there was fear of attack from the alarmed and exasperated natives. Like his Master, his kingdom was not of this world, and, therefore, also like his Master, he would not let his servants fight. And so one day his dear pupils found his boat afloat in the lagoon, and in the boat lay the bishop, dead, with a smile on his face, with a palm-leaf fastened with five knots on his breast, and under the palm-leaf five wounds.

Each wound was the vengeance for a stolen friend.

Christianity is at present the crowning religion of the world, and it is carrying the good news to the new Free State on the

Congo; but the same small vessel in which a Lutheran missionary sailed, carried over also one hundred thousand gallons of New England rum. The evil thus poured into it from the enlightened world threatens to overwhelm all the good which is but slowly transferred. Five years ago, liquor was unknown among tribes which are now perishing under its ruinous influence, and that liquor comes to it, not from heathendom, but from Christendom.

In the heathen nation of India, a missionary, still actively engaged in disseminating Christianity, declares that "the destructive influence of Western civilization is at present far more manifest than the renewing power of Christianity. A critical and scientific education, which trains the intelligence and not the will, has succeeded in upsetting altogether the religious faith of multitudes, and with it *many moral and social restraints*, a condition of things which, if uncared for, must bring blight and death upon the nation."

In the Parliament of Cape Town, Africa, not long ago, a bill was reported to be introduced, placing restrictions on the sale of brandy or "Cape Smoke" to the natives. But the farming legislators, most of whom are engaged in the manufacture of brandy, and all of whom are loud in their professions of Christianity, strongly objected. If the natives, they said, were really men, they were not to be treated as children. They were to be left to their own discretion as to how much they should drink. As soon as this restrictive bill was defeated, another bill was introduced giving the natives the franchise. It was at once opposed and defeated by the same members, on the ground that the natives had become sots and were not fit to be citizens.

If the religion of the heathen world is to be adjudged wholly and always corrupt, because Paul denounced the unrighteousness which he found in Rome, in Corinth, in Athens, and among the foolish Galatians, by what token shall a religion be accounted divine whose faith hardens into formula, whose children for greed will imbue their hands in the blood of its martyrs, whose professors will carry shame and degradation, ruin and death to the heathen with swifter feet than it carries to them the good tidings of great joy meant for all people? Is it for a religious system which bears life in one hand and death in the other, to cry out that all other systems had no life in them because they had the savor of death?

GAIL HAMILTON.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL POOL.

WHAT terms of condemnation are too severe for combinations to control the supply and enhance the price of the necessaries of life? Imagine that the capitalists engaged in the transportation and distribution of breadstuffs should decide that bread is too cheap. To remedy that unique evil, they combine the transportation routes of the country; gain possession of all the wheat-raising lands; cut down the wasteful and extravagant production of 400,000,000 bushels of wheat to 300,000,000; and by that means advance the price of flour from the ruinously cheap level of $4.50 and $5 per barrel to $6 and $7; enforcing upon the consumer on one hand, the lesson that he can subsist on less bread when his money will only buy three-fourths as much flour as formerly, and upon the laborer who raises the wheat, the practical demonstration that he must accept whatever wages may be allotted him. There is no doubt that such a plan might maintain an ideal prosperity for the capital engaged in it; but there is still less doubt that all the rest of the community would perceive in it a grave attack on their rights and welfare. Bread riots, insurrections, and plans for the redistribution of land which such schemes have provoked in ancient times are conceded by modern enlightenment to be blameworthy mainly for the ignorance and violence which made such protests injurious to popular welfare, rather than effective in abolishing the abuses that provoked them. Fortunately the production of food in this country is too vast, and the methods of transportation too varied, to permit a monopoly of food. Twenty years ago, we might also have thought that the laws of commerce were too well understood and the principles of justice too powerful, for the possibility of such schemes. But the success since then of projects differing from this only in the degree of their apparent impossibility, forbids us to longer rely upon

the conditions of our social system, as a guarantee against combinations to monopolize the necessaries of life.

For the question is getting itself asked in rather imperative tones: How much better is it to tamper in this way with the fuel of the people, than with their food?

Substitute anthracite coal for wheat and flour in the above imaginary case, and it is a mild summary of the combination to which Governor Pattison of Pennsylvania, and his Attorney-General, recently directed their attention. This alliance of railway interests was described by Mr. Lloyd in a former number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. It has been told that five railroad companies, engaged in transporting this fuel from the mining regions of Pennsylvania, consolidated their control by first gaining the ownership of seven-tenths of the anthracite coal lands, and finally uniting their action to restrict the total output of coal, allotting to each company a stated percentage of the arbitrary total. Mr. George's recent articles also included a graphic picture of the condition of labor in the anthracite regions under the rule of this combination.

The latest manifestations of this railway alliance induced the Governor of Pennsylvania to invoke the action of his Attorney-General, holding that such combinations are opposed to the general welfare, and violations of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which declares that "all railroads and canals shall be public highways, and all railroad and canal companies common carriers;" that every one shall have full right to the transportation of property over them, without discriminations; and that no common carrier shall be interested "in mining or manufacturing articles for transportation over its works." This official assertion that the combination of railroads is illegal, oppressive to the individual and subversive of public policy, has elicited some not very consistent rejoinders from the gentlemen managing these corporations, some of them declaring that there is no combination but only a tacit understanding, while others acknowledge its existence but justify it as a device to keep up wages by keeping up the price of coal.

That the denial of the combination is only a *pro forma* plea in the court of public opinion, is shown by the words and acts of these gentlemen among themselves in administering its affairs. The Secretary of the combined companies writes to the officers of

the Pennsylvania Railroad expressing the wish that the latter corporation "should unite in the policy of restricting the output of anthracite coal." Meetings of the managers of these companies have been held at stated periods for years, with the result of limiting the production for one month to 2,500,000 tons, for another to 2,750,000 tons, and another to 3,250,000, at the same time advancing prices in one case 35c. per ton, in another 15c., and in another, "after considering the question of advancing prices," concluding not to do so until November 1. The effect of these frequent consultations was to maintain an arbitrary restriction of production several hundred thousand tons less than was actually sold in the same months of the previous year, for the undisguised purpose, by means of that artificial scarcity, of establishing an advance of 50c. per ton, with the hope of even higher prices.

The claim that this advance in price brings an advance to the wages of the miner, is best answered by the facts. No increase has been given to the miners on account of the late advance in prices, and Mr. Lloyd's article two years ago told how the early form of this combination vetoed an advance in wages by the device of prohibitory freight rates on the shipments of the private mine owners who had granted it. The dry statistics of census and labor reports also tell a startling story of the effect of this corporate union on the labor under its control. The United States census report on "Wages and the Necessaries of Life" shows that in the first decade of the combination, the average weekly wages of the miners were reduced 36½ per cent., while the retail price of coal in Philadelphia only declined 16⅔ per cent. The Pennsylvania Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, in the early years of the present decade, that the average cost of all labor represented in a ton of coal mined and ready for shipment was $1.06 to $1.10 per ton, while the retail price in Philadelphia was maintained at $6.00 to $6.50 per ton. A table of the comparative cost of mining, published by one of these corporations in 1878, shows the reduction in the five years previous to have been nearly 60 per cent. If this were all, it would be a sufficiently severe commentary on the claim that this policy keeps up wages; but there is more behind. For the scheme of benefiting labor by restricting production issues orders by circulars that, "the anthracite coal interests have agreed upon a suspension of coal mining" on specified dates, aggregating two working weeks of a single month, and that, "it is essential that the min-

ing, hoisting, preparation, and loading of coal be entirely discontinued." This method of protecting the companies from the calamity of having too much coal sent to market, has been continued for years, with the result shown in the report of one corporation, of allowing the miners to work 167.7 days in 1878; 227½ days in 1883; and, between those two extremes, a total of 1,628 days work in the past eight years. The unembellished story of these statistics beggars criticism. What more is necessary to be said regarding this device as a friend of the miners, than the cold statement of the figures that its peculiar policy has forced them to stand idle more than one-third of the time, or an average of 110 working days each year? Taking the actual average wages reported by the State Bureau of Statistics up to 1885, as affected by the enforced idleness, it shows a reduction of nearly 60 per cent. from the ante-combination period, while the fall in the price of coal was less than 20 per cent., wages having reached that level of modified starvation indicated by a weekly average of $6.67.

Add to these figures the fact gleaned from the railroad reports, that the rate of freight charged by the anthracite coal railroads has been sustained for the last sixteen years between 1¾ and 1¼ cents per ton-mile, while the fall of prices and economies of transportation have brought down the average rate on the high and low class freights carried by the trunk lines 50 per cent., to less than ¾ cent per ton-mile. The fact that this policy has maintained charges on the inexpensive coal freights at twice the average rate, and three times that on the more expensive grain traffic of the trunk lines, makes it easy to estimate the character of this combination. The meetings of the corporation magnates, their orders to restrict the production of coal, to advance prices and to stop work in the mines, show us an alliance to maintain arbitary rates for the transportation and distribution of coal; to prevent competition among themselves; and the binding feature of their device is to restrict the supply so that the markets which in a given month of one year consumed 3,300,000 tons of coal, can now be forced to pay as much for the 2,750,000 tons to which they are limited. The barrier thus erected between the miner and the consumer is for the sole benefit of the corporations and dealers transporting and distributing the coal. Against a decline of one-half in the general rate of railroad carriage, the anthracite roads maintain their old charges. Wages decline 36 per cent. in ten years and the enforced

idleness for one-third the working time increases that reduction to an alarming proportion. Suppose the double rate of freight charges thus maintained to extend throughout the margins secured to subordinate corporations, agents and favored dealers, and it may explain the remarkable distribution of one-sixth the price of the product for the arduous and hazardous labor of mining and five-sixths for the capital and middlemen who haul and distribute the coal to markets one or two hundred miles away. Even the failures which have occurred in the maintenance of this compact reveal its arbitrary purpose of sustaining prices. One of the pleas of avoidance and confession by which the movement of Governor Pattison was met, was that "Coal has been selling this year at seventy cents a ton less than the prices of 1884." But what is the cause of this decline? Simply that the Pennsylvania Railroad, in revenge for the invasion of its own territory by one of the anthracite roads, entered into competition with the combination. The competition was not universal. Merely a province of the coal empire was invaded. Yet the slight approach to competition reduced prices in the eastern markets seventy cents per ton, and added thirty days to the working time of the miners. But the policy of these corporations is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that, as soon as the great corporate object of preventing competition on all sides was gained, the work of restricting production and putting up prices was resumed.

What is the moral and social aspect of such a combination? Lest the attempt to properly characterize it should betray me into the use of language that might seem extravagant, I will confine myself to quoting the expressions of some eminent judges with regard to similar, or even less threatening, combinations. The Governor's appeal to the Constitution of Pennsylvania is answered by the corporations with the claim that their charters ante-date the Constitution, and are, therefore, exempt from its restrictions. But there are principles of law which existed before either their charters or the Constitution. Some of the most cogent declarations of the bench on this subject have been uttered by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Of a similar, though less stupendous, arrangement to combine five bituminous coal companies, that Court declared: "Such a combination is more than a contract; it is an offense. In all such combinations where the purpose is injurious or unlaw-

ful, the gist of the offense is conspiracy." In the early part of the century, the eminent Judge Gibson, on the same bench, said: "I take it that a combination is criminal wherever the act has a tendency to prejudice the public or oppress individuals by subjecting them to the power of the confederates." Of a combination of salt manufacturing companies, the Supreme Court of Ohio declared its illegality when "the tendency of an agreement is to establish a monopoly and destroy competition." Long before railway combinations or anthracite coal pools were dreamed of, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, speaking of agreements in restraint of competition, used these prophetic words: "They expose the public to all the evils of monopoly. This is especially applicable to large corporations who have the means, unless restrained by law, to exclude rivalry, monopolize business and engross the market." Not only does the common law prohibition of agreements to abolish competition apply in this case, but the very conditions on which railway charters are founded, as laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1844, and repeated in every case where a railway has secured its right of way by legal proceedings, specify that if the effect of the charter would be to establish a monopoly, not even the Legislature could grant the powers of the State for such a purpose, "as it is opposed to every constitutional principle which protects the right of property."

"But," say the railway presidents, "This is an attack upon business prosperity;" and one financial writer, in a sort of logical panic, terms it "an attack on $700,000,000 of capital." Here we reach the real foundation on which this extreme and yet typical example of the policy of combination between railways rests. "Capital must be protected against ruinous competition," is the gist of all the arguments in favor of that policy. It makes no difference to the advocates of this plea, that the capital to be protected in this case forms but a portion of the property interests of the country. Capital in general must compete for permanent investments until it reduces the current interest upon the best security to 3 per cent.; capital engaged in farming, in house-building, in merchandizing, and in manufacturing, all must accept the share of profits allotted them under the regulation of full and free competition. But the tithe of the capital of the country engaged in railway transportation claims exemption from this

regulative force and combines to secure what profits it considers just. It does not matter that the devices raise the cost of the necessaries of life to the consumer; it does not matter that the combinations are forbidden by constitutional law and denounced by the courts as conspiracies. Constitutions and economic law must be set aside to secure to this single form of capital its sacred dividends; and the astounding nature of the claim shines out of the fact that the only power by which these corporations are able to suppress competition, lies in their possession of the routes of transportation, obtained by the exercise of the most supreme act of sovereignty in their favor, upon the condition, as declared by a hundred decisions, that it is used to establish public highways.

The utter viciousness and falsity of this idea, from a purely economic view, must be laid aside to consider the far vaster and more imperative subject of its effect on our social order. For, besides the injustice, illegality, and restrictive influence upon commerce which is to be charged to it, the policy of which the anthracite coal pool is at once the climax and exemplar, shows its gravest aspect in its direct influence for the disadvantage and discontent of labor. We wonder at the frequency of denunciations against capital, and cannot understand the paradox of socialist, and even anarchist, opinions under a popular government. Yet that wonder is blind, and we are likely to fail of any understanding either of the merits or the dangers of the social problem until we perceive in such combinations as these that their most fatal effect lies in the lesson that they teach to labor. The workingman in the East finds that he must buy fuel to warm his family at such prices as capital chooses to fix in its own interest, and the miner in the coal districts must accept what wages the same power may choose to allow him. Upon the ordinary laborer the effect of this is simply to create a blind sense that he is at the mercy of capital, and is allowed just as much fuel or wages as may suffice to sustain him at his work. But the more the laborer understands of this policy the more clearly does he see that its workings are unequal, and that the inequality invariably operates to his disadvantage. The example under consideration presents to the masses the following principles as the basis of corporate action:

First—Capital, organized into great corporations, must be protected against competition for the sake of earning such profits

as it considers proper, while the laborer is left subject to that influence.

Second—It must be permitted by this means to enhance the price of a necessary of life to the consumers on the one hand, and to crowd down the wages of the producing laborers on the other.

Third—The principles of constitutional and economic law alike, with which this policy collides, must be suspended in the interest of "business prosperity."

Such theories present business, not in the true and beneficial light of seeking under competition to perform services at the least possible cost, but in the false and oppressive light of extorting the greatest possible profits from the masses by the abolition of competition. They eliminate justice from the system of social economy and reduce that science to an absurdity. One of the gravest features of modern development is the concentration of large masses of capital in control of various industries. This tendency is justified in most cases by the ability of the concentrated capital to render the services or manufacture the products more cheaply, by reason of its strength and organization. Yet when this concentration is carried to its utmost extent, attaining the strength of hundreds of millions of dollars and the perfect organization of half a dozen great railways, we are met by the declaration that they, and they alone, will be ruined by competition. Of all forms of capital, the most thoroughly concentrated cannot endure the competition that every small farmer and retail shopkeeper in the land must meet; and the cheapness and enlarged production to be obtained by concentration resolves itself into high prices maintained by an arbitrary restriction of the supply! This phenomenal theory displays itself in the most extravagant contrast, by bringing the exemption from competition for which the greatest corporations combine, into close contact with the full competition that acts upon the hundred thousand miners who seek to earn their wages, and the ten million consumers who seek to buy their coal. The laborer finds competition working against him and not against the capital which rules the employment of his labor or the supply of his fuel. When meetings of capitalists use their control of the transportation routes to advance the price of coal to consumers at the rate of $15,000,000 a year, by the lever of enforced idleness for the miners, with a loss in wages of $10,000,000 more, is it any

wonder that labor agitators find ready listeners to the declaration that the system which permits such things is framed solely for the benefit of capital? When competition is thus made inoperative against the most powerful aggregations of wealth, and put in force against humble miners and needy consumers, can we blame those classes for regarding it as the enemy and oppressor of labor?

But the mischief is not half ended with spreading a false idea concerning the operation of a great commercial force. Next to the stupendous cruelty and selfishness of "corners" in the necessaries of life, their most vital harm is in the lesson they teach of hatred and contempt for the system of laws under which such wrongs are inflicted upon the masses. The vast body of workingmen who are brought into contact with this combination suppose that it is upheld by the law. They see its purposes carried out successfully. The price of coal is put up; its supply is restricted; and the miners stand idle one-third of their time. The property of the corporations is protected by the law, and their managers are leading members of a society in which the law is supposed to be supreme. Is it strange that the uninstructed workingman, seeing these things in his half-filled stove or his slender wages, should come to the conclusion that the law makes the incorporations of capital the masters of the people? Does it any longer seem inexplicable that the Socialist is able to make needy laborers believe that our system of government is an ally of wealth and an enemy of the poor? And if it were true that our laws gave capital the right to exact arbitrary prices from the public and to order labor to stand idle for the increase of its profits, could we say that the Socialist is wrong?

The case is better than that—and it is worse. It is better, because, as has already been shown by the declaration of the highest court of Pennsylvania, the law denounces such offenses as criminal conspiracies, and the principles of the legislation on which these corporations were given their existence carefully guards against their employment for such injurious purposes. It is worse, because the supineness of the people, the subservience of politicians, and the benumbing influence of great wealth on the administration of justice, have allowed the laws to be defied and the essential conditions on which these corporations obtained their existence to be violated and ignored. The fatuity of this policy is nowhere more apparent than in this, that it sets the ex-

ample of violating the laws. Such lessons "teach bloody instructions, which, being taught, return to plague the inventor." The very elements of modern society most concerned in stability and good order not only place before workingmen the example of over-riding law, but force them to imitate it. The laws of the country and the principles of trade are set aside for the sake of giving capital the sacred dividends it considers its due; and workingmen learn in this that they can ignore the same laws for the right, no less sacred to them, of sustaining their families. Corporations nullify the constitutional restrictions placed about them; and the burden of the violation bearing especially upon the laborer, it teaches him to break over his constitutional restraints, by riots and boycotts. Only a few weeks ago, a New York court enjoined the restrictive work of a musical trades union on the broad ground that combinations in restraint of trade were null and void, and in the past year trades unionists have been sent to prison for the form of conspiracy known as the boycott. At the same time this combination of capital flourishes unchecked, and only last October it was announced that the coal railroads had put a Western firm under the boycott of capital for refusing to advance the prices of coal, and would cut off its supply. With the lesson set before them by this false and destructive principle, that the laws which restrain vast aggregations of capital are null and void; that conspiracies forbidden to trades unions are practiced with impunity by combinations of railways, the natural result is to fan the discontent of workingmen into the fuel of riots, to make them support their strikes by violent attacks upon all who attempt to work against their will; to drive them to the teachings, not only of theorists who declare that relief must be sought by peaceful and Utopian Socialism, but of the inflammatory demagogues who declare that the entire system of society is an oppression, and that the rights of labor can only be secured by overturning the whole fabric into a chaos of revolution and anarchy.

Such doctrines and their provocation are alike fatally wrong. It is not true that competition is an enemy of labor. The effort of workingmen should be not so much to abolish the competition that acts upon their wages, as to summon to their relief the competition of a free demand for their work. Were there the same competition for the labor of the anthracite coal miners that

there is for the wages paid by the coal companies on the one hand, and the same competition in supplying fuel to the consumers as there is among the consumers to obtain that fuel on the other, capital would no longer command the situation. The public need, as well as the need of labor, is to invoke the aid of the law against the alliance of corporations, which, while availing itself of the competition of both miner and consumer, abolishes that principle in its own favor, and sets its united strength between a hundred thousand competitors of the former class, and ten millions of the latter. For it is no less false that our laws permit or ignore such attempts of aggregated capital to impose burdens upon the people. The fault is not in the law, but in the neglect to uphold and enforce the law. The very principles on which this government was founded furnish the complete remedy for every such threat to popular welfare. As I have endeavored to show exhaustively in another form, the constitutional conditions on which the railways obtained their existence are declared by the greatest jurists to forbid the use of even legislative power to establish exclusive privileges, or to maintain any measure of reward for capital than the only just one of competition. The remedy lies in an appeal to what Chief Justice Morton, a half century ago, called "our constitutional prohibition of monopolies," and the enforcement of the obligations of the railways as public highways. But if corporate influences stifle that appeal, and continue to set the example of lawlessness which first produced its results in the Mollie Maguire outrages among the laborers of this very combination, what will be the result? Are the excesses of the French revolution to be charged to the ignorant and desperate people who revolted from tyranny, or to the tyranny that ground them down so long that their rising could only be a frenzy of ignorance and despair? The red spectre of Nihilism is begotten by the oppression of absolutism; and if Socialism vexes this country, its paternity must be traced to the illegal privileges usurped by great combinations of capital. If combinations to enhance the price of fuel; combinations to establish monopolies in light; combinations to keep up the price of meat, and combinations to impose the burden of hundreds of millions of watered railway capital upon commerce, and through it upon labor, shall continue to concentrate the wealth of society into few hands, and set the example of contempt for law and justice, until the masses are

incited to revolt and anarchy, will the great and powerful capitalists, or the ignorant and needy laborers, be responsible for the ruin wrought upon the magnificent promises of this country ?

Such issues as these I conceive to be involved in the effort of the Governor of Pennsylvania to bring the Constitution of the State to bear upon the combination which maintains an artificial scarcity of coal by the device of enforced idleness to labor. Other violations of the Constitution by the railways have engaged his attention ; but none of them come more directly into collision with the rights of labor than this. A slight ray of light is thrown into the gloom of the picture, by the fact that one Governor, at least, has been found to protest against the idea that if the combination of capital is great enough, it is greater than the law. But a state executive, whose term of office has already expired, could do little more than commence the effort to make the laws effective ; and the question whether the effort is to be continued must be decided by others. That decision must rest, not alone with the laboring classes, or with the rulers of the financial world, but with the whole people. Can there be any more vital and universal public duty than the prevention of Socialistic agitation and Anarchist outbreaks, by abolishing the power of corporations to control the necessaries of life, and by enforcing the laws against conspiracies of wealth, as well as against conspiracies of poverty ?

JAMES F. HUDSON.

SOME WAR MEMORANDA—JOTTED DOWN AT THE TIME.

I FIND this incident in my notes (I suppose from "chinning" in hospital with some sick or wounded soldier who knew of it):

When Kilpatrick and his forces were cut off at Brandy Station (last of September, '63, or thereabouts), and the bands struck up "Yankee Doodle" there were not cannon enough in the Southern Confederacy to keep him and them "in." It was when Meade fell back. K. had his cavalry division (perhaps 5,000 men), and the rebs, in superior force, had surrounded them. Things looked exceedingly desperate. K. had two fine bands, and ordered them up immediately; they joined and played "Yankee Doodle" with a will. It went through the men like lightning—but to inspire, not to unnerve. Every man seemed a giant. They charged like a cyclone, and cut their way out. Their loss was but 20. It was about two in the afternoon.

WASHINGTON STREET SCENES.

April 7, 1864.—WALKING DOWN PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. —Warmish forenoon after the storm of the past few days. I see, passing up, in the broad space between the curbs, a big squad of a couple of hundred conscripts, surrounded by a strong cordon of armed guards, and others interspersed between the ranks. The government has learned caution from its experiences; there are many hundreds of "bounty jumpers," and already, as I am told, eighty thousand deserters! Next (also passing up the avenue), a cavalry company, young, but evidently well drilled and service-hardened men. Mark the upright posture in their saddles, the bronzed and bearded young faces, the easy swaying to the motions of the horses, and the carbines by their right knees; handsome and reckless, some eighty of them, riding with rapid gait, clattering along. Then the tinkling bells of passing cars, the many

shops (some with large show-windows, some with swords, straps for the shoulders of different ranks, hat-cords with acorns, or other insignia), the military patrol marching along, with the orderly or second-lieutenant stopping different ones to examine passes—the forms, the faces, all sorts crowded together, the worn and pale, the pleased, some on their way to the railroad depot going home, the cripples, the darkeys, the long trains of government wagons, or the sad strings of ambulances conveying wounded—the many officers' horses tied in front of the drinking or oyster saloons, or held by black men or boys, or orderlies.

THE 195TH PENNSYLVANIA.

Tuesday, Aug. 1, 1865.—About 3 o'clock this afternoon (sun broiling hot) in Fifteenth street, by the Treasury building, a large and handsome regiment, 195th Pennsylvania, were marching by—as it happened, received orders just here to halt and break ranks, so that they might rest themselves awhile. I thought I never saw a finer set of men—so hardy, candid, bright American looks, all weather-beaten, and with warm clothes. Every man was home-born. My heart was much drawn toward them. They seemed very tired, red, and streaming with sweat. It is a one-year regiment, mostly from Lancaster County, Pa.; have been in Shenandoah Valley. On halting, the men unhitched their knapsacks, and sat down to rest themselves. Some lay flat on the pavement or under trees. The fine physical appearance of the whole body was remarkable. Great, very great, must be the State where such young farmers and mechanics are the practical average. I went around for half an hour and talked with several of them, sometimes squatting down with the groups.

LEFT-HAND WRITING BY SOLDIERS.

April 30, 1866.—Here is a single significant fact, from which one may judge of the character of the American soldiers in this just concluded war: A gentleman in New York City, a while since, took it into his head to collect specimens of writing from soldiers who had lost their right hands in battle, and afterwards learned to use the left. He gave public notice of his desire, and offered prizes for the best of these specimens. Pretty soon they began to come in, and by the time specified for awarding the prizes three hundred samples of such left-hand writing by maimed soldiers had arrived.

I have just been looking over some of this writing. A great

many of the specimens are written in a beautiful manner. All are good. The writing in nearly all cases slants backward instead of forward. One piece of writing, from a soldier who had lost both arms, was made by holding the pen in his mouth.

CENTRAL VIRGINIA IN '64.

Culpeper, where I am stopping, looks like a place of two or three thousand inhabitants. Must be one of the pleasantest towns in Virginia. Even now, dilapidated fences, all broken down, windows out, it has the remains of much beauty. I am standing on an eminence overlooking the town, though within its limits. To the west the long Blue Mountain range is very plain, looks quite near, though from 30 to 50 miles distant, with some gray splashes of snow yet visible. The show is varied and fascinating. I see a great eagle up there in the air sailing with poised wings, quite low. Squads of red-legged soldiers are drilling ; I suppose some of the new men of the Brooklyn 14th ; they march off presently with muskets on their shoulders. In another place, just below me, are some soldiers squaring off logs to build a shanty—chopping away, and the noise of the axes sounding good. I hear the bellowing, unmusical screech of the mule. I mark the thin blue smoke rising from camp fires. Just below me is a collection of hospital tents, with a yellow flag elevated on a stick, and moving languidly in the breeze. Two discharged men (I know them both) are just leaving. One is so weak he can hardly walk ; the other is stronger, and carries his comrade's musket. They move slowly along the muddy road toward the depot. The scenery is full of breadth, and spread on the most generous scale (everywhere in Virginia this thought filled me). The sights, the scenes, the groups, have been varied and picturesque here beyond description, and remain so.

I heard the men return in force the other night—heard the shouting, and got up and went out to hear what was the matter. That night scene of so many hundred tramping steadily by, through the mud (some big flaring torches of pine knots), I shall never forget. I like to go to the paymaster's tent, and watch the men getting paid off. Some have furloughs, and start at once for home, sometimes amid great chaffing and blarneying. There is every day the sound of the wood-chopping axe, and the plentiful sight of negroes, crows, and mud. I note large droves and pens of cattle. The teamsters have camps of their own, and I go often

among them. The officers occasionally invite me to dinner or supper at headquarters. The fare is plain, but you get something good to drink, and plenty of it. Gen. Meade is absent; Sedgwick is in command.

PAYING THE 1ST U. S. C. T.

One of my war time reminiscences comprises the quiet side scene of a visit I made to the First Regiment U. S. colored troops, at their encampment, and on the occasion of their first paying off, July 11, 1863. Though there is now no difference of opinion worth mentioning, there was a powerful opposition to enlisting blacks during the earlier years of the secession war. Even then, however, they had their champions. "That the colored race," said a good authority, "is capable of military training and efficiency, is demonstrated by the testimony of numberless witnesses, and by the eagerness displayed in the raising, organizing, and drilling of African troops. Few white regiments make a better appearance on parade than the First and Second Louisiana Native Guards. The same remark is true of other colored regiments. At Milliken's Bend, at Vicksburg, at Port Hudson, on Morris Island, and wherever tested, they have exhibited determined bravery, and compelled the plaudits alike of the thoughtful and thoughtless soldiery. During the siege of Port Hudson the question was often asked those who beheld their resolute charges, how the 'niggers' behaved under fire, and without exception the answer was complimentary to them. 'O, tip-top!' 'first-rate!' 'bully!' were the usual replies." But I did not start out to argue the case—only to give my reminiscence literally, as jotted on the spot at the time.

I write this on Mason's (otherwise Analostan) island, under the fine shade trees of an old white stucco house, with big rooms; the white stucco house, originally a fine country seat (tradition says the famous Virginia Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law, was born here). I reached the spot from my Washington quarters by ambulance up Pennsylvania avenue, through Georgetown, across the Aqueduct bridge, and around through a cut and winding road, with rocks and many bad gullies not lacking. After reaching the Island, we get presently in the midst of the camp of the 1st Regiment U. S. C. T. The tents look clean and good; indeed, altogether, in locality especially, the pleasantest camp I have yet seen. The spot is umbrageous, high and dry, with distant sounds of the city, and the puffing steamers of the Potomac,

up to Georgetown and back again. Birds are singing in the trees, the warmth is endurable here in this moist shade, with the fragrance and freshness. A hundred rods across is Georgetown. The river between is swelled and muddy from the late rains up country. So quiet here, yet full of vitality, all around in the far distance glimpses, as I sweep my eye, of hills, verdure-clad, and with plenteous trees; right where I sit, locust, sassafras, spice, and many other trees, a few with huge parasitic vines; just at hand the banks sloping to the river, wild with beautiful, free vegetation, superb weeds, better, in their natural growth and forms, than the best garden. Lots of luxuriant grape vines and trumpet flowers; the river flowing far down in the distance.

Now the paying is to begin. The Major (paymaster) with his clerk seat themselves at a table—the rolls are before them—the money box is opened—there are packages of five, ten, twenty-five cent pieces. Here comes the first Company (B), some 82 men, all blacks. Certes, we cannot find fault with the appearance of this crowd—negroes though they be. They are manly enough, bright enough, look as if they had the soldier-stuff in them, look hardy, patient, many of them real handsome young fellows. The paying, I say, has begun. The men are marched up in close proximity. The clerk calls off name after name, and each walks up, receives his money, and passes along out of the way. It is a real study, both to see them come close, and to see them pass away, stand counting their cash—(nearly all of this company get ten dollars and three cents each). The clerk calls George Washington. That distinguished personage steps from the ranks, in the shape of a very black man, good sized and shaped, and aged about 30, with a military moustache; he takes his "ten three," and goes off evidently well pleased. (There are about a dozen Washingtons in the company. Let us hope they will do honor to the name.) At the table, how quickly the Major handles the bills, counts without trouble, everything going on smoothly and quickly. The regiment numbers to-day about 1,000 men (including 20 officers, the only whites.)

Now another company. These get $5.36 each. The men look well. They, too, have great names; besides the Washingtons aforesaid, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Calhoun, James Madison, Alfred Tennyson, John Brown, Benj. G. Tucker, Horace Greeley, etc. The men step off aside, count their money

with a pleased, half-puzzled look. Occasionally, but not often, there are some thoroughly African physiognomies, very black in color, large, protruding lips, low forehead, etc. But I have to say that I do not see one utterly revolting face.

Then another company, each man of this getting $10.03 also. The pay proceeds very rapidly (the calculation, roll-signing, etc., having been arranged before hand). Then some trouble. One company, by the rigid rules of official computation, gets only 23 cents each man. The company (K) is indignant, and after two or three are paid, the refusal to take the paltry sum is universal, and the company marches off to quarters unpaid.

Another company (I) gets only 70 cents. The sullen, lowering, disappointed look is general. Half refuse it in this case. Company G, in full dress, with brass scales on shoulders, looked, perhaps, as well as any of the companies—the men had an unusually alert look.

These, then, are the black troops,—or the beginning of them. Well, no one can see them, even under these circumstances—their military career in its novitiate—without feeling well pleased with them.

As we entered the island, we saw scores at a little distance, bathing, washing their clothes, etc. The officers, as far as looks go, have a fine appearance, have good faces, and the air military. Altogether it is a significant show, and brings up some "abolition" thoughts. The scene, the porch of an old Virginia slave-owner's house, the Potomac rippling near, the Capitol just down three or four miles there, seen through the pleasant blue haze of this July day.

After a couple of hours I get tired, and go off for a ramble. I write these concluding lines on a rock, under the shade of a tree on the banks of the island. It is solitary here, the birds singing, the sluggish muddy-yellow waters pouring down from the late rains of the upper Potomac, the green heights on the south side of the river before me. The single cannon from a neighboring fort has just been fired, to signal high noon. I have walked all around Analostan, enjoying its luxuriant wildness, and stopped in this solitary spot. A water snake wriggles down the bank, disturbed, into the water. The bank near by is fringed with a dense growth of shrubbery, vines, etc.

WALT WHITMAN.

WHY AM I A NEW CHURCHMAN?

To the question, Why am I a New Churchman? my first and most general answer is, Because I believe in a system of religious doctrine which is to me the clear sign of a distinctly new phase of Christian faith and life—a system so broad and comprehensive, and so far in advance of the old creeds and standards, that it can be truthfully designated by no other name than that of New Church.

This doctrinal system I find in the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, who bases it on the Sacred Scriptures. I make no concealment of my indebtedness to this man, or of my conviction that, under Divine Providence, he was the instrument appointed to revolutionize the religious thought of the age. But I pay him no personal homage. I do not accept his teachings on account of any claim of personal authority which may be made in his behalf. Nor does he demand any such allegiance. On the contrary, he lays it down as a fundamental principle that truth can be received by man only in the free exercise of his rational faculties, or, what is the same thing, because it is seen to be intrinsically worthy of belief. As far as is possible to a writer, he keeps himself out of view. It is a fact not generally known, that for more than twenty years after he began to write on religious subjects, his name did not appear on the title pages of his works.

The reason for my acceptance of Swedenborg's teachings, is that they shed a flood of new light on all vital questions of religion and theology; they furnish an intelligible and rational solution of every vexed problem; they make known the essential laws of spiritual life, and thus remove the ambiguities and inconsistencies which had gathered around Christian faith and worship. To state, as concisely as possible, the grounds on which this conclusion rests, will be the object of this paper.

All that is essential in religious faith is attained by man when

he has, in the first place, a true idea of God, and, secondly, a correct understanding of the duties which he owes Him. This is a self-evident proposition. Unless these two conditions are fulfilled, there can be no mutual or reciprocal relationship between the human race and its Creator, no binding of the soul to a higher power, such as the word "religion," by its etymology, implies. Moreover, as man has no innate or intuitive knowledge of God or of the relation which he rightly bears Him, and as God alone can give this knowledge, Divine revelation is necessary as a means of imparting it. This point need not here be argued. It is sufficient to say that Christianity without the Bible would be not only impossible, but well nigh inconceivable.

If the foregoing premises are admitted, it follows that the Church, as the repository of Divine truth among men, successfully discharges its functions, just in the degree in which it is the medium of correct instruction on these vital matters. Conversely, in proportion as it is a false teacher in this regard, it fails to accomplish its mission, and all power for usefulness departs from it. Derelict is it in still greater measure if it ceases to be a guide to pure and holy living. No extraordinary discernment is, indeed, needful in order to see that an evil life and false doctrines are the natural, if not the inevitable, concomitants of each other.

Judged by this twofold standard, the Christian Church, at the time when Swedenborg lived and wrote was, as he affirms, in the last throes of its dissolution. The truth, which it first received from the lips of Saviour and Apostles, was utterly perverted, and the moral and spiritual influence which it exerted had become altogether evil. Its decline had begun with the decrees of the Nicene Council, early in the fourth century, and had thenceforth continued, slowly but surely, for more than fourteen hundred years. The Reformation had, indeed, entered its protest against the ecclesiastical abuses and pretensions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, but it did not dispel the mists by which the essential doctrines of Christianity had been obscured; it did not bring men permanently nearer to their Lord and God. By the mouth of Luther, it emphasized faith or belief as the means of salvation; but the faith itself, already corrupted, remained practically unchanged, and the necessity of a good life according to the commandments was, to all intents and purposes, forgotten.

Swedenborg was born in 1688, and died in 1772. The son of a Lutheran Bishop of Sweden, a student at several universities, and an extensive traveler throughout all the principal countries of Europe, he had exceptional opportunities for testing the essential quality of contemporaneous Christianity. His writings contain abundant evidences of the manner in which he regarded it. But we are not dependent on his writings for a correct knowledge of its condition. History and literature alike bear witness to the prevailing corruption which came to its head in the early part of the eighteenth century. Extant and not yet discarded creeds tell the true story of the dominant belief. The idea of God was that of three Divine persons, each of them infinite, eternal, and omnipotent, who, in some mysterious manner, constitute one Deity. The first of these persons, or the Father, was supposed to be so incensed against the human race on account of Adam's disobedience, that they rested under His eternal condemnation. Divine justice required that they should live after death in a state of everlasting torment. By the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, or the second person in the Trinity, that justice was said to be satisfied, and the punishment removed from all who have faith in Him and His atoning sacrifice. Thus it was claimed that by faith alone they were justified, and that the heathen everywhere, and all who from any cause were not converted to the true belief, remained the hapless victims of the awful penalty. Paul's declarations respecting the works of the law, in contradistinction to faith, were considered as teaching that a humble and sincere life according to the ten commandments would avail nothing towards a man's salvation, unless he distinctly believed himself a participant in the redemption effected by the blood of Christ.

Connected with this conception of God, and inseparable from it, were the most baldly literal interpretations of Scripture. It was universally believed that the whole work of creation was accomplished in six days, of twenty-four hours each, by the arbitrary decree of the Almighty. No professing Christian doubted that in the days of Noah there was a flood which submerged the whole earth, and destroyed every living thing upon it except the little handful saved in the ark. From out the sacred pages the inference was also drawn that man's corruptible body of flesh is at some future day to be raised from the dead and resume its functions. The sounding of trumpets, the visible reappearance of the

Saviour, a final judgment, by which the faithful are plentifully rewarded, and the unbelievers committed to eternal flames, were eagerly awaited as the only possible fulfillment of prophecy.

This dogmatic literalness of interpretation Swedenborg condemns as a sign of the gross materialism and externalism of the age. In the prevailing doctrines with regard to God, the vicarious atonement, and justification by faith alone, he discovers proof that there was no longer any living or helpful relationship between the Church and the one true object of its worship. Let all who have any doubts in the matter candidly examine the state of things which he criticises, let them analyze the creeds which he opposes, let them read the works of Luther and Calvin, or the current theological literature of a hundred years ago; and not a few will be filled with wonder at the former things which have passed away, and will ask whether there is not a very intelligible sense in which they too are New Churchmen.

Over against the existing falsities and corruptions,—the Protestant solifidianism, the Roman Catholic assumption of spiritual dominion, and the general moral turpitude,—Swedenborg places no disjointed series of negations, but a complete new system of Christian doctrine. Of its more important features I shall presently attempt a synopsis. But before doing so, it seems necessary to touch briefly on the way in which it came to him, and on the nature of the claim which is made for it. Although, as I have said, it courts the favor of no one except on the ground of its own intrinsic reasonableness and its harmony with Scripture, it is nevertheless so intimately connected with the life and experience of its reputed author, that the one cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the other.

Until he was more than fifty years of age, Swedenborg had written nothing on religious subjects, and apparently given them no special attention. He was principally known, in his own country, as Assessor Extraordinary of the Board of Mines, and an influential member of the Swedish Diet; and not only there, but throughout Europe, as a writer on many branches of science and philosophy. In this field he acquired great distinction; and the number and variety of topics which he treated was remarkable. Geometry and algebra, metallurgy and magnetism, anatomy, physiology, and the relation of the soul to the body were among the subjects which received his attention. There is to be

noticed in the general order of his publications a certain gradual, but steady, progression from lower to higher themes,—from a contemplation of the mere external phenomena of nature to a study of their deep and hidden causes. He was always full of devout spiritual aspirations. In all his scientific researches he steadfastly looked through nature up to nature's God. Says one of his not too favorable contemporaries:* "He applied his whole strength in attempting to fathom the inmost recesses of things, and to connect together the various links into one universal chain, and show their derivation in a certain order from their first origin."

Maintaining this inflexible belief in God and revelation, and in the essential unity of truth, Swedenborg, in his upward course, at last reached the boundary line between matter and spirit. Then it was that he entered on those remarkable experiences by which, as he affirms, the secrets of the other world were revealed to him. He declares that the eyes of his spirit were opened, and that he had, from that time forward, conscious daily intercourse with spirits and angels. His general teaching on this subject is that the spiritual world is an inner sphere of being,—not material, and in no wise discernible to natural senses, yet none the less real and substantial,—and that it is the ever-present medium of life to man and nature. This point he illustrates by the distinction and relation between the human soul and body. These are as distinct from each other as it is possible for any two things to be; and yet, during the continuance of man's life on earth, nothing could be more evident than their mutual dependence. The soul is the man himself: the body is but the material covering which brings him into contact with the outer or natural world. By no possibility can the soul be seen by natural eyes; yet the body lives by virtue of its presence, and dies when it is withdrawn. The reason is, that the body is natural, but the soul or spirit is spiritual; the latter belongs to another and separate plane of existence. Still, it is, in itself, a completely organized form of life, having its own spiritual body within the natural one, and its own spiritual home and associations. The eyes of that body may be opened at any time, though this is not the normal or ordinary experience of men on earth. The effect of such opening is that man looks directly into the spiritual world, and has conscious

* Samuel Sandels. See Worcester's Life of Swedenborg, p. 407.

intercourse with its inhabitants. In this way the visions of patriarchs and prophets, as recorded in the Scriptures, are to be explained. They were but temporary foregleams of the state which death makes known as a permanent reality.

To the clear perception of that inner realm Swedenborg claims to have been repeatedly admitted; and his works abound in descriptions of things there seen and heard by him. In these accounts he exhibits none of the spirit commonly ascribed to the visionary and enthusiast, nor does he present them as matters of prime importance in themselves; but with marvelous calmness and sobriety, he brings them forward as evidences of great spiritual laws, which they illustrate, and to which the attention of the reader is mainly directed. So unusual a mode of illustration is this, that in the minds of many persons it has been permitted to obscure, and almost to obliterate, the thing illustrated; but it is nevertheless an unquestionable fact that Swedenborg's narrations of his own personal experience occupy but an inconsiderable portion of his writings, and are manifestly subordinated to the grand doctrines respecting God's nature and Providence, Divine revelation, and the essential conditions of human happiness, which it is his chief object to inculcate as the basis of a new Christian faith.

Those doctrines, he declares, came to him out of the Holy Scriptures. "Not from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while I read the Word,"* is his very language. To help others likewise read the Word intelligently and truly, is his great aim and effort. Simultaneously with the opening of his spiritual sight, he was led to perceive, as he believes, that there is in the Scriptures a wondrous wealth of meaning previously unknown,—an internal or spiritual sense within the sense of the letter, and constituting the very soul and essence of Divine revelation. To unfold these hidden treasures of truth he regards as the chief part of his mission. As he devoutly pondered the contents of the sacred volume, they seemed to shine with a new light, and he saw clearly that, although, in outward form, they were peculiarly adapted to the times and circumstances which produced them, they had within them the living and eternal spirit of wisdom. They were composed of parables not hitherto interpreted, "dark sayings of old," which in the coming ages would be radiant with heavenly brightness. Complete possession of the key was made possi-

* True Christian Religion, No. 779.

ble to him by his intimate acquaintance with the spiritual world; for, according to his philosophy, the relation of that world to the natural is similar to that which the spirit of revealed truth bears to its letter. As every object of nature is a visible embodiment of spiritual life, so is every thought expressed in the literal sense of Scripture the outward form and analogue of some deeper and far-reaching principle. This relation between things internal and external is called correspondence. By virtue of it, whatever is outwardly seen becomes the fixed symbol and representative of something which is not seen. The phenomenal world by which man is surrounded images to his bodily sense the world of thought and affection within him. In a word, nature is the responsive and harmonious environment of mind. The Scriptures are written by means of correspondences. Their higher significance is brought forth when the symbols are interpreted.

To the exposition of this internal sense of the Bible, Swedenborg, in his theological works, devotes by far the largest number of pages. It goes without saying that those to whom the explanations seem true, must find in them not only a deep spiritual satisfaction, but a new and powerful support of faith. If heavenly lessons can be drawn from passages which appear to teach only the facts of natural science and earthly history, the strongest arguments are provided against those who would discredit Divine revelation, or detract from its authority. When, for example, it is seen that in the first chapter of Genesis no exact description of the creation of the world was intended to be given, but that the narrative, interiorly regarded, sets forth the successive processes by which man, in all ages, is *re*-created, or prepared for heaven, there is no longer any ground for affirming that the record is untrustworthy, or that God's Word is contradicted by His works. So, likewise, when the story of Adam's fall is divested of its literal improbabilities, and understood to be an allegorical account of the manner in which evil gradually gained a footing in the human heart, one favorite weapon of infidelity has lost its power. Or again, when the history of the Israelites, though resting on a basis of actual fact, is shown to portray, with the utmost minuteness of detail, the spiritual experiences of universal humanity, it rises above the limitations of time and space, and excites a proportionately broader and more vital interest.

No other claim is preferred on behalf of this interpretation of

Scripture than that it is true and reasonable in itself, and, therefore, worthy of acceptance. Closely connected with it are the doctrines comprised under the name New Church. These are presented by Swedenborg as plain deductions from Scripture,—truths which must be manifest to all who read their Bibles with open and unprejudiced minds,—truths, moreover, which Christianity, in its languishing state, needs for its own resuscitation. In what remains of this paper I shall attempt a concise statement of those doctrines, so far as relates to the two points already specified as the very essentials of religion, namely, God, and man's relationship to Him.

First, respecting God. The foundation principle in our conception of Him should be His absolute and changeless unity. Not three persons, in some miraculous manner constituting one Deity, but a being, who is one in essence and in person, should be the primary idea in our minds; and every other thought which we have concerning Him should be dominated by it.

He is Jehovah, the I am, the infinite and uncreated source of life. All other beings are but finite forms, receptive of life from Him. Not only did He create them in the beginning, but by the unceasing communication of His own life and substance He holds them in existence. Thus preservation is perpetual creation; and the universe both was, and is, created, not from nothing, but from God Himself.

He is the sum of all perfections. Love and wisdom are His very essence. Creation itself is but the exercise of infinite love acting according to unerring wisdom. This is the same as saying that the reason why men live is that the Lord loves them, or, in other words, desires objects on which His love may be bestowed, and by which it may be reciprocated. His love, of necessity, finds expression in absolute goodness, His wisdom in absolute truth. Hence He is incapable of anger, hatred, and jealousy, or of any so-called justice save that which is the outflowing of love. If the Scriptures seem to teach otherwise, we must remember that in their outward form, or the sense of the letter, they must needs be accommodated to the states of natural-minded men, and, therefore, to a certain extent, must speak according to the external appearance, rather than the internal reality.

From the recognition of God's love and wisdom, as being His essential nature, we arrive at a true conception of His Providence.

This can be naught else than the Divine oversight, or government which infinite love inspires, and infinite wisdom plans and directs. The ruling purpose which it has in view is the everlasting happiness of men, or,—what is the same thing,—the building up of a heaven of angels from them. But genuine happiness can be realized only in the exercise of freedom. Man was, therefore, created a free agent. He is not a merely passive recipient of life from God, but is endowed with the power of using that life as if it were, in every sense, his own. This freedom renders possible a reciprocal relationship between him and his Heavenly Father,—the relationship of mutual love and eternal conjunction. But it also involves possibilities of an opposite character. Liberty to do good necessarily implies the power to do evil. The constant aim of the Divine Providence is to lead us to choose good, rather than evil, because only thus can heavenly happiness be attained. God, who is goodness itself, can give birth to nothing evil. All pain and suffering are the direct, or indirect, result of man's transgressions. But though they are not caused or sent by God, they are yet wondrously overruled by Him, and made, as far as possible, the instruments of improvement and correction.

God cannot be known or apprehended by finite men, except so far as He is revealed in a manner adapted to their finite condition. In order that His divine perfections may be duly presented to their sight or thought, they must be embodied in some outward form, by which their glory is veiled, at the same time that it is manifested. Such revelations have been made from time to time, and are found recorded in the Scriptures. But the greatest among them was accomplished in the birth of Jesus Christ. That event, according to the New Church theology, was simply God's way of coming into nearer and more definite relations to His human family. No second person in the Deity made His appearance, but Jehovah Himself, clothed with the form and nature of men, became their Redeemer. Those who beheld Him saw one who was externally "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief," but internally "the mighty God, the everlasting Father."

Thus the Lord Jesus Christ was, in very truth, Emmanuel—God with us. In Him the Divine and human natures co-existed, but not at first in perfect harmony; for the external humanity, being derived from Mary, partook of her infirmities. Hence it had tendencies to evil and was subject to temptations. But,

though tempted in all things like as we are, Jesus was without sin. This was the Divine opportunity; for by overcoming evil in its assaults against Himself, He overcame it for men likewise, and redeemed them from the thraldom by which they were bound. His whole life on earth, rightly viewed, was a succession of conflicts with infernal spirits, in which He gained the victory.

This victorious warfare not only brought to mankind the help which it needed, but produced its permanent effect on His own human nature. That nature did not die in the sepulchre, but rose again, transformed, and glorified. Every tendency to evil, every vestige of self-hood, every trace of opposition to the perfect will of God, was gradually eliminated from it, and it was so permeated and transfigured by the indwelling spirit of the Father, that it became, itself, Divine. It was no longer the seat of two wills contending with each other; but one Divine will, one Divine consciousness, animated and controlled it. Humanity thus glorified in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ is the perfect embodiment and medium of infinite Divinity. He has, as He declares, all power in heaven and on earth. Seeing him, we see the Father. He is the one Divinely human, all-comprehensive object of our worship.

There is in Him a Trinity, but not a Trinity of persons. As every man consists of soul and body, from which proceeds his vital sphere or energy, so is it with the Lord. The essential Divine nature, which no one hath seen at any time, is within Him like a soul, and the Divine Humanity is as the body which makes it manifest, while there goes forth, through that body, from that soul, an infinite sphere of life, which vivifies and sustains creation. These three are the same as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. They are all comprehended and revealed in our Lord Jesus Christ. He not only was, but is, and evermore will be, Emmanuel, God with us.

I embrace this idea of God, because it seems to me both reasonable and scriptural. It satisfies alike my mind and heart. It is the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy and the brief summary of New Testament teaching. It removes the doubt and mystery which have always enveloped the tri-personal theory, and have made the Christian conception of the Deity practically tritheistic. It presents for my adoration one personal God, infinite and indivisible, and yet it does not take away my Saviour, or relegate Him to a secondary or subordinate position. No

offended majesty, no fierce anger, no stern justice demands the dread alternative of universal human suffering, or the blood of a blameless victim; but instead of this awful picture I see the perfect Love which is the fountain and the cause of being, giving itself utterly to men, coming to them visibly, borrowing their fallen nature to the end that it might be redeemed, and glorifying it with its own glory. In the Divine Humanity of Jesus Christ I behold that complete union of God with man which must ever be the connecting link between the Creator and the creation. I maintain that this doctrine, in its entirety, is new in the Church, that, nevertheless, it is the consummate flowering of the simple faith of the early Christians, which their successors perverted, and that when it is seen to be the central teaching of Divine revelation from Genesis to the Apocalypse, it opens the way for a second coming of the Lord to all who are willing to receive Him,—not a visible coming in the flesh, but a genuine spiritual presence in their hearts. It is the foremost vital truth of a new dispensation of Christianity, because it brings men into a new and living relationship with their God and Saviour.

The nature of that relationship is, of necessity, the simplest possible. No longer complicated by the idea of a plurality of Divine persons, and of faith in one of them as the means of propitiating another, it is all summed up in the words duty and obedience. The one Lord God, Father, Saviour, and Regenerator, stands before us saying, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." We prove our trust in Him whom we worship, by doing as He teaches. All other professions of allegiance are a mere pretense and mockery. The desire and effort to lead a good life are the essence of all faith. So far as they have place in any human heart, whether of Christian or Pagan, they lead on to salvation and happiness. The ten commandments are mostly in the form of prohibitions. They point out evils which must be shunned, not good acts which must be done. And here our duty to the Lord obviously begins. We must shun all evils as sins against Him,—not because they are considered disreputable and entail unpleasant consequences, but because they are sinful in His sight, and He forbids them. Acting on this principle, we shall endeavor not only to avoid the outward appearance of evil, but to put away the very desire and thought of it from our hearts. Nor need we assume to ourselves merit in so doing, or claim a

reward of virtue. All that is good in us, and all our ability to contend with evil are of, and from, the Lord. They form part of the life which He, who is Life, unceasingly communicates. As well might the moon claim credit for her reflected light, as we for ours. Nor ought we to think of heaven as a reward arbitrarily bestowed at the end of earthly existence. It is, in its essence, a state of mind and heart. "Behold," says our Lord, "the kingdom of God is within you." That kingdom is the government of Divine truth and goodness in our souls. Its happiness consists in the delight which flows from conformity to the laws of Divine order, or, what is the same thing, from the active exercise of love to God and man. So far as any one is in that delight, he is in heaven. Though this world may be his visible place of habitation, he is interiorly in the company of angels, and after the death of the body lives openly and consciously among them. Those, on the other hand, whose ruling love is love of self or the world, are in the exactly opposite condition. Their happiness consists, not in doing good to others and making them happy, but in selfish and sensual indulgences. To live in heaven would be no joy to them, but rather torment. Heaven is not in their hearts; they spurn and reject it in their lives. Their state is described by the word hell. It is the state from which all are mercifully delivered, who, according to their knowledge and ability, give heed to the Divine admonitions. It is the state in which all eternally remain who refuse to submit themselves to the Divine guidance.

These, then, are the fundamental principles of the new Christianity, which I, albeit feebly and unworthily, espouse: *First*, one God,—Father, Son and Holy Spirit,—Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier,—made known in all His fullness, as the Lord Jesus Christ; *secondly*, accountability to Him, as a living personal presence, in whose eyes all evil is sin, and who is the source of all goodness; and, *thirdly*, the Sacred Scriptures, laid open as to their interior spiritual contents, and shown to be a book of infinite wisdom, the eternal expression of God's truth to men. Many important, yet minor, doctrines are involved in these; but these are the three essentials to which all the others are tributary.

It remains simply to be said, that when I speak of the New Church, I do not refer to any mere organization of professed believers who call themselves by that name. To such an organiza-

tion I belong, and it supplies for me a want which cannot be met elsewhere. But the term New Church, in the broader sense in which Swedenborg teaches us to use it, is a new phase of religious thought and life, receiving its impulse from on high, and making itself felt throughout the world. Few intelligent men of to-day are too blind to see that the wondrous changes amid which we live are having their marked effect on Christianity itself. The old dogmas of a hundred years ago are, as it were, melting away in the warmth of a new and milder atmosphere. The sons discard, sometimes quite unconsciously, the cherished opinions of their fathers. Not only the beliefs, but the asperities, of former generations are disappearing. And still the change goes on. In the middle of the last century these things were all foretold by the calm Swedish philosopher, who subscribed himself "Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ," as he expounded the deeper meaning of Scripture, and recorded his marvelous visions, in the devout belief that he was commissioned to proclaim the truths of a new dispensation. Certain it is that the trend of modern Christian thought, so far as it has deviated from the old standards, and still maintains its Christian character, has been in the direction which he indicated. A strange observer of the times must that man be, who imagines that the end of this new movement has yet been reached. Rather should we say that it has hardly begun. Fortunately, the ordering of events is not in our hands. The holy city, New Jerusalem, type of the church that is to be, is not built up by men upon the earth, but comes down from God out of heaven. It comes not with observation, but it surely comes; and everywhere around us are the signs of its coming.

JAMES REED.

CHASE AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

THE article, by Colonel Donn Piatt, in the December NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW brought out quite a number of reminiscences and letters of especial interest as matters of history. No man occupied a more prominent position, or wielded a wider influence during the troubled times that preceded and followed the late civil war. As a financier, Chief Justice Chase, then at the head of the treasury, won for himself imperishable renown during the armed conflict. This is well known, but the fact that he was the author of the constitutional provisions and much of the legislation that followed, is not so well known. This is made prominent in the letter we are permitted to give the public.

It will be observed in a study of this important document, that the amendments suggested by the Chief Justice, and subsequently adopted in the main, are without the harsh features afterwards incorporated that led to such bitterness, that the political war over reconstruction was as bitter as the armed war of secession.

Chief Justice Chase always held the intellect of the governing element of the South in high respect, even when fighting it as an abolitionist. Its courage won also his admiration when it took the field to fight for its independence. He believed in the generosity of the conqueror, and sought to have our defeated brothers brought back to their home as gently as possible.

This confidential letter, written in the greatest frankness by one friend to another, also throws light on what heretofore has been considered a mystery, and that is how it came that President Lincoln called Mr. Chase to the high position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. It is well known that the political and personal relations of these eminent men were far from friendly. The Secretary of the Treasury had been openly in the field as candidate for the Presidency against his chief, and candidate of

the Democratic party. The popular belief is that President Lincoln did this to put out of the way a formidable rival. A study of dates sets aside this supposition, so injurious to the memory of the President.

The author of the article on Salmon P. Chase, observing the reference to Justice Field being the first to suggest the appointment of Chief Justice, sought the eminent jurist and leading member of an illustrious family, and asked him "What it meant."

"I will tell you with the greatest pleasure," responded the Justice. "In the last year of Chief Justice Taney's life he was taken very ill, and we all believed his end to be near. Of course, no reference was made by me or any other member of the Supreme Bench to the succession until we learned that the late David Davis, of Illinois, who had great influence with Mr. Lincoln, had organized a party in behalf of the late Justice Swain. Now, while we had the greatest respect for Swain, we knew that he was not the man for a position that events had made, and were making, of such vital importance to the nation. I consulted my associate, Justice Miller, and we both selected Chase as the man of all men fitted for the place. Miller, indeed we both had our doubts as to Mr. Chase's acceptance, and I volunteered to ascertain.

"That day while walking along Pennsylvania avenue toward Willard's Hotel I met Mr. Chase, and, after the ordinary salutation, I asked him how he would like to be Chief Justice. He seemed startled and then, turning round, walked with me. He seemed to have a difficulty in getting hold of the proposition. At last he said, 'have you consulted Sumner?' I replied 'no, but I will immediately.'

"Sumner at that time lived on the corner of H and Vermont avenue. I found him at his desk, almost buried in papers, writing vigorously. I at once told my business, and, without a word of discussion, he rose saying, 'I will see the President,' and left the house.

"Chief Justice Taney recovered from his severe sickness, and the subject, of course, was dropped. As the end of our term closed, I called to pay my respects. I found him exceedingly feeble, so much so that when I gave him my photograph, which he had requested, I noticed that his sight had failed him, and I was pained

by the thought that I was looking upon his memorable form for the last time. I knew that before I could return from California another Chief Justice would be numbered with the dead. I went from his house to the Executive Mansion to say good-bye to the President. I found him pressed with affairs, but on my saying 'Mr. President, I am going to California, but before I return for the next term of court you will have to appoint a new Chief Justice,' he looked at me with an inquiring expression peculiar to him, and asked me if I could not remain a day longer. I responded, certainly. The next day he told me that, in case of a vacancy, he had made up his mind to appoint Chase, and asked me if I thought Chase would accept. I then told him what had occurred. 'That is all,' said the President, and then added 'I wonder how Katie will like it?'"

In this way the eminent man was called to his true vocation. That question with which the story ends has its significance. It was well known that one of the most potent factors in the formation of the Chase party was in the winning grace and subtle tact of his accomplished daughter. Now, while President Lincoln was more amused than offended at this, his wife became furious, and kept up a war of a social sort that was far more disagreeable than effective.

Here, however, is the letter:

II.

WASHINGTON, *April* 30, 1866.

MY DEAR JUDGE: It grieved me much to hear from your brother, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, that you have been quite ill. I supposed that you were now in or very near California. You must take the best care of yourself, not only for the sake of your family but of your country, which now needs true patriotism as well as legal learning upon the bench. I feel all the interest of a warm personal friendship in your welfare. It is not in my nature to forget friends even when serious differences of judgment and political affinities come in to make separation; and no such differences come between us. Do you remember when, just before the end of the term in the spring of 1864, you met me on the avenue, and expressed your warm wish that I might fill the place I now occupy? If you have forgotten it, I have not, nor shall I ever

forget it. It took me by surprise, but was very grateful to my feelings.

What do you think of the plan of reconstruction, or rather of completing reconstruction, presented by the Committee of Fifteen? To me it seems all very well, provided it can be carried; but I am afraid it is, as people say, rather too big a contract. So far as I have had opportunity of conversing with Senators and Representatives, I have recommended to confine constitutional amendments to two points: (1.) No payment of rebel debt and no payment for slaves; (2.) No representation beyond the constitutional basis. And, as so many are trying their heads at form, I drew up these two amendments according to my ideas, as follows:

ARTICLE 14.—*Section* 1. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers; but wherever in any State the elective franchise shall be denied to any of its inhabitants, being male citizens of the United States, and above the age of twenty-one years, for any cause except insurrection or rebellion against the United States, the basis of representation in such State shall be reduced, in the proportion which the number of male citizens so excluded shall bear to the whole number of male citizens over twenty-one years of age.

Section 2. No payment shall ever be made by the United States for or on account of any debt contracted or incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States; or for or on account of the emancipation of slaves.

And I proposed further that the submission of this article to the States should be accompanied by a concurrent resolution to this effect:

"That whenever any of the States which are declared to be in insurrection and rebellion by the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated July 1st, 1862, shall have ratified the foregoing article, Senators and Representatives from such ratifying State or States, ought to be admitted to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, in the like manner as for States never declared to be in insurrection; and that, whenever the said article shall have been ratified by three-quarters of the several States, Senators and Representatives ought in like manner to be admitted from all the States."

It has really seemed to me that on this basis the completion of reorganization by the admission of members in both Houses of Congress would be safe; and I have greatly doubted the expediency of going beyond this. In two other important respects the report of the committee does go beyond this: (1) Prohibiting the States from interfering with the rights of citizens; (2) Disfranchising all persons voluntarily engaged in rebellion until 1870, and (3) In granting express legislative power to Congress to enforce all the new constitutional provisions. Will not these

propositions be received with some alarm by those who, though opponents of secession or nullification, yet regard the real rights of the States as essential to proper working of our complex system? I do not myself think that any of the proposed amendments will be likely to have injurious effects, unless it be the sweep of the disfranchisement; but I repeat, that I fear the recommendation of too much; and, I add, that it seems to me that nothing is gained sufficiently important and sustainable by legislation to warrant our friends in overloading the ship with amendment freight.

But this letter is too long. Pardon and answer. Have you read the opinion and the dissent in the Bank case?

Yours cordially,

S. P. CHASE.

I inclose an opinion in an Admiralty case, which I think right. The question is of importance, especially in California and on the Pacific Coast.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE SURPLUS?

THIRTY millions a month goes into the Treasury by the force of existing laws. Not more than twenty millions a month can be paid out, without violation of existing laws, except for the redemption of bonds. At that rate the last of the bonds that can be called until 1891 will be paid off next July. Then what can be done with the surplus of $10,000,000 per month? Without stealing, it cannot be got out of the Treasury, unless the laws be changed. Without ruin, it cannot be kept in the Treasury.

Not many governments have ever been in trouble because they were too rich. Twenty years ago, when the net debt was more than twice what it is now, there were few who imagined that, within the life-time of any then active in affairs, the United States government would be embarrassed by riches. Two years after the war had ceased, the Treasury sold six per cent. bonds at a premium of only a quarter's interest; now it cannot buy a four per cent. bond without paying a premium equal to seven years' interest. Now, prostration of industry impends, through absorption of the currency into a plethoric treasury. In 1887, if there comes no change of the laws, the life-blood of trade must be drained into the Treasury at the rate of $120,000,000 yearly.

Micawber was not, perhaps, a model financier, but he knew that a surplus could not be made less by putting out a new promise to pay instead of an old. It is, therefore, a curious mistake when Secretary Manning proposes "payment of $346,681,016 outstanding promissory notes of the United States with the present and accruing treasury surplus, issuing silver certificates in their room, without contraction of the present circulating volume of the currency." If the certificate is a title deed to the silver in the Treasury, the greenback is equally a title deed to the gold. It is possible to cancel greenbacks with the surplus revenue, but that is contraction of the currency. It is also possible to offer silver

certificates in exchange for greenbacks, but that is not using or diminishing the surplus. The sum of notes to be paid after the exchange would be no less than before, and the sum of cash accumulated for their payment just the same. How it would help the public credit or the country to put out promises to pay seventy-five cent dollars instead of promises to pay one hundred cent dollars, need not here be asked. Nor will Congress vote to lend the money to bondholders, as Senator Beck proposes. It will rightly say that the bondholders need it less than anybody else, and can borrow now on governments more than the Treasury ought to lend.

There are two ways, and but two, of dealing with the surplus. Income can be reduced, or expenditures can be increased. Apoplexy can be cured by sending less blood to the base of the brain. It can be cured by drawing off the excess. But it cannot be cured by calling the crowding and mounting blood by a different name. It must be confessed that the great statesmen of the day do not shine with especial effulgence in their treatment of this problem. One class would cut down or cut off taxes on articles of voluntary use, on luxuries and on sugar; another would cut down or cut off duties on articles which compete with important products of home industry; but neither stops to ask whether the remission of taxes would do as much good as a wise use of the money raised. The veteran Morrill would like to untax the sugar bowl and the pipe. Is he quite sure that more education would be less useful than more pipes? Mr. Randall, with "a tariff only for revenue" as his slogan, would encourage whiskey drinking rather than industrial schools. Mr. Morrison urges that a surplus revenue makes it necessary to invite larger importations and raise a larger revenue, by reducing protective duties.

The talk of cutting down protective duties, as a remedy for the threatened surplus, is worse than child's play. Not a man of those who urge this remedy would dare to vote for a bill to so change these duties that they should yield even $50,000,000 less to the Treasury than they do now. The revenue duties on sugars, fruits, tobacco, liquors, jewelry, furs, kid gloves, fancy articles, embroideries and laces, velvets, silk cloths, and hosiery, yielded last year $91,400,000, and all other duties, mainly, but not wholly, protective in character, yielded $98,000,000. A proportionate reduction of ten or twenty per cent. in duties of the latter class

would increase the revenue, which would be folly. A still larger reduction would increase it more. But in time the enlarging hole in the dam brings ruin. Presently the rising flood of foreign goods would prostrate home industries, and take from the people the ability to consume foreign products. That point would come before half the present duties had been removed, and then, in national ruin and bankruptcy, a material decrease of revenue would come, and not otherwise. Political leaders know this. The proof is that not one of them dares to propose a reduction averaging as much as a third of the protective duties now levied. Even Mr. Morrison does not, though, surpassing the tailless fox, he tries to make it the fashion to get amputated at the other end. He would hardly venture to vote for his own feeble bill of last year, knowing what he now knows, if he were not beaten already.

A statesman should ask, first, whether the revenue ought to be reduced at all. This country has been nearly talked to death by tax-reducers and money-savers. For twenty years it has been taught that a traitor is a much better man than one who votes to spend a public dollar that could possibly be saved. In private life, a more despicable creature than the miser is not known to Americans. But in public life, a man who is too stingy to succor sorrow or relieve want, even when a soldier's widow lifts wan hands to the government he tried to save, a man too mean to care whether his nation is disgraced, a man too stupid to see that education is the best crop that can be grown on free soil, a man too cowardly to invest a dollar lest it should be lost, is called a great statesman and a "watch-dog of the Treasury." Like master, like man; the voters in some districts seem incapable of comprehending why the contemptible creature who hid his talent in a napkin was cast into outer darkness. There are many uses that can be made of public money, better than to give it back to smokers and drinkers, to German importers or British manufacturers. The duty of government, as of the servant who had the one talent, is to make the best use of what it has. To hand it over to foreigners as an inducement to break down American industry, to give it to importing agents as a reward for cheating government by undervaluations, to encourage more smoking and drinking in a country which smokes and drinks more than enough already, is possibly not the very worst use that could be made of the money, but it is not far from it.

What would the surplus be worth to the people, if left in their hands? Part of it would not be left to them; it is paid by foreign manufacturers and importers for the privilege of selling here. Another part the people would transmute into smoke by increased consumption of tobacco, or into headaches, diseases, and crimes, by a larger consumption of liquors. But if every dollar of the surplus could be left to the people, what would it be worth? Railroad capital averages about four per cent. The still larger capital invested in farms does not return four per cent. to owners. The increase in all wealth, from 1870 to 1880, was about 3½ per cent. yearly. The man who keeps money at 3½ per cent., when he can place it more safely at a higher rate, is not as sane as most Americans. What shall be said of the sanity, then, of those who insist that the people would be better off to keep their money at 3½ per cent., than to have it invested by the Government in the industrial education of the young? Is there a member of Congress who does not know that money so invested would return a far greater profit than that to the people, whose faithful agent he has sworn to be?

No one doubts that the common school system, inadequate, ill-directed, and one-sided as it often is, and tending far too much to beget a distaste and unfitness for the labor of productive industry, nevertheless returns to the people in value of labor many times its cost. It is the common school system that has lighted the fires of thought and ambition in millions of minds. Consider the patents issued, 93,000 in five years, and their incalculable value to American industry; consider how they make American labor more effective than that of any other country; consider how single patents have been worth more than a year's schooling for the whole nation. This is but one of many harvests from that sowing. The country now pays for the schools about $100,000,000 yearly, and the average cost, $15.50 yearly per scholar, is returned many fold in the increased value of American youths as workers. Must not the return be far greater if, with the years of "book learning," every scholar were taught the rudiments of useful trades and employments? Would practical training for industry cost too much? Perhaps it would double the cost of the school system, but that would only use up the surplus about which statesmen are anxious.

How many misdirected lives there are; how many aimless

wanderers, who have lost their way. How many have been thrust into work for which they are unfit, doomed to a life-long barren endeavor to make a shovel do the work of a mason's trowel. No one can compute the waste of power and loss of opportunity which come from mistaken choice of work, by boys who have no chance to find out what they can do best, or by parents who know only the trades by which they live, or by prejudices, circumstances, or accidents. Industrial training would pay back all its cost by giving each boy a chance to find out what faculties he has, and for what work he is best qualified. A larger consideration is that the schools now send too many boys into trading, teaching, the professions, or "living by their wits." Industrial training would win a larger share to productive labor, show how to put brains into it, and make it more honorable.

Only a minimum estimate of the value of such training is possible. Many a workman remembers how he had to pick up his own knowledge of his craft, scantily paid or not paid at all, taught by nobody, set to do the rudest work because there was no time to fit him for any better, and kept at the rudest work and the lowest pay until by violence, so to speak, he broke through the wall of opportunity and mastered the methods of better work. He can best judge what it would have been worth to him, had he been taught at school, with patience, example, and stimulating rivalry, more than a year of ill-paid labor gave him scanty opportunity to pick up for himself. But others know what a green boy is worth at the bench, in the workshop, or on the farm. What would he be worth if he had learned at school to use the tools and to comprehend the processes of his occupation? The boy who begins to learn a carpenter's trade, for instance, may hope to add each year about 50 cents to his daily wages; after about five years' work, he may come to be worth a man's full pay. Industrial training would at least make him worth as much in the first year as he now is in the second, and so would add for each of five years more than $100 to the value of his labor. At that rate, each year's crop of 1,200,000 boys and girls would more than repay the year's surplus, if it were entirely expended in industrial education, by their first year's gain, and would leave a similar gain for each of four succeeding years as clear profit on the investment.

"But that reckoning includes the girls." Why not? France

supports an industrious and thrifty people, so far content that it sends fewer immigrants than any other great nation to these or other shores, on about fifteen cents per day for food.

The cost to people of this country is fully thirty cents per day. Our people are blest with more liberal supplies, but at lower cost. Certainly a third of the difference, or five cents per day for every inhabitant, is due to household waste and ignorance in cooking. When American girls are taught to cook as carefully and as intelligently as they are taught to spell and cipher, they can save the workingmen of the next generation, whose wives they are to be, and true helpmeets they ought to be, at least five cents a day for every person. For 60,000,000 people, that is $1,095,000,000 yearly. The industrial education of one sex alone in sewing and household arts and economies would return yearly, in profits to the people, the cost of ten years' training for both sexes, more than the entire surplus, which threatens, if unemployed, to bleed industry to death. Why does not the hard-worked mother teach her daughter? Ask her. "What time or what means have I here to teach anything? How can I teach them what I do not know myself? Mother was the slave of the factory, as I am the slave of the kitchen. It may be true that half the food we buy, if cooked as it ought to be, would do more good; but who is to teach me what to buy or how to cook? I would bless God if He would give my girl the chance I never had." Education there is, but it begins at the wrong end. Less of the nation's welfare depends upon good spelling than upon good cooking. An empty stomach is rarely near heaven, and good wages have a more civilizing influence than good grammar.

Every dollar of the surplus should be invested in providing industrial training, free to all children, in addition to the public school system. Whether the expenditure should be controlled by the General Government, or by State or local boards, need not here be discussed. If the working people of this nation come to understand what this opportunity means for them and their children, they will find a way to embrace it, and make it hot for any party which pretends to find constitutional or practical barriers in the way. What are the Knights of Labor doing? This measure would be worth more to industry than all the labor organizations that ever flitted, ghost-like, through the dreams of an agitator or walking delegate. What are capitalists doing? This measure

would enhance the value of American labor, and would kill free trade agitation at the same time. Socialism, is it? The common school system is only a blinder and less profitable socialism. The water-works and public parks, the libraries and humane institutions, are works of pure socialism, and he who does not know it does not comprehend the meaning of words. Has this nation a genuine belief in Him who said, "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and follow thou me?" Can the Christian of the nineteenth century give to the poor in any way more wisely than by educating and training them, so that, by honest industry, they may become less poor? Can the Christian of the nineteenth century vote to put certain millions into importers' pockets, or into the pipe, the coffee cup or the beer or whiskey glass, and not into the uplifting of the children of American fishermen and carpenters?

W. M. GROSVENOR.

LABOR IN PENNSYLVANIA.

IV.

ECONOMICALLY, Pennsylvania is a most interesting State, and would well repay a comprehensive examination of the conditions of labor in its varied industries. For this, however, I cannot now spare time. In three preceding papers, I have given some idea of the conditions of labor in the largest of the industries for which Pennsylvania is noted—that of coal mining. From this the conditions of labor generally may be inferred, and the futility of that policy of "protection to labor" for which Pennsylvania has been so clamorous may be readily seen. The condition of the coal miners in the much protected State of Pennsylvania is bad enough. Yet, bad as it is, it is evident that it would be worse, but for the miners' associations, backed by strikes or the fear of strikes. Whomsoever the tariff may protect, it does not protect the coal miners.

As for iron mining, another petted industry of Pennsylvania, the protection of which, directly and indirectly, imposes the most enormous burden upon the industries of the whole country, wages are in that even below those of coal mining, for the reason that there is less combination among the miners. In Lehigh, in Northampton, and in Berks, according to the reports made by employers to the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, iron miners are working for 70 cents a day, and engineers for 80 and 90 cents. In other counties the rate rises to 75 cents, 80 cents, 90 cents, and $1.00 per day for miners, and correspondingly for engineers. But these wages, it must always be remembered, do not secure steady work. Of the returns I have noted, the highest number of days worked in the year is 265—a case in which 70 cents per day was paid miners. In another case, in which miners' wages are placed at 70 cents, the number of days worked is 190. Carnegie Brothers & Co., who have been "protected" into enormous fortunes

by the tariff, and who are really generous men, pay their miners $1.10 to $1.15 per day. But should "Triumphant Democracy" point to this with pride, it should add that, in the year for which these returns are given, the Carnegie miners had only 119 days work. The highest wages paid in iron mining appear to be in the Cornwall mine, in Lebanon County, where miners get $1.40 per day. These exceptional high wages seem to be attributable to the liberality of the managing owner.

This Cornwall iron mine is worth a passing notice. It is in Lebanon County, a few miles from the city of that name, and is the richest deposit of iron ore yet known in the world, with the possible exception of one in Mexico. It is not a mine in the common understanding of the word, but rather a quarry. Three great hills of very nearly pure magnetic iron rise from the plain, and all that has to be done is to dig it out and carry it away. Since 1740, and up to the 1st of January of this year, it is estimated that something like 7,500,000 tons have been taken out; but thirty or forty million tons are estimated to yet remain above water-level, and below that borings have shown the deposit to reach to a depth of at least 300 feet.

This great store of the richest iron ore is believed by most of the people of those parts—for old ideas yet prevail about Lebanon—to have been made by God. But in some way that they do not readily explain, it seems to be held that the right to dispose of it for all future time inhered, about 1680, in one James Stuart, since dead, who was awhile King of England, and then retired into France. This James Stuart, from whom, although he is now nearly two centuries dead, all rights to the use of this part of the world are still supposed to come, made a grant of a considerable part of the planet he was so soon to leave to John, Thomas, and William Penn, their heirs or assigns, forever. Of this piece of the planet the Penns assigned some ten thousand acres of the surface, with all that lay below the surface, to one Joseph Turner, by whom it was in turn assigned, in 1732, to a William Alden. In 1737 this Alden, in consideration of £135 (probably depreciated currency), to him in hand paid, assigned the right to the exclusive and perpetual use and enjoyment of three hundred acres, containing the iron hills, to one Peter Grubb.

Between 1786 and 1789 one Robert Coleman bought various interests from the heirs of Grubb, until he had secured five-sixths,

leaving to one of the Grubbs a one-sixth interest. These interests have descended through the Grubb and Coleman families until, at the present time, there are four Colemans, two male and two female, who own fifteen ninety-sixths each, and a Coleman or two and several Grubbs who own the rest in smaller interests. The value of the deposit may be inferred from the fact that the reservation made by one of the original Grubbs, in his sale to the first Coleman, of the perpetual right to enough ore to keep one furnace going, and which now attaches to the Robesonia furnace, sold, some years since, for $700,000, being bought in by the Colemans. The ore is now taken out under one management, by the use of air-drills and dynamite, and the proceeds are divided between the various interests. One of the two male Colemans lives in Paris, where he prefers to enjoy the enormous income which comes to him, without work on his part, by virtue of the grant of James II. The other, Robert H. Coleman, a young man of enterprise and liberality, lives at Lebanon, and is the manager of the estate. In all but the title, he is an American nobleman of the best English type. His interest in the iron deposit, rich as it is, is only a part of his estate. He has some 20,000 acres of the finest Pennsylvania limestone land, kept in the best cultivation, under competent superintendents, and stocked with the very finest of choice cattle; a railroad or two which connect with the Pennsylvania and Reading systems, a splendid mansion, and nobody knows what else besides. On the day of his majority, besides the real and other personal property, his guardian turned over to him $1,200,000. In the neighborhood of Lebanon, the Colemans are believed to be the richest family in the country, the Vanderbilts and Astors not excepted. Young Robert builds churches in Lebanon and Cornwall, makes good turnpikes of the slack out of his furnaces; plants them with shade trees; has given largely to the college in which he was educated; is kindly and liberal to his tenants and employés; entertains societies when they visit Lebanon, and seems to be, in short, the kind of a young prince that would delight the heart of a Tennyson—a genial, upright, and free-handed lord of land and master of men, who takes the world as he finds it, but doubtless often wonders in his heart at the superstitious reverence for James II., which renders this wonderful iron quarry, and so much of the fair land about it, as fully the private property of the Colemans and Grubbs as though *they* made it.

But all this aside, what, in the face of such a deposit of ore as this, becomes of the contention that a heavy duty on iron and iron ore is necessary to prevent the suppression of the Pennsylvania iron industry by the competition of the pauper-made iron of Europe? The Cornwall deposit was worked for years and years before we had any duty upon iron and iron ore. It could not, of course, be worked if the Colemans and Grubbs chose to shut it up, as the eccentric proprietor of an iron mine near Edinburgh chose to do with his mine some years since, answering all remonstrance as to the destruction of a considerable industry, and the starving out of a considerable population, with the laconic observation that the ore in the ground might stay there, since it would "no eat anything." But with the permission of the Colemans and Grubbs, this rich iron deposit could be worked, not only if there were no duty on iron, but if the "pauper" iron ore producers of Europe would work for nothing and pay their own board. It came out in legal proceedings, taken in about 1859, to determine whether the right reserved to as much ore as would feed one furnace, applied only to such a furnace as was in use in the last century, or to a modern furnace, that the cost of mining ore in Cornwall was only 16 cents per ton, which, to say nothing of the superior quality of the ore, is much less than the transportation of European pauper ore would cost. It is not probable that a single additional ton of iron ore has been mined at Cornwall because of our tariff. If the tariff has had any effect it has simply been to increase the profits of the Cornwall owners, and not in the slightest degree to add to the wages which they must pay their men. If, as a matter of fact, they do pay more than current wages, it is because of their own liberality. Mr. G. W. Childs also pays more than current wages, but his business is unprotected by the tariff.

So, too, it is with the duty on coal. This duty is a grievous burden upon the industries of California, the Gulf States, and some parts of New England, and gives protection to the monopolies which largely neutralize the natural advantages of Philadelphia as a manufacturing city by compelling her people to pay a considerably higher price for coal than the same coal is sold for shipment at the Philadelphia wharves. But its benefits, such as there are, certainly do not go either to the miners or to their immediate employers, the coal operators. If any one at all is benefited, it is the owners of coal land and the monopolists of

transportation. The competition which would force the wages of miners down to a point that would give them only a bare subsistence is only held in check by miners' combinations and strikes—bitter struggles of endurance, not always entirely bloodless, which entail almost as much loss and suffering as actual warfare, and which, under the pressure of necessity, are fought with such tenacity that I find in the recent number of the *Coal Trade Journal* a statement, made as a cool matter of business information, that at the conclusion of a recent strike, near Reynoldsville, the miners were in such a reduced condition, physically, for want of proper food, that they could not perform a day's work for some time. No matter what the profits of coal mining may be, it is evident that, under what we call the free competition of labor and capital, they cannot, for any length of time, go either to miners or to operators, but must at length be taken up in the royalties paid for the privilege of mining coal and in the increased values of coal lands. The royalty now paid in the anthracite district ranges from 40 to 60 cents per ton, and will probably average 50 cents, and where mines are worked by the owners, as is the case with the mines owned by the great railroad companies, the royalty, whatever it may be, goes, of course, to the credit of the capital invested in the purchase of the mines; so that the effect of the duty, whatever it may be, is not to benefit the miner or the operator, who is his immediate employer, but merely to increase the charge which the owner of coal land can make for the use of the natural agent of production—the coal imbedded in the soil by the slow processes of nature, ages and ages before men came upon the earth, and which would exist with all its usefulness unimpaired whether the owner could get any royalty or not, or whether there was any individual owner or not.

These principles, clear enough in regard to the mining industries of Pennsylvania, apply to all her other industries. The plausible pretension that the somewhat higher rate of wages in this country than in Europe necessitates the building of a tariff wall around our coasts, and along the imaginary line which separates us from Canada and Mexico, is utterly negatived by the difference of wages which exists in Pennsylvania. The Cambria Iron Company at Johnstown—great sticklers, by the bye, in Washington lobbies and before Congressional Committees for the "protection of American labor"—having crushed out the Labor Associations,

pay wages some 20 per cent. less than are paid in Pittsburgh. There is quite as great a difference between the wages paid in glassmaking in the Eastern and in the Western part of the State. Cigarmakers in Reading get two or three dollars less per thousand than cigarmakers in Philadelphia and New York, and so it is with other industries. If a difference in wages necessitates the putting up of a tariff, then, instead of being in common with the rest of the country shut in by one tariff line along our National boundary, Pennsylvania ought to be intersected by tariff lines, in all directions, with their attending collectors, searchers, and seizers.

There is, of course, in Pennsylvania what may be called a general level of wages, just as there is a general level of water in the ocean, even when its billows heave in storm—a line, theoretical it may be, toward which both depression and elevation tend to return; but this fact of itself proves the futility of the tariff in raising wages. Even in Pennsylvania the largest single industry is the agricultural, and the industries for which any pretense of protection by the tariff can be made, amount to only a small part of the total industries, since manifestly not only the agricultural industry, but all such industries as building, railroading, etc., cannot be protected by any tariff. The level of wages in any particular occupation, can, therefore, no matter how high the tariff, only be raised above the general level by conditions, natural or artificial, which in them check the competition for employment. And the same law must apply to the profits of capital, so that it is impossible for any amount of protection either to permanently increase wages, or to augment the profits of the manufacturer or operator, except as the element of monopoly enters in and fences off from home competition those whom the tariff may fence off from foreign competition. As a matter of fact, where no monopoly exists, wages and profits in the protected industries of Pennsylvania are not higher, but, I am inclined to think, rather lower than in the unprotected industries.

Protection has been for years a superstition in Pennsylvania, taught to the rising generation as an article of faith, and propagated by all the organs of public opinion and education. I think, however, its real and permanent strength lies in the fact, perceived by the working classes, that the competition of men whose only hope of gaining a livelihood is in getting the wages of some employer, does tend to cut down their earnings; and in the habit

of thought that arises from this state of things, of regarding work as something that must be furnished or provided for the laborer, instead of something which has its natural origin in human wants. At the present time, at least, I think the working men of Pennsylvania realize pretty generally that the tariff which excludes the productions of foreign pauper labor gives free egress to the foreign pauper labor itself, and that they are anything but satisfied with their share of "protection." But, as railroads that may make half a dozen twentyfold millionaires, at the expense of the general public, will command the vote of the needy laborer whose only hope is to get the poor pay of a few days hard work, so, in spite of all its manifest absurdities and iniquities, does the idea of tariff protection commend itself to the masses of workingmen, because to them it seems to have at least the merit of "keeping work in the country"—or "preventing foreigners from doing our work."

For my part, I do not think it makes more than a temporary difference to the workingmen of Pennsylvania, or any other State, whether there is a protective tariff, a revenue tariff, or no tariff at all. A tariff only operates upon the movement of goods, not upon the movement of labor, and its effect is similar to that of a range of mountains, a sandy desert, or a pirate infested sea, in making more difficult the transportation of commodities. And with or without any of these things to affect the transportation of goods from other countries, the conditions of labor in Pennsylvania are such as must beget a tendency of wages towards the minimum which gives the mere laborer only a bare existence—a tendency which can only here and there be held somewhat in check by custom, labor combinations, boycotts, and strikes. The existence of the tramp, the pauper, the needy workman vainly seeking the opportunity to sell the only thing he has to sell, his power of labor, is proof of the existence and force of this tendency, against which the strongest labor combinations struggle like swimmers against a current. But the belief in protection, by drawing the attention of men away from the real cause of this tendency, and hounding them upon a false scent, diverts them from the only road by which the rights of labor can be secured.

If Pennsylvania could be cut off from all the rest of mankind by an impassable ditch or an unscalable wall—an isolation which the philosophy of Pennsylvania protectionists might lead them

devoutly to wish—the natural growth of population and the progress of material development must constantly tend to force the wages of the mere laborer towards the point of bare existence. For though labor is the appointed means by which all our material needs must be satisfied—the active factor in the production of all wealth—labor is of itself absolutely helpless. To make labor of any use it must have something to impress itself upon—must, in short, be able to avail itself of land. In any community, therefore, in which the land is the private property of some of the people, the other people, who have nothing but the ordinary power to labor, provided they get food, clothing, and shelter, become helpless, and must compete with each other for permission from the first class to live and to work. The influence of competition with each other among these mere laborers must tend to force them to give up to the owners of land all that their labor can produce upon it, save just enough to keep them in life.

The whole philosophy of the labor question may be seen as clearly upon a Pennsylvania coal estate as amid the primitive industrial conditions which obtain in Connemara or Skye. From zenith to nadir, that part of the globe embraced in one of these coal estates is the exclusive property of one man, or corporation. Other men can only live there on his sufferance, and can only go to work at his pleasure and on terms agreed to with him. Having an absolute power over the natural means of livelihood, he has thus a power over the laborers, which is only modified by their power of moving away and of making combinations among themselves by which he can be compelled to treat with them in the aggregate, and can be put to loss or inconvenience by their refusal to work.

In the complex industries of the great city which lies at the other extreme of the industrial scale, where much labor is devoted to exchanging, to the rendering of services, and to the working up of materials that have been taken from their original natural reservoirs, the relation between land and labor is not so obvious, especially as there are many other monopolies of various kinds that share with the monopoly of land the earnings which the helplessness of labor compels it to yield up. But the same relation still obtains. No matter where he exists, man is a land animal, who can only live on and from land, and all of whose production is but the changing in place or form of what he finds

already in existence on the superficies of the globe. The mere laborer, unless he has such special skill or ability as make a peculiar demand for his services, is as helpless in the one place as the other, and every avenue of employment is crowded with applicants who, disinherited of their natural right to employ themselves, must compete with each other for the wages of an employer.

The treatment of land as the private property of individuals —the attaching to the element from which all must live of the same exclusive rights of ownership which justly attach to the things which man produces—is so opposed to reason, so repugnant to all moral perceptions, that it has only come to be accepted through a long course of fraud and usurpation, in which habit has dulled the sense of natural right. Secure possession by the individual user, is, of course, necessary to the use of land, since it is requisite to secure the right of property in improvements. The manifest way to combine the individual right to improvements and products with the common right to the land itself, is that the holder of valuable land—*i. e.*, land which is worth a premium—should pay a fair rent to the community in return for the special privilege granted him. This, in a rude way, was accomplished by the feudal system, and the road by which private property in land was instituted among English-speaking people was, by the shaking off their rents on the part of the feudal tenants, and the resort to general taxation for the public revenues, originally obtained from land. Conversely, the best and easiest way to secure the equal rights of all in the land of their country, is to abolish all other taxation, and by a tax on land values to take for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth of the community, and to make it unprofitable for any one to hold land he is not putting to use.

It is instructive to observe how, in Pennsylvania as in England, the interests of the wealthy classes who have been most influential in directing public opinion and making laws, have led to the taxing of everything rather than land values. The State of Pennsylvania not only attempts to tax mortgages, money at interest and notes, but also capital loaned or invested in any other State. Great tracts of mineral land are taxed at such nominal rates that they can be easily withheld from use, while the miner, taxed indirectly in all other ways, must also pay a tax upon his occupation, which

is rated according to the county at from $150 to $300, the millionaire coal owner being rated on his occupation at from $200 to $350.

How monopoly begets monopoly, and special privilege leads to general corruption, might nowhere be better illustrated than in ring-ridden Pennsylvania, with its railroad octopus, its coal combination, its Standard Oil Company, and its pig-iron "statesmen." And Pennsylvania may well feel hopeless of cutting away the monopolistic creepers which have enmeshed the Keystone State. "Take a pass!" said a Pennsylvanian to me, as I manifested some mild surprise at the statement that, although railroad passes are prohibited by the Constitution, Governor Pattison was the only man in the State who would not take a pass—"Take a pass! What is the use of fighting a corporation that rules the State. I would take a whole freight train, if they would give it to me." But though it may be useless to hack away at the branches, the tree of monopoly will fall if the ax be laid at its root. And private property in land, it will be found on examination, is the root of lesser monopolies.

HENRY GEORGE.

BURNSIDE WITH LINCOLN.

The next step in the collation of the War Records reveals material which throws new light on controverted points. I submit the correspondence between General Burnside and President Lincoln after the battle of Fredericksburgh, in which the General offered his resignation, and also recommended the removal of Secretary Stanton and General Halleck. The heated controversy which arose over this action will be remembered by every one conversant with the history of the Army of the Potomac. It did not, however, bring to light the important correspondence now presented, nor even establish its existence.

A brief recapitulation of the former discussion is necessary to a proper understanding of the new dispatches, and, at the same time, it will greatly increase their interest. Soon after the failure of General Burnside's attack on Fredericksburgh he visited Washington, and had a long conference with President Lincoln in regard to a second crossing of the Rappahannock, which he had planned and desired to execute. On the return of General Burnside to his army, he said, to several corps commanders, that, while in Washington, he had verbally tendered his resignation to President Lincoln, and had also recommended the removal of Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, on the ground that they had lost the confidence of the army, and the country ; that he had subsequently reduced these recommendations to writing and read them to the President, in the presence of the Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief. This action of General Burnside first came before the public in definite shape after the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War on the failure at Fredericksburgh. This report thus arraigned General W. B. Franklin :

"The testimony of all the witnesses before your committee proves most conclusively that had the attack been made upon the left with all the force that General Franklin could have used for that purpose, the plan of General Burnside would have been completely successful, and our army would have achieved a most brilliant victory."

General Franklin, who in the meantime had been relieved from command, published, under date of York, Pa., April 25, 1863, a most conclusive answer to this charge, and incidentally repeated the statement of General Burnside, made upon his return from the conference with Mr. Lincoln, to which reference has been made above. On this point General Franklin wrote:

"—— and it is equally true, though not so publicly known, that * * * General Burnside made quite as formal and earnest a request to the President to remove the Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief from the positions severally occupied by them, as he did to dismiss certain of his officers in the Army of the Potomac."

This declaration led to a long correspondence between General Halleck and General Franklin. It was initiated by General Halleck, asking General Franklin on what authority he made the above statement. General Franklin, in 1866, added this correspondence to a second edition of his pamphlet. From this publication it appeared that, in the course of a long letter, he had thus presented the case to General Halleck:

"The facts are these: General Burnside was in Washington on or about January 1st last. He returned to camp, and soon after his return informed me, I think in the presence of General Smith, and perhaps others, that he had seen the President, and had verbally recommended to him the acceptance of his resignation, and the removal of the Secretary of War and yourself. The President, however, refused to entertain the suggestion, and the next interview that General Burnside had with him was in the presence of the Secretary of War and yourself. Between the first and second interviews he had reduced to writing the proposition which he had made in the first interview, and read to the President a letter to him, in which he tendered his own resignation, and proposed the vacation of the Secretary of War's and your positions, for the reason that all three of you had lost the confidence of the people. This is the substance of the story as I heard it from him just after his return to camp."

To this General Halleck replied at length, and upon the first point presented above he wrote:

"Immediately on receiving your pamphlet I addressed a note to General Burnside, calling his attention to what you had stated in regard to his having *formally* and *earnestly* requested my removal, and, as he has not denied its correctness, I presume he admits it.

"There is one singular statement in your letter, in regard to the embodying of

General Burnside's recommendation for our removal in his letter of resignation, and reading it to the President in the presence of the Secretary and myself. There is not a word of truth in this, so far as I am concerned. The only letter of resignation of General Burnside which I ever saw or heard of made no allusion to either of us."

At a later date General Halleck repeated the above statement, and added :

"What General Burnside may have said to the President or Secretary of War about me, in my absence, I, of course, do not know ; but I have assurances that he never suggested my removal to either."

Later still, in 1866, when General Franklin notified General Halleck of his intention to publish the correspondence between them, the latter wrote :

"Both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton assured me at the time that General Burnside never made to them, or in their presence, the statement alluded to in your pamphlet, but that, on the contrary, he had always expressed full confidence in, and warm regard for, both the Secretary and myself."

Such are the points of the former correspondence that are necessary to the full understanding of that to follow.

The compilation of the War Records has disclosed what, according to General Burnside, did take place at his conference with President Lincoln. These new letters also show that General Halleck asked to be relieved from his position as General-in-Chief, and set forth, in an interesting form, General Burnside's decided purpose to cross the Rappahannock for a second attack, and the unanimous opposition of his corps commanders to the movement.

I.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *January* 1, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK :

MY DEAR SIR : General Burnside wishes to cross the Rappahannock with his army, but his grand division commanders all oppose the movement. If, in such a difficulty as this, you do not help, you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper ; in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do approve or that you do not approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you will not do this.

Yours, very truly, A. LINCOLN.

January 1, 1863.

Withdrawn, because considered harsh by General Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

II.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *January* 1, 1863.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

SIR: From my recent interview with the President and yourself, and from the President's letter of this morning, which you delivered to me at your reception, I am led to believe that there is a very important difference of opinion in regard to my relations toward generals commanding armies in the field, and that I cannot perform the duties of my present office satisfactorily at the same time to the President and to myself. I therefore respectfully request that I may be relieved from further duties as General-in-Chief.*

Very respectfully your obedient servant, H. W. HALLECK.

III.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 1, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Since leaving you this morning I have determined that it is my duty to place on paper the remarks which I made to you, in order that you may use them or not, as you see proper.

I am in command, as you know, of nearly 200,000 men, 120,000 of whom are in the immediate presence of the enemy, and I cannot conscientiously retain the command without making an unreserved statement of my views.

The Secretary of War has not the confidence of the officers and soldiers, and I feel sure that he has not the confidence of the country. In regard to the latter statement, you are probably better informed than I am. The same opinion applies with equal force in regard to General Halleck. It seems to be the universal opinion that the movements of the army have not been planned with a view to co-operation and mutual assistance.

I have attempted a movement upon the enemy in which I have been repulsed, and I am convinced, after mature deliberation, that the army ought to make another movement in the same direction, not necessarily at the same points on the river; but I am not sustained in this by a single grand division commander in my command. My reasons for having issued the order for making this second movement I have already given you in full, and I can see no reason for changing my views. Doubtless this difference of opinion between my general officers and myself results from a lack of confidence in me. In this case it is highly necessary that this army should be commanded by some other officer, to whom I will most cheerfully give way.

Will you allow me, Mr. President, to say that it is of the utmost importance that you be surrounded and supported by men who have the confidence of the people and of the army, and who will at all times give you definite and honest opinions in relation to their separate departments, and at the same time give you positive and unswerving support in your public policy, taking at all times their full share of the responsibility for that policy? In no positions held by gentlemen near you are these conditions more requisite than those of the Secretary of War and General-in-Chief and the commanders of your armies. In the struggle now going on, in which the very existence of our Government is at stake, the in-

* NOTE.—As duplicates are found among General Halleck's papers, and no copy is found in the War Department's files, it is presumed that this application was withdrawn upon withdrawal of the President's letter.

terests of no one man are worth the value of a grain of sand, and no one should be allowed to stand in the way of accomplishing the greatest amount of public good.

It is my belief that I ought to retire to private life. I hope you will not understand this to savor of anything like dictation. My only desire is to promote the public good. No man is an accurate judge of the confidence in which he is held by the public, and the people around him, and the confidence in my management may be entirely destroyed, in which case it would be a great wrong for me to retain this command for a single day ; and, as I before said, I will most cheerfully give place to any other officer. *

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General Commanding Army of Potomac.

IV.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
January 5, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

Since my return to the army I have become more than ever convinced that the general officers of this command are almost unanimously opposed to another crossing of the river, but I am still of the opinion that the crossing should be attempted, and I have accordingly issued orders to the engineers and artillery to prepare for it. There is much hazard in it, as there always is in the majority of military movements, and I cannot begin the movement without giving you notice of it, particularly as I know so little of the effect that it may have upon other movements of distant armies.

The influence of your telegram the other day is still upon me, and has impressed me with the idea that there are many parts of the problem which influence you that are not known to me.

In order to relieve you from all embarrassment in my case, I inclose with this my resignation of my commission as Major-General of Volunteers, which you can have accepted, if my movement is not in accordance with the views of yourself and your military advisers.

I have taken the liberty to write to you personally upon this subject, because it was necessary, as I learn from General Halleck, for you to approve of my general plan, written at Warrenton, before I should commence the movement, and I think it quite as necessary that you should know of the important movement I am about to make, particularly as it will have to be made in opposition to the views of nearly all my general officers, and after the receipt of a dispatch from you, informing me of the opinion of some of them who had visited you.

[In conversation with you on New Year's morning, I was led to express some opinions which I afterward felt it my duty to place on paper, and to express them verbally to the gentlemen of whom we were speaking, which I did in your presence after handing you the letter. You were not disposed then, as I saw, to retain the letter, and I took it back, but I now return it to you for record, if you wish it.]†

I beg leave to say that my resignation is not sent in any spirit of insubordi-

* NOTE.—This letter is from General Burnside's copy; it does not appear among Mr. Lincoln's papers.

† NOTE.—The paragraph in brackets is in General Burnside's copy of this letter, but is not in that received by the President. Mr. Lincoln noted upon his copy that the letter had been answered by his indorsement upon General Halleck's letter of January 7.

nation ; but, as I before said, simply to relieve you from any embarrassment in changing commanders, where lack of confidence may have rendered it necessary.

The bearer of this will bring me any answer, or I should be glad to hear from you by telegraph in cipher.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General Commanding Army of the Potomac.

V.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
January 5, 1863.

MAJ.-GEN. H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief, Washington, D. C.:

GENERAL : I have decided to move the army across the river again, and have accordingly given the directions to the engineers and artillery to make the necessary preparations to effect the crossing.

Since I last saw you it has become more apparent that the movement must be made almost entirely upon my own responsibility, so far as this army is concerned, and I do not ask you to assume any responsibility in reference to the mode or place of crossing; but it seems to me that, in making so hazardous a movement, I should receive some general directions from you as to the advisability of crossing at some point, as you are necessarily well informed of the effect at this time upon other parts of the army of a success or a repulse. You will readily see that the responsibility of crossing without the knowledge of this effect, and against the opinion of nearly all the general officers, involves a greater responsibility than any officer, situated as I am, ought to incur.

In view of the President's telegram to me the other day, and with its influence still upon me, I have written to him on this subject, and inclosed to him my resignation, directed to the Adjutant-General, to be accepted in case it is not deemed advisable for me to cross the river.

I send this resignation because I have no other plan of campaign for this winter, and I am not disposed to go into winter quarters.

It may be well to add that recent information goes to show that the enemy's force has not been diminished in our front to any great extent.

The bearer of this will bring me any answer, or I shall be glad to hear from you in cipher.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,
Major-General Commanding Army of the Potomac.

VI.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *January* 7, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Commanding, etc., Falmouth :

GENERAL : Your communication of the 5th was delivered to me by your aide-de-camp at 12 M. to-day.

In all my communications and interviews with you since you took command of the Army of the Potomac, I have advised a forward movement across the Rappahannock. At our interview at Warrenton, I urged that you should cross by the fords above Fredericksburgh, rather than to fall down to that place, and, when I left you at Warrenton, it was understood that at least a considerable part of your army would cross by the fords, and I so represented to the President. It was this modification of the plan proposed by you, that I telegraphed you had received his

approval. When the attempt at Fredericksburgh was abandoned, I advised you to renew the attempt at some other point, either in whole or in part, to turn the enemy's works, or to threaten their wings or communications; in other words, to keep the enemy occupied till a favorable opportunity offered to strike a decisive blow. I particularly advised you to use your cavalry and light artillery upon his communications, and attempt to cut off his supplies and engage him at an advantage.

In all our interviews I have urged that our first object was, not Richmond, but the defeat or scattering of Lee's army, which threatened Washington and the line of the Upper Potomac. I now recur to these things simply to remind you of the general views which I have expressed, and which I still hold.

The circumstances of the case, however, have somewhat changed since the early part of November. The chances of an extended line of operations are now, on account of the advanced season, much less than then. But the chances are still in our favor to meet and defeat the enemy on the Rappahannock, if we can effect a crossing in a position where we can meet the enemy on favorable, or even equal, terms. I therefore still advise a movement against him. The character of that movement, however, must depend upon circumstances, which may change any day and almost any hour. If the enemy should concentrate his forces at the place you have selected for a crossing, make it a feint and try another place. Again, the circumstances at the time may be such as to render an attempt to cross the entire army not advisable. In that case theory suggests that, while the enemy concentrates at that point, advantages can be gained by crossing smaller forces at other points, to cut off his lines, destroy his communication, and capture his rear guards, outposts, etc. The great object is to occupy the enemy, to prevent his making large detachments or distant raids, and to injure him all you can with the least injury to yourself. If this can be best accomplished by feints of a general crossing and detached real crossings, take that course; if by an actual general crossing, with feints on other points, adopt that course. There seems to me to be many reasons why a crossing at some point should be attempted. It will not do to keep your large army inactive. As you yourself admit, it devolves on you to decide upon the time, place, and character of the crossing which you may attempt. I can only advise that an attempt be made, and as early as possible.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. M. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

VII.

January 8, 1863.

GENERAL BURNSIDE:

I understand General Halleck has sent you a letter, of which this is a copy. I approve this letter. I deplore the want of concurrence with you in opinion by your general officers, but I do not see the remedy. Be cautious, and do not understand that the Government or country is driving you. I do not yet see how I could profit by changing the command of the Army of the Potomac, and if I did, I should not wish to do it by accepting the resignation of your commission.

A. LINCOLN.

VIII.

The work of compilation has established the authenticity of a famous order which properly forms the sequel of the history presented in the preceding letters and dispatches. This was known

in the discussions of the time as "Order No. 8." It was prepared by General Burnside, and decreed the dismissal of Generals Hooker, Newton, Brooks, and Cochrane, and the relief from duty of Generals Franklin, W. F. Smith, Sturgis, and others. It was not approved by Mr. Lincoln, and an order of the same number, on another subject, took its place in the official series. It was printed as a newspaper special, but its authenticity was first questioned, and then denied. Subsequently, General Burnside mentioned its general character and history, before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, but its terms were not given. After General Burnside's death it was given in Poore's Life of that officer, but necessarily without the full text of the orders and dispatches, which now serve to fully explain it. The original has now been discovered, and has its proper place in the War Records.

Briefly stated, its history is this: Soon after Mr. Lincoln had declined to accept the resignation of General Burnside, the latter ordered a second crossing of the river. But that furious storm set in which gave the name of "Mud March" to the movement, and the army returned to its camps. There was much severe and open criticism of the move by a number of high officers. Thereupon General Burnside caused Order No. 8 to be drawn up, and also wrote his resignation. He took both to Washington, and said to the President that he must approve the order, or accept the resignation. Mr. Lincoln declined to give his approval, and General Burnside was induced to take a leave of absence, instead of resigning. The President then assigned General Hooker, whom General Burnside had asked to have dismissed, to the command of the army. The following letters and orders tell the official story:

IX.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
January 23, 1863—8:50 P. M.

HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States:

I have prepared some very important orders, and I want to see you before issuing them. Can I see you alone if I am at the White House after midnight? I must be back by 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

A. E. BURNSIDE, Major-General Commanding.

X.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
January 23, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 8.

I. General Joseph Hooker, Major-General of Volunteers and Brigadier-General U. S. Army, having been guilty of unjust and unnecessary criticisms of the

actions of his superior officers and of the authorities, and having, by the general tone of his conversation, endeavored to create distrust in the minds of officers who have associated with him, and having, by omissions and otherwise, made reports and statements which were calculated to create incorrect impressions, and for habitually speaking in disparaging terms of other officers, is hereby dismissed the service of the United States as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism are due from every soldier in the field. This order is issued subject to the approval of the President of the United States.

II. Brig.-Gen. W. T. H. Brooks, commanding First Division, Sixth Army Corps, for complaining of the policy of the Government, and for using language tending to demoralize his command, is, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

III. Brig.-Gen. John Newton, commanding Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, and Brig-Gen. John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, for going to the President of the United States with criticisms upon the plans of their commanding officer, are, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

IV. It being evident that the following named officers can be of no further service to this army, they are hereby relieved from duty, and will report in person without delay to the Adjutant-General U. S. Army : Maj.-Gen. W. B. Franklin, Commanding Left Grand Division ; Maj.-Gen. W. F. Smith, Commanding Sixth Corps ; Brig.-Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Commanding Second Division, Ninth Corps ; Brig.-Gen. Edward Ferrero, Commanding Second Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps ; Brig.-Gen. John Ccchrane, Commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Corps ; Lieut.-Col. J. H. Taylor, Assistant Adjutant-General, Right Grand Division.

By Command of Maj.-Gen. A. E. Burnside.

LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

XI.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *January* 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK :

MY DEAR SIR : Please meet General Burnside here at 10 o'clock this morning.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

XII.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJT.-GEN.'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 25, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 20 :

I. The President of the United States has directed :

1st. That Major-Gen. A. E. Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2d. That Major-Gen. E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

3d. That Major-Gen. W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

4th. That Major-Gen. J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

II. The officers relieved as above, will report in person to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Though the above orders are not new, such fresh and forcible meaning is imparted to them by the records which precede, as to fully justify their reproduction. The same remarks are applicable to Mr. Lincoln's letter to General Hooker, which properly closes this notable chapter in the history of the Army of the Potomac, and which is as remarkable as the circumstances under which it was written.

XIII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GEN. J. HOOKER, commanding, etc.:

GENERAL: The President directs me to say that he wishes an interview with you at the Executive Mansion as early as possible.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

GENERAL: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm, but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country, and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done, and will do, for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

RELIGION.

CERTAIN theologians and lexicographers declare that religion is merely a term for the designation of worship, according to established systems. Good use of the word, I am ready enough to grant; but, were that its only application, I could scarcely hope, using it as a caption, to say anything which has not already been said by those who know more than I do of theology. It seems to me that a certain extension of the scope of the word should be as generally accepted as the color which the theologians give it. Religion, first of all, should mean the principles which govern human lives. Worship, whether public or private, should be regarded as a matter of secondary importance.

A man's religion is a man's code of moral ethics. If he has no moral ethics, he may worship forever, according to established systems; he will still be minus religion, in its true sense. The man who participates in public worship, for the mere sake of seeming religious, is viler and lower than the meanest of animate creations. His whole life is one of harmfulness, deception, and treachery. Those who penetrate his mask and see the contemptible rottenness which it covers, relegate others who are worthy and honest into the same category with this hypocrite. A thousand are falsely accused and censured for his sake. Others, failing to read so clearly, do not detect the sores of this leper, and so from them he receives praise and credit for his seeming piety. Worse than all, he insults his God. Another man, who makes neither show nor pretense, allows himself to do nothing which he would not be willing to accept as just and right if vouchsafed to him from others. He gives, always, value for value, and sees to it that no man suffers at his hands. In public worship he is never seen, and of piety he never speaks with faltering voice and downcast eyes.

No one would, for a single second, be at a loss which of these to choose from the standpoint of manliness; yet, if religion be only a system of worship, the knave would be counted worthy of an eternal crown of glory by theologians, while the other, the man with the conscience, would be relegated to perpetual gloom and darkness. Religion a system! A system for worshiping God! Why not, as well, require all human hearts to beat in concert, and pounce down, with scorn and stern rebuke, upon whoever dares breathe either a little in advance of, or a trifle behind, his brother. Ridiculous, perhaps, but certainly consistent. The fact is, the world is overrun and worn out with systems. They are the enemies of originality, the destroyers of freedom, the slayers of common sense. Life is made baneful, happiness is marred, love itself is scourged and flayed for the convenience and fostering of systems.

Religion is not a matter of outward, but of inward, importance. It is of small consequence, what the world may say or think, so long as one's soul bears neither

stain nor goadmark. Roguery, not honesty, requires a system. Nobility of soul is as simple as sunshine ; it is in trickery and knavery where complications are. To have the name of one's Creator constantly on one's lips, and to make no further demonstration that one ever thinks of him, may be all that the system of worship requires ; but there is room for doubt as to whether this is the sort of religion which a dying man will turn to, in his last moments, for consolation and comfort.

Perhaps my judgment is perverted, and, perhaps I am stubborn ; but I doubt if the man whose religion consists entirely of public worship, and the constant whining of the name of the deity, ever feels any actual reverence for the sacred name he says so often.

I do not wish to be understood as in any sense crying down public worship. None, I am sure, respect it more than I do. In the present condition of human affairs, it is a most valuable and necessary institution. Notwithstanding the revolting crimes and sins which it seems to approve, cloak, and sanction, we should be infinitely worse off without it. We must keep it and sustain it until we have something to substitute for it, which, generally speaking, will be better than it. As for me, I am of the opinion that the day will come when the ecstasies of religion, like the ecstasies of love, will be surrendered to in secret—without the profaning gaze or presence of scoffers and hypocrites. All prayer will then be straight from the heart to its Creator ; and His name will be held in such reverence and awe that devotees will only whisper it in their souls. Its common mention and use will then be punishable as a crime, and sacred things will no longer be made a matter of form, system, and lightness.

Moral and spiritual health may then be possible ; laws will, possibly, be something more than empty words, embracing and clothing unheeded formulas ; and the penalties of transgression may be taken into account. The saying of prescribed rites being discontinued, there will be less opportunities for hypocrisy. Fewer persons will profess being followers of that which the divine law demands and compels, but more will possess actual religion. Seeming, rather than being, according to the present state of things, will be reversed into being, rather than seeming : and so the good old Roman aphorism will once more become something else than a mere pretty thing to quote.

If I am blind, and all wrong—if system and form, and parade and show, are, after all, really wisest and best, I have the consolation of knowing that no one whose views are antagonistic to mine will be apostatized by what I have said. And there is, also, the still pleasanter thought that I may have helped and encouraged some one who shares with me the feelings which I have tried to express.

GEORGE SAND.

II.

HENRY GEORGE'S LAND TAX.

THE theory of Henry George, that land should be taxed for all public expenses, and that all other property should be relieved from taxation, has recently come into such prominence that it certainly demands serious attention. Mr. George is acknowledged, on all hands, to be perfectly sincere in his teachings. It is everywhere admitted that he is a man of remarkable intelligence and ability. His bitterest opponents credit him with the best of intentions. Is it not reasonable, therefore, to suppose that his economic doctrine of land taxation, whether right or wrong, is closely allied to some great truth ? How else could he have impressed it upon thousands of minds, thoughout Europe and America ?

Again, if Mr. George is in error, he must be understood before he can be cor-

rected. Neither he nor his followers are men to be cured by throwing adjectives at them in the dark. The wise thing to do, then, is to find out exactly why Mr. George entertains his special economic theory of land taxation, and exactly whence he derived it. By following him closely, we may observe some matters that he has not seen, and new facts may lead to new conclusions.

Mr. George said recently that it was not necessary to hunt in obscure places for the basis of his doctrine, as it was contained in the first chapter of the Bible: "In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth." Mr. George meant, of course, that, as God made the heavens and the earth for all mankind, a few men have no right to monopolize the common gift. When the science of political economy was born, Aristotle, the father of it, defined what is called "natural wealth" —the earth, the air, the water—as "the bounty of nature." This bounty of nature, not being produced by man, but being a general gift equally essential to the very existence of all human beings, the profoundest political economists of the world—among them Mill, Spencer and George—pronounce it common property. Did my lord Blackstone do the same thing, when he said: "I see no reason, in nature or in natural law, why a deed upon parchment should convey the dominion of land?"

Now, Henry George, in his "Progress and Poverty," defines "land" as precisely synonymous with Aristotle's "bounty of nature." "Land," says Mr. George, is "the whole material universe outside of man himself." The term "embraces all natural materials, forces, and opportunities."

It appears to me that Henry George makes no improvement on Aristotle, in calling the whole bounty of nature "land." But one thing is certain, and Mr. George cannot escape from it. If "land" includes all natural wealth—all the bounty of nature—and if land is to be specially taxed as common property, then a tax on merely the *ground* is not a *land tax* at all. To be a land tax it would have to be placed on all "natural wealth"—the whole "bounty of nature."

The truth is that "land," according to Mr. George's broad, economic definition, and according to the fact itself, is the universal base and raw material of everything that human beings touch, improve, work up, or in any way produce. Every stone and timber in a house is just as evidently a piece of natural wealth, a segment of the common bounty of nature, as the ground whence it came; only the raw wood or stone has been modified by labor. But Henry George would not tax the natural wealth in the timber or the stone. He would not tax a house, but the plot under it. He would not tax a lump of gold, but the hole out of which it was dug. Thus, to state Mr. George's own position in regard to land is to overturn his land tax.

But he arrives at his conclusion by two ways. We have followed him through one of them. Let us now take the other.

What gives increasing value to land? he asks. His answer is that population does it—all society. In a new country, where land is had for the asking, it has no value. Let some Daniel Boone isolate himself from the world, who will give him a cent for the ground on which he settles? While he is *alone* it has no value, though it may have utility, in so far as it supplies his individual wants. But when society comes about him his farm turns into a fortune. It was not Daniel Boone, says Mr. George, who put the value into that property: the whole community did it. And why should they not tax out the unearned increment?

Well, the trouble here, too, is that Mr. George sees only one-half of a great economic fact. It is not merely land—the ground—that increases in value through the general presence of society, but everything else is subject to precisely the same law. Every piece of land has been made more and more valuable by the presence of population. But so has every house that has been built on

the land. As population gathers about the house, and other houses are built up, every brick in the first one—yes, and every stroke of labor that went to make the brick, or put it in position—is raised in value. In other words, there is no such thing as value without society—two persons, at least—one who has something that the other wants. In this respect, therefore, a house, and even the labor that builds a house, is precisely like the land under it. Lands, houses, and the labor put upon them, all depend for their value on population, society, the commonwealth. Thus a house would be common property, by the same right as a piece of land, and the fruits of individual labor would be common property as rightfully as either the land or the house. The bounty of nature is a part of every one of them, and all increments of value depend on supply in proportion to population. In short, the natural and moral tenure to land differs in no way from the natural and moral tenure to any other kind of property.

In 1882, the wealth of the United States was estimated thus:

Land	$10,750,000,000
Houses	13,900,000,000
Railways	5,450,000,000
Cattle	1,890,000,000
Sundries	9,205,000,000
Total	$41,195,000,000

According to this table, our land value, in this country, is not much more than one-quarter of all values. Yet Mr. George would make this one-quarter of wealth bear all the public burdens of the other three-quarters, in addition to its own. Could a more unjust tax, or a much worse monopoly, be imagined?

And now let us find, if we can, what has caused such a startling gap between Mr. George's premises and his conclusions. I believe the explanation is easy.

With the world's greatest political economists, and more vividly than all the rest of them, Henry George sees that natural wealth, or rather what Jefferson called the "usufruct" of it, always belongs to mankind as a birthright—to society as a whole. At the same time, he is no socialist, no communist. He sees that individuals are rigidly entitled to the fruits of their labor, their economy, their industry, their capacity. Through his land tax, he honestly and earnestly tries to separate the people's natural share in wealth from the shares of individuals, according to their work. But when land (the bounty of nature) has been taken out of land (the ground) for thousands of years, and transformed into the varied wealth of all civilization, a land tax, in the sense of a mere ground tax, touches only about one-quarter of the wealth it ought to reach. Yet Mr. George's "Progress and Poverty" is so superb a work, so persuasively constructed, and so full of great, needed truth, that he has almost overwhelmed the very elect with one of the most glaring and disjointed non-sequiturs that ever broke itself in two with its own logic.

But is there no way, then, to separate the value of natural wealth—the people's heritage—from the value of improvements made on it by individuals?—giving the whole people their due, and rendering also to every individual the exact compensation for his work, his enterprise, his ability and economy? I think there is a clear way to that end, and that the end can be reached by the collection and public use of a proper tax. In fact, I see very clearly that scientific taxation will yet be, not only the cure of economic wrongs and distresses, but the antidote, also, for socialism, communism, and the many economic poisons that are now held up as remedies. In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of July last, I attempted to propound and explain such a tax. Something of the kind will come in due time. But let the public never forget that, if Henry George has made one great logical and prac-

tical mistake, he has inaugurated the correct tendency of a whole epoch. He has earned all his laurels, and more.

EDWARD GORDON CLARK.

III.

ARE THE HEATHEN OUR INFERIORS?

IT is no trouble for Gail Hamilton to make any subject interesting. Whatever she touches emits electric sparks. But even her charming pen rarely flames with such a volume of electric *light* as she pours into her contribution to the December REVIEW, entitled "Heathendom and Christendom Under Test." What a neat rebuke it is to that monstrosity—that "Frankenstein" of our English and American self-conceit—that we are the only people fit to be glorified, and all other peoples are only fit to be damnified.

When young and innocent, I spent a good many years in the study of theology, not with the retainer of any sect in my pocket, and the implied promise never to move out of a given rut, but from the impulsion of intense necessity to know the truth. One conclusion that I came to, as the result of those years, was that there is no shadow of authority in the teachings of Jesus for the vulgar impression that any special division of humanity is God's cohort, or that any other special division has been expropriated of His love and light. Jesus was too busy establishing the general "fatherhood of God," and "brotherhood of man," and in dissecting the Scribes and Pharisees immediately around him, to think of the "Good Samaritan" as a "heathen." The "Son of Man" looked upon all other men as His brothers. Feeling full of God's truth, and believing that He truly represented the Father, Jesus did insist that all men and women must approach God in the spirit of love and self abnegation, of which He felt himself to be the incarnation and example. But that is all an erect, healthy mind can find in His actual inculcations. The rest has come from the cross-eyed, hump-backed, club-footed souls that have looked out at Jesus through their own deformities. The pious *mirage* that God looks upon one nation of His creatures to bless them, and another to curse them, has risen out of the egotism—the hard, narrow egotism alone—of theological crusaders who mistake themselves for the Good Shepherd's meek and gentle lambs. It has just the same foundation as the puerile exclusiveness which used to prompt the North-End boys of Calvinistic Boston, in the old times, to sling stones at the South-Enders, and which still arrays the children of one block in Brooklyn, "the City of Churches," against the children of the next block.

But I wish that Gail Hamilton would go a little farther with her brilliant and caustic analysis. "Mrs. S. L. Baldwin, a missionary of the Methodist Board in China," petitions our United States Congress to let her import a Chinese servant, because Christian servants are so much inferior to the heathen. Gail Hamilton naturally feels that the heathen servants ought not to be damned hereafter, for being better than the Christian servants here. But, looking at matters in her practical way, are the Christian nations of the world, to-day, superior to the heathen nations anyhow, except in force of intellect, enterprise, and *wickedness*? "Chinatown," in San Francisco, is commonly depicted as concentrating all the depravity of Joss-house civilization. But is not every vice of Chinatown duplicated, two to one, in New York? In point of actual, not hypocritical morality, for instance, in the ordinary sense, is London better than Constantinople, and is Washington any better than Salt Lake City? Gail Hamilton's analysis and criticism are capable of extension.

JOSEPH HEWES.

IV.

ARTHUR RICHMOND AND THE PRESIDENT.

WHILE recognizing the propriety of the REVIEW giving space to personal criticisms upon public characters, I must say that when such essays degenerate into mere vituperative assaults, without justifiable cause, on distinguished public functionaries, I am not only surprised, but somewhat disgusted. Of this sort is the latest letter of Arthur Richmond, where President Cleveland is attacked. It reads as if some one had been employed for this especial service, and found difficulty in getting, I will not say just ground, but recognized ground of attack.

There is no justification. Arthur Richmond has discovered what the press of the United States has failed to find. And he must remember that the press is Republican. Time was in the now half-forgotten past when the press lived exclusively upon circulation, and the noble editor tried, then, to please by putting on record the opinions of his subscribers. That day no longer exists. Advertising is the life blood of the press, and the editor edits to please his patrons. They are the business men of the country, and the business men are republicans. Therefore is it that if President Cleveland were open to the strictures indulged in by Arthur Richmond the abuse would find echo throughout the land. This is not the fact, and, therefore, the invectives of this home-made Junius fall harmless.

Now, while President Cleveland is not a great man, makes no pretensions to statesmanship, he has won the liking of the masses and conquered the respect of his political enemies by a sturdy, almost obstinate, adhesion to what he holds to be good. He has in healthy operation a brain power that gives the best results of what is known as strong common sense, and his motive power is a conscientious desire to do his duty. He comes nearer to what is known under that thread-bare phrase of a man of the people, than any prominent figure since the days of Andrew Jackson. That he will not enact so brilliant a rôle as did Old Hickory we can well know, because Cleveland has no such party at his back. Our President, indeed, may be said, in this respect, to stand alone. The Democracy did not even elect him, and although half the people of the United States respond to-day to this designation, it is not a party in the sense of that name when President Jackson vetoed the bill perpetuating the United States bank, ruined the depositors and drove nullification into silence by threatening to hang Calhoun. The solid South is solid, not because of its Democracy, but because of its negroes. This mass of brutal ignorance was suddenly lifted into citizenship and made the governing element by republican carpet-baggers and bayonets. It was forced into a deadly antagonism by a sense of self-protection. And so it stands to-day, actually in favor of a personal government that would give heavy appropriations under the flag, with about as much Democracy in it as that possessed by the Czar of Russia.

The Ohio Democracy is clamorous for a protection to wool, and Pennsylvania Randallism wants the earth in that direction. The political condition of affairs is enough to make the old leaders in the time of Jackson turn in their graves.

President Cleveland then, so far as a party is concerned, stands alone. He cannot even conciliate the leaders of the so-called Democracy, and gratify his followers by giving them freely what they won in the late Presidential election; and that is the offices. Through a lot of comical statesmanship indulged in by the Hon. George Pendleton, and cunningly carried out by the republicans, the democrats are denied the offices. No man can be turned out except for cause, and no man can be appointed until after a so-called competitive examination that will show, whether the applicant is honest or not, he must be educated. This is hard on our Democracy.

To hold President Cleveland responsible, as Arthur Richmond seeks to do, for

the passage or failure to pass certain measures is simply absurd. The Senate is in the hands of the republicans. The House itself, with the Randall element in it, is not assured to the Democracy, and, so far as reform is concerned, the President is as helpless as if he were yet Sheriff at Buffalo. So all Arthur Richmond's labored crimination and pretended indignation simply makes one tired. An honest, unpretending, able man is President Cleveland. He is giving us a clean administration, and all such attacks are either insincere or silly.

DONN PIATT.

venty-Second Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 144: No. 2.

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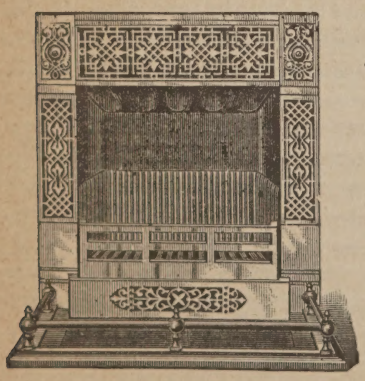

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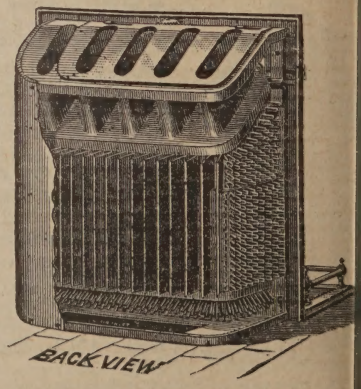

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXIII.

FEBRUARY, 1887.

POLITICAL ECONOMY IN AMERICA.

At a meeting of political economists held at Saratoga in the month of September, 1885, in order to form an economic society —finally called the American Economic Association—Professor Alexander Johnston, of Princeton College, defined the purposes of the contemplated organization, as understood by him, in these words:

"This is an effort to stop the formation of any 'crust' on the development of economics, to assert the economic right of attempts to develop in every direction, unhampered by any accusation of heterodoxy, with the assurance that unlimited freedom of individual attempt to develop will bring about the truest, most natural, and healthiest development."

Other ideas were brought out in the interesting discussion about the aims which should animate a body of American economists at the present time, and valuable suggestions were derived from men like Hon. Andrew D. White; Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden; Professor Henry C. Adams, of Michigan University; Professor E. J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia College; Professor Andrews, of Brown University; and President Charles Kendall Adams, of Cornell University.

There can be no doubt, however, that all present agreed with

Professor Johnston, and it is equally certain that he struck the key-note of future progress in economics.

But what did the undertaking signify? What did it mean to remove the "crust" already formed on the development of economics and to prevent its formation in the future? It is necessary for us to get a clear idea of this, if we would understand the past history and present condition of economic science in America.

The word "heterodoxy" uttered by Professor Johnston is one which throws a whole flood of light on the situation. The utterly unscientific conceptions, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, had crept into political economy; and men had with their aid attempted to check every advance in the science with a strong hand. What was orthodox? What was heterodox? Certain Englishmen, Ricardo, Malthus, Mill, Senior, successors of Adam Smith, had developed an à priori political economy which was well-pleasing to influential social elements. This was still further purified by later successors until the strong and mighty could find in it nothing to terrify "or make afraid," nothing to disturb their calm repose. This at last became the political economy of the most conservative portion of the press, and as such gave us, to use the words of Professor Gustav Cohn, not a description of actual life, but at best a picture of the life of men in society such as one might expect to find in the "Dream of the Millionaire." It was a Utopia as dangerous as it was pleasing. Imported to this country, it acquired a strength in certain educated circles—particularly in the North and East—to which it could scarcely aspire, even in England. It was always ready with its little tests of orthodoxy to mete out praise or condemnation, to accord honor or shame. Acceptance of its creed was often a condition of academic preferment. A small clique of men, not without newspaper influence, constituted themselves its special guardians and, still maintaining that position, even now attempt to exercise a sort of terrorism over the intellect of the country. Any deviation from the straight and narrow path laid down by them was deeply damned. Was there not, indeed, that never-failing refuge of incompetence and malignity, the epithet "socialism," ready to hurl at all offenders?

Manifestly, the first need of the hour was to break this "crust," and this was a worthy object for the American Economic Association. "Orthodox" and "heterodox" must be as completely driven out of economic discussion as out of biology and mineralogy.

Those who use these phrases must necessarily look back to the past to discover the belief of others, whereas science should ever keep its glance directed to the future and press on to the discovery of new truth.

This determination "to assert the right of attempts to develop in every direction, unhampered by any accusation of heterodoxy," is of particular importance in political economy, because, in the nature of things, economists worthy of the name always have been, and always will be, in opposition to current opinion. What is an economist? An economist is a man who studies the economic life of men as members of society. Now, if the science of economics is not a humbug, he must know more about industrial society than others, and that is simply saying, in other words, that he holds opinions not generally received. The true economist is a guide who always keeps in advance, who marks out new paths of social progress. This explains why the "heterodox" economist of one age becomes the "orthodox" economist of a succeeding one. Social development has gone on in the direction in which he foresaw it must move. An American writer in 1820, for example, speaks of the "gross heresies" of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," and even this great "Father" of English political economy did not escape the reproach of socialism. Could that progressive, far-seeing man know that his name was now used to retard the advance of his favorite study, he surely could not rest easy in his grave!

All articles on political economy in America written before 1880 are chiefly concerned with the question: Why have Americans done comparatively nothing to advance the science of industrial society? This is the nature of Professor Dunbar's article on "Political Economy in the United States from 1776 to 1876," which appeared in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW in the latter year; it is also the nature of T. E. Cliffe Leslie's article on "Political Economy in the United States," which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, in 1880. The main thought brought out is the preponderating importance attached to the pursuit of wealth rather than to an inquiry as to its philosophy in this new country. The absence of obviously pressing economic questions is also dwelt upon by both writers. All this is true. The two chief causes of research in economics are large financial questions, and wide-spread dissatisfaction among the masses with existing social

arrangements, coupled with a determination to change these radically. Our late civil war brought us one of these two chief causes of economic study ; events of the past ten years have brought us the other. Thus has a mighty impulse been given to the development of political economy. But there is another aspect of the situation—not unrelated to what has already been said about economic orthodoxy—which deserves mention. The chairs of political economy in the United States have in the past been filled, to large extent, by men who were not appointed, like professors of chemistry, as searchers after truth, but as advocates—chiefly of free trade or protection as the case might be. This has been sufficiently understood, and it has acted injuriously in several ways. It has kept the best men out of the academic career, and it has repressed aspirations looking in the direction of new scientific explorations. Finally, it has reduced the influence of political economists to a minimum. Business men have despised them, while their power to guide and direct the thought of the laboring classes has been less than nothing. It has been so generally felt that professors of political economy in America were mere advocates of existing institutions, that the masses have turned away from them in angry impatience, and have been prejudiced even against the important and unassailable doctrines which they did teach. Thus has the task been rendered more difficult for those truly scientific men who with the impartiality of all science, tell the plain truth to all classes and would thus benefit all alike—for a lie is of no permanent benefit to any one ! And what about the politicians ? Well, every one knows they have given themselves little concern about political economy, and the political economists often censure them severely on this account. While the politicians doubtless deserve it, there is another side to the case, brought out by my good friend Professor Jesse Macy in those felicitous words : " A political science which does not at least honestly seek to give direction to actual politics is an unmitigated nuisance. Colleges and universities have in the past been treated with contempt by practical politicians simply because their work has been contemptible. Politicians are the last men in the world to treat with contempt a respectable and efficient political power and influence."

The present time is one in which the evolution of society is proceeding with more than its usual rapidity, and it is evident

that we need a positive constructive political economy, and this requirement the old political economy cannot meet. Let the reader consider for a moment the age in which its great masters, Quesnay, Turgot, and Adam Smith, lived. It was the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the progress of industry was retarded by a multitude of old institutions, good in their day, doubtless, but then antiquated. The cry of men who understood their time was, "Remove the barriers! clear the way for new social forms!" The work which the great economists advocated during that period was very properly negative and destructive. It ought not then to surprise us that when we go to our old text-books of political economy to seek advice in reference to practical measures, the one chief lesson which we learn is "DON'T." Manifestly, the call of our age is DO.

A new movement in economics was then inevitable, and it has already come. Its precise beginning cannot, perhaps, be ascertained, but the writings of the distinguished head of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, General Francis A. Walker, first made it a clearly recognized accomplished fact in America. Probably, his works have inspired more of the American economists under thirty-five—possibly under forty—than those of any other man. He sowed seed which is now springing up and bearing fruit in all parts of our land. The movement was furthered by the establishment of new chairs of political economy in American colleges and universities, which was due to the wonderful impulse given to the study by the undeniable existence of those two classes of economic phenomena to which reference has already been made; namely, large financial problems and pressing social questions. Before 1876 one might have counted on one's fingers the institutions where any serious instruction in political economy was given, whereas provision is now made for its study in every one of the more prominent colleges of the country; and although it is still inadequate in most cases, this is a remarkable advance. There are now a few colleges with two or three instructors, even, and it is not foolish to hope that in a not remote future we shall have as completely developed departments of political economy as we now have of physics and chemistry in our best universities.

Another good sign is the growing faith, both within and without our institutions of learning, in truth. People value the searcher for truth more than formerly, the mere advocate less. It is a sig-

nificant fact that the youngest of the great American universities, the Johns Hopkins, founded in 1876, took for its motto, "Veritas vos liberabit." Another equally significant fact is this: The Johns Hopkins University assumed a non-partisan attitude in natural science. Its biological laboratory was instituted solely for the search of truth, regardless of consequences. Darwinian and anti-Darwinian doctrines, as such, could not be considered. Some good people were prejudiced against the University at the start on this account, and looked with much trepidation upon its teachings; but in ten years this has for a large part disappeared, and no college has warmer, more devoted friends among the clergy. This means faith in truth and a conscious recognition of the fact that one truth cannot clash with another. One other illustration of this all-important point must follow, if the reader will pardon a personal allusion. When the writer's name was brought forward for the position of teacher of political economy in the Johns Hopkins University five years ago, the authorities of the institution, true to their motto, asked no questions about his opinions in regard to free trade and protection or anything else, although these were then as unknown as he himself. There was simply an endeavor to ascertain his qualifications for the position. This is an experience which is probably almost unique.

People are learning, both in political economy and natural science, that truth alone can make them free; that truth alone has in it the power of life; that truth—not error—is able to conserve the good, and that to fear it is unworthy of an enlightened people.

There has been the same remarkable progress in the development of an economic literature in America, which has been noted elsewhere. To confine ourselves to the past few months, such works may be mentioned as James on "The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply;" Shaw on "Co-operation in a Western City"—two remarkable publications of the American Economic Association—Hudson on "Railways and the Republic;" Hadley on "Railroad Transportation," and Laughlin on "Bimetallism in the United States." These are all based on investigations in the rich field of American economic life. We have also bold endeavors to reconstruct fundamental principles in economics, like Patten's "Premises of Political Economy," and J. B. Clark's "Philosophy of Wealth." All these are works of international importance.

One year ago there was no economic periodical in the United States. To-day there are three, and all evidently rest on a permanent basis. They are the bi-monthly monographs of the American Economic Association, published in Baltimore; the Political Science Quarterly of Columbia College, and the Quarterly Journal of Economics, published under the auspices of Harvard University.

A change in the conception of political economy must not fail to be noticed in this place. Its scope has become enlarged, and it is not quite the same thing which it was once. It has become a distinctively ethical science, and necessarily includes purpose within its province. It is clearly recognized that the will of man is a chief factor in economic life, and that, within certain limits, we can have just such a social system as we choose—always, be it observed, however, within certain limits. Accordingly, ideals for the individual, for the State, for society, for the church, are placed before men, and they are urged to strive for them in every practicable way. It is on this account, also, that the new political economy lays so much stress on ethical education, for it is seen that errors as often proceed from the heart as from the head.

It must not be supposed that the new political economy has gained exclusive sway even in the colleges and universities of the United States—much less outside of them. Still it is making its way rapidly; it is accepted by the teachers in most of our colleges, and it is *beginning* to permeate the thought of our time, as may be seen in the utterances of press and pulpit.

The economists of the older school cannot, either, be denied their use. They are not mere drags on the car of progress, but with their criticism, sharp and ungracious though it sometimes be, they render the advance surer.

In conclusion, however, it is undeniable that the prime need of the hour is increased light in economics, a further development of the new political economy, and the qualities indispensable in the men who would carry on the work already so auspiciously begun are these: a good heart, a strong intellect, and dauntless courage.

RICHARD T. ELY.

OUR KING IN DRESS COAT.

THE late John Stuart Mill remarked in my hearing that he did not wonder that there should be serious faults in the Constitution of the United States, but he did wonder that, among a people so generally educated as the Americans, there had been developed no school of critics and reformers of the Constitution. In explanation I could only exclaim "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" The investment in the Constitution was large enough to evolve a generation of believers that it came down from heaven. Since the overthrow of slavery the silver image has shown some signs of turning to clay. When, in 1872, I wrote my little book on "Republican Superstitions," for use in the French Convention, then engaged in framing a Constitution, I could not discover any American work of the kind indicated by Mr. Mill; but since then several able criticisms of our organic law have appeared, such as Lockwood's "Abolition of the Presidency," and Stickney's "Democratic Government." Emerson remarked, as a phenomenon, that there are times when the American eagle bears a curious resemblance to a peacock. It is not unlikely that this Centenary of our Constitution will witness such transformation. But, after the gorgeous tail has been sufficiently spread, it is to be hoped that the eagle eye will scan with more clearness than hitherto the century of our constitutional history. The time is ripe as the occasion is picturesque. There is no question of serious interest in the national politics, and nothing could so fitly supersede the petty disputes at the Capitol, over office holders and Mormons, as a thorough inquest of the Nation into its organic system, as illustrated by its hundred experimental years.

In that century one fact is salient: its history is a series of presidential biographies. Its foreign wars have been the work of presidents; its Civil War was caused by the election of a presi-

dent. There is no political crime which has not been committed by some president, and always with impunity. It is also observable that the presidency has been steadily developed into an office different from any contemplated by those who framed the Constitution. Only two members of that convention—Franklin and Randolph—appear to have clearly foreseen the perilous possibilities of "the one man power." At that time it appeared to the vast majority that government without individual headship was impossible; and the depth of the root of that belief may be measured by its having survived the fearful cost of its fruit. It is a characteristic of every superstition that it is never judged by its fruits; its root must be searched and truth planted beside it.

The phenomenon of an American potentate, stronger and less responsible than any other monarch in the world, has often been remarked but not explained. The Germans call him "the King in dress coat;" the French, "the Parvenu King;" but the President has an antiquity stretching far back of hereditary monarchs, and beneath his dress coat conceals the paint of the primitive warrior. In war, supremacy of an individual will was essential; the wisdom that comes of a multitude of counselors becomes unwisdom when safety depends on the instant action of all as one man. While war was the normal condition of mankind there was no hereditary chieftainship; their biggest, or cunningest, or bravest man was chosen by each tribe, under penalty of extermination. When the first age of peace began, this chieftain, invested with power to be used against alien tribes, could use it to choose and enthrone his successor; as this successor was generally his own son, there grew up the immemorial custom which is transcendent law. But as with peace, arts and interests are developed, and society becomes complex, the chief can no longer administer to these needs alone; he remains to represent force, that in which his throne was established, but he would be overthrown if this force could not be transformed from a purely militant to an adequately industrial arm. To this end the chief summons counselors and ministers. These relieve him of responsibility and secure his dynasty, but it is at the cost of personal power. For this loss the family which reigns without governing is compensated by the social lustre of nominal headship. But peace is liable to be broken, and it is then generally found that the hereditary chieftainship cannot resume its original

function of leading in war. The luxury of palaces is not favorable to the breeding of warriors. If, at such juncture, when the laws and usages of peaceful society are suspended, and the community relapses temporarily into the martial condition, a warrior should arise able to lead his tribe to victory, the hereditary dynasty is liable to be overthrown. In the joy of safety and victory the warrior is hailed as a saviour; religious traditions and instructions declare him the chosen instrument of the war god, or god of battles; popular imagination invests him with supernatural glories which eclipse that of routine royalty. The man thus able to break the line of royal succession is recognizable through history; he is called demigod, hero, scourge of God, dictator, man of destiny, father of his country; he is Emperor by the grace of God; the Holy Ghost in form of a dove is seen hovering near his head, and is the emblem on his sceptre. By immediate divine commission he overrules the traditional "divine right" of kings; he can conquer or dissolve parliaments. Such, to recall words of the most salient example, Napoleon I., are "powerful mortals chosen by destiny, at certain given moments of history, to hold the place of a people, and towards whom when they appear each turns with the cry, 'Behold the Man!'" These men represent imperialism as distinguished from royalty. It is from the Mahomets, Cæsars, Cromwells, Napoleons, that the imperial line is formed. It is based in revolution and dependent on military glory. When the revolution is through ballots, instead of bayonets, and the chieftain is the most skillful political strategist, the Emperor is called a President.

Mais, que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère? How came it that an assembly of Americans should fall out of the line of the historic development of their race, and, having dethroned King George, set up in his place a power which no George ever dreamed of exercising? Bagehot thinks our presidental office due to a mistake. "Living across the Atlantic, and misled by accepted doctrines, the acute framers of the Federal Constitution, even after the keenest attention, did not perceive the Prime Minister to be the principal executive of the British Constitution, and the sovereign a cog in the mechanism." This is true, no doubt, but it hardly explains the fact that we find ourselves to-day, as Mr. Lockwood says, "under a form of government abandoned in England nearly two hundred years ago." In truth, there sailed

the Atlantic with our fathers, and dwells with us, a superstition by which premiership and kingship are combined.

> "Not all the water in the rough, rude sea
> Can wash the balm off from an anointed king."

Our President is invested with the right to rule without Cabinet or Ministers; to dismiss heads of departments and all other leading officers appointed with consent of the Senate on the day after that body adjourns, and govern with others, or without any, until that body reassembles, Congress being meanwhile non-existent; to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States (with the comparatively unimportant exception of cases of impeachment); as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and of the Militia of the several States when called into National service by himself, to make such disposition of the land and naval forces as he pleases; in case of any rebellion against his authority or action, to suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus; to veto any law passed by Congress, rendering it necessary that such law shall be passed by two-thirds of each House in order to become law,—such law being then dependent for execution on officers commissioned by the President, from whose oath to "preserve, protect and defend" the Constitution the duty of carrying out the laws passed by Congress was notably excluded. These powers may be, and repeatedly have been, given for four years by a minority of the people; they may be, and have been, bestowed by the hand of an assassin; they may be legally perpetuated through any number of terms in the hands of the same man; they are revocable only by impeachment and a vote of two-thirds in a House not chosen by the people, presided over by a Chief Justice appointed by the Executive, perhaps by the very President on trial. Nothing has been more certainly proved than that the power of impeachment, on which alone the framers of the Constitution depended as a shield against presidential despotism, is delusive. The executive has seized the purse of the Nation; has declared war; has used his sword against loyal citizens of the country; has pardoned violators of laws passed by Congress, in one case on the ground that the law was "a nullity;" it has claimed the right to execute the laws according to its private interpretation, in disregard of judicial decisions; has abetted rebellion against a constitutionally elected President be-

fore his inauguration; has fulfilled corrupt contracts made to secure its election; has forced on the Nation a President never elected; and in none of these cases has impeachment been even attempted. In one case where such outrages were repeated and intensified, where defiance of law was proclaimed as a policy, and the hardly-won life of the nation re-endangered by a traitor enthroned by assassination,—a drunken ruffian who staggered about the country vomiting vulgarest abuse on the people and Congress, claiming the bullet of the assassin which slew his predecessor as the providential sanction of his usurpations,—impeachment was attempted; but this impeachment, supported by a unanimity in the country never likely to be again attained, failed. The one shield must now be regarded as shattered.

The declaration of Edmund Randolph, adopted by Franklin, that "presidency is the fœtus of monarchy," was but a partial prediction of the fact which time has proved; it was a full-born and panoplied monarchy which sprang from the brain of that convention, and the fœtus in it was that of imperialism. Our fathers, tearing the King's title and symbols to tatters, re-enthroned the man, gave him fresh lease, added the means of recovering lost privileges; so that the Georges, and Jameses, and Charleses, and Cromwells have all been rehabilitated and their oppressions renewed in the brief history of the United States. If they have not claimed titles it is because their power has been more secure under the mask of constitutional presidency. If we have no historic *coup d'état* it is because the *coup d'état* is a part of our Constitution, and its exercise has become too familiar to be regarded with horror. Even the supposed supernatural authority of emperors—softened by limited monarchy into a vague doctrine of "divine right"—has been revived by and for our presidential autocrats. Various gods have been invoked in sanction of imperial actions by our presidents, from the Thunder-god, by whom Andrew Jackson piously swore, to the Bullet-god of Andrew Johnson. When Johnson's allusion in a speech to Lincoln's death was met with a cry of "unfortunate," the President answered: "Yes, unfortunate for some that God rules on high and deals in justice (cheers). Yes, unfortunate. The ways of Providence are mysterious and incomprehensible, controlling all who exclaim 'unfortunate!'" Mr. Lockwood, referring to the more arbitrary presidents says: "They generally invoked the supernatural in the place

of the people." This "higher law," which, as he rightly remarks, means after all the personal will of him who uses it, was sanctioned by Garfield while in Congress. "We have a right," he said, "to do our solemn duty, under God, to go beyond the Constitution to save the authors of the Constitution." "I not only lifted up my hand to support the Constitution before God, but it makes me now sorry there had not been a sword in it when I lifted it up, to strike down any and all who would oppose the use of all the means God has placed in our power for overthrowing the rebellion forever." This was said in answer to a question, concerning the confiscation of Southern property, whether he (Garfield) "would, to aggravate the punishment of the traitor, or to punish the innocent children of the rebels, break the Constitution?" The doctrine enunciated by Garfield was an encouraging one for Guiteau, who equally claimed to act "under God" when he "lifted his hand" with a pistol in it to elect a new president for the United States.

Mr. Lockwood remarks that "This higher law, when it means individual judgment, is but another form of divine right." The phrase "divine right" is, however, now characteristic of ministerial monarchy rather than of personal empire. The "under God" autocracy is characteristic of democracies, and is sustained by appeals to popular passions, superstitions, and love of glory. Napoleon I. put on his own head, with his own hand, not the crown of the Louises, but the crown of Charlemagne,—iron crown of the Holy Roman emperor, with a nail of the True Cross in it, and the motto, "God gave it to me; woe to him who touches it!" The Holy Nail is under the hat of our four-year emperor also. The real Providence that chooses one man out of fifty millions to rule over his fellows is suspected by some of being the political Boss; but the regular nominee is soon discovered to be the Fountain of Living Waters. It is an element of success if it can be shown that he once lived in a log-cabin, or split rails, or traveled a tow-path. This is a bit of the Holy Nail. Was not the Son of God a carpenter, born in a stable?

The framers of our Constitution meant to preserve the power of the British Crown as it stood when they parted from it, a time-limit and a liability to impeachment. They established a Republican Court. The first President drove out with six horses, and kept the crowd at a distance. His measures were determined by a majority of his Ministers. Our earlier

presidents were proud of their pedigrees, and never invoked any deity except Washington. But the constitutional royal crown, imported into a democracy, must undergo transformation into the more brilliant imperial crown with the Iron Nail inside it. The transformation came with Jackson. That Scotch-Irish-Carolinian-Tennesseean Cromwell, Calvinist preacher, lawyer, soldier, with his victories over the Indian and the Briton written in scars, and decorated with titles of dread and admiration—"Sharp Knife," "Pointed Arrow," "Old Hickory," struck the imagination of America as the Corsican did that of France. The mobocracy had their man. I heard from the widow of Alexander Hamilton a description of the long, lank backwoodsman in the White House, with his Nimrods around him, where motley was your only wear. "At one of his receptions," she said, "there was ice-cream, and I saw a number of people breathing over their spoons in order to melt it before putting it into their mouths." General Jackson could do no wrong. It was an anecdote of a pious Jacksonian deacon of our county, in Virginia, that a Whig laid a wager he would justify Jackson even for murder. Overtaking the deacon on his way to church, he entered into conversation, and professed to be just from Washington. "Well, and what's the news at Washington?" asked the deacon. "Nothing —oh, yes there is: General Jackson killed a man yesterday." "Killed a man!" cried the deacon. "Yes, he was walking on Pennsylvania avenue and told a man to get out of his way; the man didn't, and the President shot him." The deacon meditated a few moments, then broke out, "Hurrah for the General! Whyn't the man get out of his way!"

The fable is fairly characteristic of the period. Since Jackson's reign we have been living under the imperial régime. One peril of it is that the God-made ruler has a sort of supernatural rôle to fill. It is imperative on an emperor to shine; he has no historic or hereditary lustre to shine for him. This is especially necessary for the emperor whose further lease of power depends on brilliancy. And intellectual brilliancy will not do. The sway of statesmanship passed away with the ministerial or British phase of our government. The Clays, Websters, Calhouns were all scalped by Jackson. Since his reign no civilian has ever been elected president by a majority of the people, save Lincoln, while Commander-in-Chief in the thick of war. The pluralities of

Van Buren and Polk came by the borrowed glory and favor of Jackson, who was also the political creator of James Buchanan. With exception of five minority civilian presidents the nation has, during fifty-seven years, elected only military men. One statesman was, indeed, elected, but could not take his seat against two Generals in possession. The glittering precedents of our Jacksonian half century,—spirited spoliations of neighboring countries, wars against Mexicans, Indians, and anti-slavery settlers, filibustering expeditions, theatrical threats towards foreign nations,—have set a tempter at the door of the White House; his suggestions cannot be without danger so long as Cuba and Mexico have still territory of which they may be robbed; and while so many social, moral, and religious fanaticisms are instituting crusades against personal freedom.

A corollary of executive imperialization is legislative enfeeblement. There is as much statesmanship in the country as ever, but, in presence of the marble busts of their great forerunners, the most conspicuous Congressmen at Washington seem to have no public aim higher than to worry the Mormons. The President of Harvard University says young men decline the political career, because official positions are poorly paid. Another shows them fully paid, but says it costs too much money to obtain them. The voter sells his vote. Do we expect paupers to be idealists and heroes? To how many poor men with families to feed must five dollars be worth more than the contribution of an inconsiderable part of the power which decides whether Smith or Brown shall be salaried to sit in a debating society at Washington? A vigorous English writer has described the legislative debates at Washington as prologues without a play. "There is nothing of a catastrophe about them; you cannot turn out the Government. The prize of power is not in the gift of the legislature, and no one cares for the legislature. The executive, the great centre of power and place, sticks irremovable; you cannot change it in any event." Seward was ridiculed for saying that the Civil War was a "war of succession;" but that is what it was. Slavery knew that to own the executive was to own the Government. In other words, the American people are governmentally three-headed, and the executive head, being the only one with power to carry out its will, has reduced the representative head to a cerebral pulp. Whilst in England the peers long to get into the House of Commons, in the

United States the representative regards his House as a mere stepping-stone to the Peerage of States, the Senate, which has filched a little of the executive power. But this Head No. 3 will never get more than the crumbs of patronage that fall from the President's table. By what natural right can the Senate choose the officers of the executive? It represents antiquarian State boundaries; it preserves an anomalous inequality of which the Nation is only not jealous so long as it is not obstructive of the popular will; it can never be supported by the loyalty with which a nation looks to its personal chief. Consequently, the Senate becomes steadily less of an object in the eyes of American youth of culture and good position. In business, in professions, in science, they deal with realities; they do not have to talk buncombe about things not to be changed by what they say or do. The course of the Government is fixed every four years for the four years following; the real legislation is to determine that, and it is carried on in the caucus, in the newspaper, on the stump. A debate in Parliament stirs the world; a debate in Congress stirs the lungs of the speakers.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

[*To be Concluded.*]

FUTURE PROBATION.

If one could ever copy the extraordinary feat of so distinguished a scholar as President Bartlett of Dartmouth, and "Speak as one of the silent multitude," it would be when one sees the church he loves torn by conflict of doctrine;—this side eager, forced into new positions by the irresistible expansiveness of truth; the other side anxious, defensive, guarding the old positions with all the solicitude of love and all the weight of experience, fearing that what is called new truth is but old error in new disguise.

It is easy to minimize the conflict, by declaring it impractical, abstract, insignificant. It is easy to ridicule it by calling it a "burning" question, by suggesting that the old theologians are afraid that too many sinners will escape them and reach Heaven despite their theology. But all this serves nothing. No one really doubts that one faction is just as humane as the other. What is feared is not that the heathen will escape doom; but that the teaching of a false security will lull both Christian and Pagan heathen into losing their only chance of escaping doom. No wit, no levity can hinder this from being a weighty question. With Dr. Smyth in Massachusetts and Dr. Woodrow in Georgia fighting for their lives, their fortune, and their sacred honor in this battle-field, it cannot be called a narrow, an impractical, or an obsolete question. There is no issue of politics or of social life which is not affected by the solution of this problem. The wrath and warfare of Ireland can be better read in its light. The upward struggle of Bulgaria and the downward pressure of Russia are a part of its eternal procession. The fierce grapple of Labor with Capital constitutes one mark of its progress. The heart-throbs of American independents in their life-and-death race after a versatile and agile Administration become amenable to classification when viewed as incidents of a world-embracing system. Minister Phelps's stern disapprobation of this

REVIEW can be more easily borne under its mitigating possibilities. To dismiss such a theory with the assurance that its young believers hold their views only as theory, and not as doctrine, is altogether unsatisfactory. They may not preach the theory, but it must color all their preaching. The assurance is appropriate as an indication of the general condition of things, but not as an argument for toleration.

A full, fair, and frank presentation of truth is not only safe, on general principles, but in this especial case it must remove much of the apprehension, deeply and widely felt, that acceptance of what is called the new departure would effectually destroy the foreign missionary work of the churches, and be, indeed, antagonistic to all preaching. On the contrary, a removal of ancient inconsistencies, contradictions, and impossibilities, and the substitution of new harmonies, must give strong impetus, fresh courage, and a reasonable hope in allying ourselves with the Power that makes for righteousness, whether to secure Republicanism for America, freedom for Ireland, Christianity for the heathen, or the elevation of the whole human race.

This is not to discard, or even to discount, the old theology. It is not to assert that the new theology is ultimate. It is only to recognize that the Eternal Energy, the Holy Spirit, always working on the earth, has brought us to one of the many milestones that measure the advance of history. It is an advance to which the honored of the old school have contributed as important a part as the younger generation of the new school. It is the learning, the devotion, the persistence of the old which have made the new possible. It is their unceasing prayer, Thy Kingdom come! which has wrought this palpable new development of that kingdom. Nor is it the first time that the Kingdom of God has come without giving the expected countersign, and has, therefore, been temporarily mistaken for the kingdom of evil. Notwithstanding, said Christ, be ye sure of this, that the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

Successive changes in any theology founded on the Bible are not only liable but imperative. If the Bible is a merely human book like any other volume of history, or poetry, or philosophy, then we should expect any system founded on it to be fixed. When we have thoroughly read a volume of Homer or Ranke, or Descartes, we feel that we have mastered its contents accord-

ing to our several abilities. However wide its scope, still its scope is limited. We make no new discoveries in Macaulay. We found no new systems on Aristotle. These men do their work, shape the thought of their generation, and pass to the shelves of immortality—to be known by name to the intelligent, to be studied here and there by scholars, to be absolutely dead to the populace.

Thus also our best and latest books of religion—by Professor Allen, Matthew Arnold, Dean Stanley, Herbert Spencer, and others—full as they are of high thought and honorable words, enlightenment and sanctification—differ from the Bible in that they are not infinite. It is all there; nothing is behind. And it is a little all—the arc of a small circle. But the Bible is forever unfolding. It is a guide to the humble heart which knows nothing about it intellectually, but craves God. The wisest genius, climbing the mountain-tops of mind finds equally that the Bible is before him, spanning still his highest heaven with its bow of promise, arched by his strictest law of mathematics, tinted according to his most rigid chromatic science, satisfying in form and color his most delicate artistic sense.

Other the best books are to the Bible what a picture of the midnight sky by some master's hand is to the dome of heaven itself. The one is stirring, stimulating, suggestive, ideal; but it is a flat surface—always the same. Too near, it is a daub of oil on canvas. But the over-bending heaven is ever-revealing. It lights the peasant on his path, guides the mariner across the sea, who know not one star from another, except as private light and guide, nor guess whence any star is circling or on what law it is hung. But the astronomer, too, who turns his cunning glass upon it, sees what they see, and more—marvels upon marvels, universe beyond universe, yet never gets so far as to reach a bound; with keenest eye and strongest lens never plucks its secret from the sky; with life-long study and devotion never takes a single step in learning that does not widen the horizon of his ignorance.

From such a book, the repository of the inspiration of ages, so heavily charged with the divine Spirit that we call it *The* Book of Inspiration, it is but natural to expect that truth upon truth will unfold. Its revelation should keep step with the march of the human mind. To found upon it an unchanging theology would be to relegate it to the list of books, great indeed, but plentiful enough to make a list, accepted at one age of the

world, practically unused thereafter. A theology unchangeably true to its unchanging principles of righteousness, love to God and love to man, but forever developing new features in conformity with new discoveries of its meaning after new study of its history and new unfolding of the secrets of the world—this is precisely what we should expect from that intensity of Revelation which makes this the Book of books.

Since, therefore, change need not be feared, let us ask now: Is a future probation, or a present probation, or a second probation, or a probation in Adam, or any kind of probation, a feature of the Divine government of the world, or is it merely a human device? If it is the latter, it may be altogether swept away from religion, if not from theology.

Probation is defined to be any proceeding designed to *ascertain* truth, to *determine* character. But an Omniscient Being needs no *proceeding* to enable Him to *ascertain* the truth about His creatures, to *determine* their character. He knows it every moment. A probation to enable him to ascertain and determine must, therefore, be only human endeavor to put the ways of the Creator into some sort of relation to human ways. *We* cannot ascertain truth except by long investigation. *We* cannot determine character except by a close and intricate balance-sheet. Therefore, we cumber the Creator with our clumsy invention and wage deadly war for that cumber.

Can anything be more absurd? A dear friend of mine, a preacher of the gospel after the straitest sect of orthodoxy, is wont to say that although we are made in the image of God, we are a great deal more unlike Him than we are like Him. Strong in the consciousness of bearing His image, we reject this statement promptly; but a second and reasonable thought compels us to accept it, for the quantitative difference between God and man is so great as to constitute a qualitative difference. An atom of salt spray on the rose's petal is in the image and likeness of the ocean. Its components and proportions are the same. It is governed by the same laws, is derived from the same source, is tending to the same goal; and the quantitative difference between itself and the ocean, though immense, and to us incalculable, is not infinite. Yet who, from the evanescent and almost impalpable atom of spray, could form the slightest conception of the mighty deep, its boundless peace and eternal unrest, its marvel of color and sound

and storm, its upbearing power, its purifying potency, its destructive energy, its ministration to human weal? Surely the spray-atom, though of the ocean, is more unlike than like the ocean. It is like only by its own tiny measurement. It is unlike by the countless billows of wide-stretching solitudes.

I am never borne through the human wilderness from the Grand Central Station in New York to the Heights of Brooklyn without a heart-sickening fear that after all there cannot be a God. The thousands of lights in the early evening lend a twilight to the city, and every light means many homes and every home many souls. Miles on miles of stirring, eager hopes and fears and purposes—can there be a God supervising all? Is it possible there can be a Being who has an interest in every one of these minds and hearts? Overhead the lights of heaven repeat and extend the problem. As many stars, so many suns; as many suns, so many systems of worlds; and beyond all visible suns and systems, universe on universe circling the unthinkable spaces, till our great stirring, twinkling, twilight world is but a pin-point in the immeasurable sky—how can there be a Being equal to launching, guiding, upholding this visible universe, which is as far beyond thought as it is beyond expression?

There is only one thing to hold the mind steady; the universe is a fact. The miracle is wrought. The Christian and the Atheist are at one on the main point—that the immensity exists, and that it is an immensity of order, of law, of harmony. Therefore, it is of one. The anemone whorls its tender petals of earliest spring in obedience to the law which guides Arcturus with his Sons. For all our littleness we are just as sure of this as if ourselves had made Arcturus. The Christian and the Atheist alike find themselves in a universe of law which they did not establish, and which they cannot overthrow. It would, indeed, be impossible to believe that one Being could create and control from large to small, were it not that we see the creation and feel the control—both in infinite measure, great and small in both directions alike beyond our ken. What matter whether we call this creative force Absolute Being, or the Stream of Tendency, or the World-Soul, or Unconscious Intelligence, or the Unknowable, or Eternal Energy, or the Power outside ourselves that makes for righteousness—Jehovah, Jove, or Lord? All nomenclature is but the outreach of language towards the Unreachable. All theology is but

search for the Unsearchable. What possible analogy can give to a being chained every moment to one single spot of earth any adequate idea of a Being who is at all times everywhere present? Thought offers the only glimmer to the imagination, and that is, indeed, only a glimmer. What analogy between thought which can fix firmly on only one object at a time, and but feebly on two or three at most, and that Infinite Thought to which all is an Eternal Now and Here? Science is more frank than theology, and confesses an ignorance, an inability, which theology cannot disown or disarm by calling it infidelity.

Nothing is gained for religion by attempting to include the greatness of God in the littleness of man. Here theology stumbles, but never demonstrates.

> "What mortals think they know of God
> A thousand tomes rehearse;
> What mortals do not know of God
> Fills all the universe."

"I believe," says the Reverend Mr. Foster, "that God is a personality, not a mere blind force;" but Spencer, and Huxley, and Darwin proclaim no blind force, but a force unfailingly discerning—a force that never falters, makes no mistakes, suffers no repulse, advances forever and forever with unerring precision, in unending and orderly evolution. "Nor an unknown power," continues Mr. Foster, "but a person like ourselves; a person with intellect, and heart, and will; a person whose glorious being *we may faintly comprehend* by looking into our own hearts." And in the very next article of his creed he declares: "God exists in three distinctions *impossible to be comprehended*. . . . This mysterious existence is *beyond my comprehension*, and I rejoice that it is."

Yes, but why then say that it is not? Why in one sentence declare that God is a person like ourselves, and in the next that He is unlike ourselves? Why with one breath affirm that God can be comprehended, and with a second that He is impossible of comprehension? It is better to be rejected by a thousand councils, and to dwell with the unorthodox forever, than to darken conviction by words. The thrusts of faction may be parried by skillful and adroit phraseology, but the understanding of the simple is confused.

Theology needs a new baptism from science into the greatness

of God. When theology pronounces God to be a person like ourselves, it needs to be iterated and reiterated that God is not a person like ourselves. Theology and science agree that man is made in the image and likeness of God; not that God is made in the image and likeness of man. Man is made in the likeness of God only approximately, as the molecule of salt spray is in the likeness of the ocean. True science admits the fact reverently, and sacrifices language rather than sacrifice the Infinite. Pseudo-science half learns a half truth and proclaims its feat scornfully, God; but with pseudo-science we have nothing to do. Theology is too apt to belittle the Infinite by thinking Him such an one as ourselves. And it is a theology which thinks God such an one as ourselves that has invented the whole scheme of probation, past, present, and future, and makes fight upon it as a revelation of God let down from the skies.

All theories of probation assume that God is a stronger man, and only that. He created man upon the Earth and gave him a special order, whose violation was death. Man disobeyed, but the penalty was not enforced. Man was reprieved. His punishment was mitigated;—mitigated, however, to the disaster of millions of his descendants, who would never have been born at all if his punishment had been enforced according to the Divine warning, but who were born to eternal anguish after a few brief years of guilty, flitting, and intermittent pleasure. The best that can be said of all Adam's descendants, born under God's violation of His own word, is that they are put under test, under probation. If they stand the test they will be saved. If they fail under the test they will be lost. It is perfectly plain sailing.

But Adam, created innocent under the smile of God, failed. What ground to hope that his children, born in sin, and under God's frown, can succeed?

This is undoubtedly the way it would be if man had the ordering of things as they stand—even a very strong man whom we should call God. How otherwise could he tell whether the world were improving or deteriorating; whether man were fit or unfit for the Kingdom of Heaven? The highest justice which the human heart conceives is to wait till the account is all in and then balance the debt and credit. This highest justice he attributes to the Highest Being and launches poor humanity upon its fore-doomed trial trip.

Is not the time ripe to repudiate the whole theory? It may not have been entirely irrational in its inception. It may have been the best possible effort of the human mind. But we ought to pay our debt to the past by bringing in a better hope for the future. Give to the dead past this dead scheme, this lifeless, limited, mechanical "plan of salvation," which is rather a plan of damnation, and let us, in the new light which has broken forth from God's holy word and from His unfolding world, see no longer through a glass darkly, that when the Angel of the Lord proclaimed good tidings of great joy to all people, he meant what he said. It is not good tidings of great joy to all people if only one little, warm, narrow Gulf Stream of life is coursing through the wide, cold, bitter ocean of death. It is not good tidings of great joy to all people if Rev. J. D. Davis speaks truth in declaring that "there are eight hundred million souls within our reach who have never heard the gospel, the great mass of whom, on any possible theory, will forever perish, unless we give them, at once, the bread of life." It would be most wicked in God to let the happiness of eight hundred millions of people depend forever on so frail a reed as the fitful, uncertain, and certainly feeble action of a few thousand people on the other side of their world who never saw them, who know next to nothing about them, and who have much ado to keep their own heads above water. It is not good tidings of great joy if all hangs on the doubtful rhetoric that the Church be "waked up and shaken out over the outer rim, as it were, of that fearful abyss of woe which yawns just before these heathen millions, as well as before so many millions here at home." If this is what Christ came for, the angel should have announced bad tidings of great woe which should be to most people. Heaven be praised that our Angels of Annunciation were of Heaven and not of Earth!

All notion of future probation, or second probation, or first probation, of another chance, or a chance after death, or any chance at all, is utterly unworthy of such a conception of God as the holy men of old and the holy men of to-day have enabled us to form. It is miserably unworthy of such a conception of life, of religion, of Christianity as Christ, and even as the Apostles, preached. It is pitiably weak for such a conception of the nature, the degradation, the disintegration of sin as intelligent observation of the world in the revealing light of Christianity ought to give us. If

the possibility of repentance or salvation after death would cut the nerve of Christian missions, then that nerve ought to be cut and the Christian missionaries ought themselves to be converted, for they are carrying to the heathen a false gospel and have themselves no adequate conception and no healthy horror of sin. When Dr. Hamlin makes his Oriental Apostate say, in view of "a second chance," that "it is foolish to be all our lives subject to the fear of death when we can all have a good time both here and there," he shows himself to be in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity. He shows that he is at variance not only with the gospel of Christ, but with the best conscience of the world. He shows that he thinks that to sin is to have a good time, instead of a bad time; that Christ came to save from penalty, and not from sin; that the Kingdom of Heaven is something in the future, and not in the present; that death is the beginning of the end, instead of the end of the beginning; that Christ was an afterthought, and not a forethought; that God in Christ would reconcile Himself to the world, and not the world unto Himself. No man—minister or missionary—has really "experienced religion" unless he sees that sin is so hideous, so revolting, so destructive as to constitute of itself—Hell. For comfort and for warning is given us the hope and the fear of life after death; but even in this life alone we see, we feel the eternal punishment of selfishness and malice. All the wretchedness of this wretched world comes from violation of law, and chiefly from violation of known law. All the happiness of the world comes from being in harmony with the Eternal Righteousness. We might just as well refuse to feed the hungry and heal the sick, because there is "a chance after death," as cease to stamp out or transmute out murder and meanness, because there is a chance after death. The very proof and substance of Christ's divine mission was—not to induce people to refrain from having a good time now, in order that they might have a longer good time hereafter, but to make them begin now, instantly, to have a good time, by ceasing to do evil and learning to do well.

It is probable that in the world as it is we see the world as it has been, even in the geologic ages. We are sure, at least, of the world as it is. The present moment is a cross-section of eternity. We find man now very little higher than the beasts. It is not necessary to discuss evolution, to decide whether man is a devel-

oped animal or an undeveloped angel. We know that there are now on the earth tribes of men who are savages, uncouth, horrible, in mode of life more unlike the highest man than they are unlike the highest beasts. Yet we know, too, that in them is something which differentiates them even from the highest beasts—a cultivable spiritual quality which in the beast is utterly wanting. Through every grade we mount upward to the highest peaks of humanity—men and women of pure heart, clear head, unselfish life. Why is it not the simplest, the most reasonable, the natural belief that this great human host was put on the earth for education, not for probation; that the world was made for man; that all the ages of preparation, through which the earth was shaping itself from a void and formless, a seething and roaring mass into a stable and habitable home, it was shaping itself under Fatherly guidance for the dwelling-place of that most finely organized animal which was to receive the breath of Divine Life and become of all created beings upon this earth the only Spiritual Being—sons of God? It would be quite in the nature of all other things that man should begin low down, just above the beasts, and end high up, just below the angels. Wholly why, we do not know. We cannot comprehend the Eternal Creator. But we easily do know that creation must be the one or the other—instantaneous or not instantaneous. If it were instantaneous, everything must begin in the middle. The record of the rocks, the record of Genesis, and the record of our own eyes unite to testify that everything begins at a beginning. We are in a system of gradual and orderly unfolding. The tree ripens from seed. The man grows up from the child. History is born of history. We cannot trace the original beginnings, but resultant beginnings are the regular order. The Bible equally narrates a gradual succession, a systematic advance. This is as near a fixed fact as we shall ever find to stand on.

That Creative Power which in the material world science calls force, and which in the unseen world theology calls Spiritual force—God—has brooded as steadfastly, as minutely, over the feeble, fluctuating human spirit as the Earth-force brooded over the first stir of material protoplasm. Slowly and with infinite suffering this beastly man has been wrought into scholar and saint. In his beastliest condition he is nearly exterminated. Only a few lingering specimens here and there testify to his low estate.

His most sordid traits have been educated out of him by the Divine Teacher. The trees, the rocks, storm, and sky, and stars have been his lessons. Prophet, priest, and king interpreted him to himself with ever increasing rapidity. In the fullness of time, Christ came, the perfect Teacher, the perfect Exemplar, God manifest in the flesh, holding within himself all purity, all love, all sacrifice, revealing to man once for all his true spiritual kinship. God is too great for man to grasp. Out of the illimitable past, from the inconceivable future, we cannot summon Him, but of his own will and invention, in Christ,—lo! I am with you always even unto the end of the world.

What room is there for probation here? The wretchedest cannibal that ever breathed was as truly a child of God as the greatest philosopher. He had received the boon of spiritual life. He was a part of the plan of creation. He must be involved in the plan of redemption. How? I do not know; but a righteous God could never leave him out. What we do see and know, as a matter of evidence, is that the trend of humanity is upward, and it is impossible to believe that eternal force will ever bend and fix it downward. The low, beastly nature of every man is always drawing him down. The aspiring divine soul of him is always forcing him up. It is a long fight, a hard fight; sometimes it seems to be a losing fight; but, on the whole, judging over long reaches, it is always a winning fight. The historic world has never relapsed so far into barbarism as it has come out from barbarism. Nations rise and fall; but the great lines of civilization and of spiritual religion make a steady advance. Never over so wide an area did heavenly love diffuse itself through human hearts and spring up in justice and mercy as we see to-day. If man was created a perfected spiritual being, and launched on the world for a probation, his condition is hopeless. If he lost the battle when he had every advantage, it is useless to expect him to win under every disadvantage. But if he was created the highest animal, and with a rudimentary spirit, then we can fight it out with the greatest good cheer, for God is working in us. All the vice and the crime, the wickedness and the weakness that disfigure our own lives and disgust us in public rehearsal, are the mark of the beast, but fading slowly into the tracery of a new name. All the warfare of the world is a warfare between the flesh and the spirit; between the soul of the beast that goeth downward and the soul of the man

that goeth upward; between the departing animal and the advancing angel. The serpent bruises the heel of humanity, and its sting is sharp. But it is not fatal. Humanity is bruising the serpent's head, and when the head is crushed the serpent is dead. The sting of death is sin, and with sin exterminated, behold already new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

GAIL HAMILTON.

SPECIALISTS IN MEDICINE.

THE question is frequently raised by persons with whom I come in daily contact whether it is "best in any illness to seek the immediate aid of a specialist or that of a general practitioner. In other words, which shall we consult—the family physician or the specialist?"—the well-educated and experienced general practitioner, or the modern specialist, whose claim to patronage is based on his exclusive devotion to one branch or subject in medicine? In my judgment, there is no question in the whole range of the social economies of the day that is of greater importance, and inures more directly to the welfare and happiness of the community, than this. Under most circumstances, my advice is to seek first the aid of the general practitioner—one that you know, and who knows you. Exert your own intelligence, and you will be enabled to determine whether he does or does not understand your case. If he does, be guided by his advice. If he does not,—assuming that he is an honorable practitioner,—*he is the one to guide you* in the selection of a specialist for special assistance.

The fashion of the day tends, to a great extent, to the selection of a specialist for every ailment. It has been alleged that the subdivision of labor in the field of medicine affords the best opportunities for the advancement of the science and the practice of the art. It is, to a great extent, a false assumption—as false as the assumption that the possession of the doctorate of medicine implies fitness to practice. The possession of a degree in medicine affords no more and no other evidence than the fact that the bearer of the title has probably attended two or three limited courses of lectures in one of the many schools that abound in every part of the country. If any one questions these premises, let me refer him to any of the surgeons of the army and navy who have served as members of examining boards for the admission of candidates for surgeons' commissions in the public service, or let me

suggest to him to examine the certificates of death—for any one day—filed in the office of the Registrar of Vital Statistics, especially those of New York. A remarkable address on this subject—bearing ample testimony to what I have said—was delivered, about two years ago, before the American Medical Association, by a surgeon of the United States navy.

The question of specialism in medicine has recently been vigorously brought before the public by Dr. Morell Mackenzie, of London, who professes to devote his entire attention to diseases of the throat. He has acquired some notoriety in his specialty. His notoriety, at least, will not be lessened by the articles he publishes on this subject.* His intemperate denunciation of his professional brethren of the College of Physicians does not add to the strength of his argument (?) or to his own pretensions to speak authoritatively on questions of scientific medicine. Dr. Mackenzie does himself injustice in his wild denunciation of the so-called "pure physician," and still more injustice to the cause of the specialist by the arrogance of his assumption that "public opinion has, in fact, declared itself with such emphasis on the side of the specialists that the profession has been coerced into sullen acquiescence in the inevitable." He says:

"It may not unnaturally be asked why specialism was so vehemently opposed by the medical profession. In the first place it was, as already said, what Americans call a 'new departure,' and, as nearly every page of the history of human progress shows, the pioneers of any onward movement have been exceptionally fortunate if they escaped persecution. Again there is an innate tendency in human nature to look with suspicion on knowledge or skill which is the possession of a select few. The distrust of doctors as a class which is sometimes met with (by no means always among the ignorant) is in itself an illustration of this. Coming, however, to more definite examples of this form of jealousy, we find that it especially pervades limited societies of men, as may be seen in the case of guilds and trades-unions."

I cannot, of course, tell to what extent Dr. Mackenzie is justified in reaching these conclusions; they are the outgrowth of his English experience amongst his own people. This I do know: that in America the well-educated, experienced, skillful

* "Specialism in Medicine," June, 1885; "Medical Specialism: a rejoinder," August, 1885, by Morell Mackenzie. "Fortnightly Review."

specialist is held in high esteem by the well-educated general practitioner, whether he be physician or surgeon. The public cannot go far astray by consulting their own "family practitioner" in the selection of a specialist for special cases. He will invariably acquiesce in their wishes, and he should know better than his secular neighbor the one most likely to render most valuable additional assistance. Beware of the over zealous secular advisers that abound in every community. How suggestive this caustic passage from poor De Quincey: "For it is one of the infirmities of the public mind with us, that whatever is said or done by a public man, any opinion given by a member of Parliament, however much out of his own proper jurisdiction and range of inquiry, commands an attention not conceded even to those who speak under the known privilege of professional knowledge." Any denial of this statement virtually ignores the claims of an honorable and honored profession to the possession of honor and integrity in their intercourse with their fellow-men. That jealousies exist—frequently to a disgraceful extent—in the medical profession no one can dispute. There is, however, less of acrimony in these jealousies the higher we ascend in the scale of professional attainments and the possession of intrinsic rewards. Jealousies are mainly the outgrowth of disappointment and despair on the part of those who have failed to win honors and emoluments.

Dr. Mackenzie refers to his astonishment, when visiting the United States about three years ago, at the universal diffusion of specialism he found existing amongst us. He concluded that specialism was received with open arms. His deductions were reached on false bases. Most of the so-called specialists are not specialists. They pretend to be such, as opportunities offer chances for special cases. Necessity, want of practice, leads to this course—not an enlightened cultivation of or knowledge or fitness to practice any special branch of medicine. Many of the friends with whom he came most in contact—supposed to be pure throat doctors—do not disdain fees for opinions in the varied range of medicine. There is not a very large number of pure specialists—men who devote their entire time and practice to one branch of medicine. Those that do follow the course of pure specialists are the experienced men of scientific attainments who from a large *clientèle* have discarded all but those of special interest and of a

special character. The general practitioners have invariably been in favor of and supported this class of specialists. Their so-called jealousy of "specialism" has been against the claims of mere tyros in medicine assuming special knowledge and skill—men without ability or experience—versed only in the methods of advertising without incurring penalties exacted from those infringing the laws governing members of the learned professions.

Now, what constitutes a good general practitioner, and why should he first be consulted? Natural fitness, a liberal preliminary education, a systematic course of didactic teaching, covering a period of not less than three years, two years' clinical instruction and experience as an assistant in a hospital, should be—must be—the essentials *to start* on the successful career of a general practitioner. Ten years then—not less—of the average range of general practice may be regarded as the preliminary fitting for a creditable career in a specialty.

I have known of and met in my own experience many specialists of distinction. Their success was based on their general intelligence and experience in general medicine.

In obscure and doubtful cases take advantage, by all means, of the assistance afforded by the specialist who has shown his skill at the bedside in a wide range of practice. Bear in mind, however, that the lever and source of reputation, at the present time, of a large proportion of the so-called specialists is either a subordinate chair in some medical institution, acquired by purchase, politics, or nepotism, or the make-up of an octavo of old and "new" doctrines—seldom demonstrated as of any value—culled from the journals of the hour.

A more rational course of living on the part of our so-called better classes of women would prove the best prophylactic against many of the diseases of women that are claimed by the specialists for special treatment. I refer to proper mental and physical exercise, rest, diet, clothing, and hygienic surroundings.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, distinguished alike in science, literature, and humanity, ridicules the subdivision of medicine into specialties. Surely no one will question his integrity or capacity of judgment. Forty years ago, when a general practitioner of medicine, he demonstrated with all his zeal and eloquence that "the disease known as puerperal fever is so far contagious as to be frequently carried from patient to patient by physicians and

nurses." The mortality has increased from this special source to a frightful extent. Very recently a distinguished specialist has directed attention to the subject in New York, and formulated rules to correct the evil so well described and denounced by the great general practitioner.

Consult an oculist of good ability and repute in a case of iritis —an inflammation of the iris. He will tell you that iritis may arise spontaneously—without any perceptible cause—may be the result of direct injury, or of specific or rheumatic origin. Any fairly educated surgeon can treat it as well as he. If the case should become so severe that an operation is indicated, the assistance of the pure oculist might be of advantage, he being in more constant practice for such operations.

Take, for instance, a case of eczema, the most prevalent of all skin diseases; it may result from a vitiated condition of the system, an injury, a local irritation, or associated with a gouty or rheumatic diathesis. Who shall treat it—the pure skin doctor, with his exclusive knowledge of the skin and his local applications of washes and tar ointments, or the experienced general practitioner learned in all the phases and conditions of the system in health and disease? Tilbury Fox, the great English authority on diseases of the skin, says: "To be a successful dermatologist, it is necessary to be a well-informed physician. The dermatologist has hitherto practically ignored this fact in the pathology to which he has pinned his faith and the therapeutics he has adopted. I have no hesitation in saying that the best preparation for the study of diseases of the skin is a good grounding in general medicine, at the bedside and in the dead-house."

The sore throat of diphtheria and malignant scarlet fever—the most severe forms of all acute diseases of the throat—are but local manifestations of poisons affecting the general system. Surely these are cases for the practitioner of general medicine and not the pure throat doctor. I could easily multiply instances such as I have described. Again, let me advise my readers to consult first the well-educated general practitioner.

Dr. H. B. Donkin, an accomplished English physician, responds to Dr. Mackenzie's first article in the "Fortnightly Review," * and exposes the dangers of the course advocated by Dr. Mackenzie to both the public and the profession. The leading medical

* "Dangers of Medical Specialism."

journals have now entered the arena of discussion, and the question is under way for thorough ventilation.

I have thus far presented only the opinions of members of my own profession. Let me submit the following letter which I received from the Rev. Dr. M. B. Anderson, President of the Rochester University, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of an address which I delivered before the alumni of the University of Vermont, on "Specialists and Specialties in Medicine," in 1876:

"DEAR SIR: Let me thank you for the address on 'Specialists and Specialties' which you have been so kind as to send to a stranger, not a member of your profession. With your discussion upon the evils of deficient preliminary education for the medical profession, and of excessive addiction to specialties, I have been exceedingly gratified. I know of but one medical school which requires any preliminary examination for entrance upon its course of study. This failure of professors in medical schools is an advertisement to the world that neither liberal culture, nor indeed any course of study worthy to be called education in any proper sense, is requisite for the medical profession. This is saying to the world that medicine is no longer a learned profession, but a trade, an art, which is to be learned like that of a carpenter or a mason. I agree with what is implied in your address, that the trouble regarding the prevalence of quackery arises from the fact that there are so many real quacks who are really indorsed as regular members of the medical profession.

"The only proper definition of a quack is a man who practices medicine by rules and authorities whose fundamental basis and reason he does not understand. I have never read an address from any eminent physician which contained so much good sense on the subject of medical training.

"Regarding specialties I remark that my duties as a commissioner of charities have brought me into relation with specialists in the care of the insane, and the result has been such as to confirm your general views. Not only medicine, but all branches of physical science, are suffering from specialism. A man finds a few undescribed fossil bones or shells, and he goes into the newspapers as a man of science whose authority is final upon any scientific subject upon which he may choose to give an opinion. He may have no idea of scientific method; he may be a man without general education in any single department of human thought; but he assumes the position (and the newspapers yield it to him) of a scientific authority. Such men have the same relation to the great legislators of science that a hod-carrier sustains to an architect. No man can thoroughly understand a part of the human organism without a comprehensive and general knowledge of the whole. Indeed, the whole range of the natural sciences seems to be more closely related as we make more minute investigation of details. No man can be an intelligent observer of details who has not an intelligent idea of the system of which they form a part. Agassiz said to me a few years before his death, 'I am more and more suspicious of the observations and deductions of a man who is familiar with but one narrow specialty in science.' Pascal had said before him, 'The parts of the world have all such relation and are so connected with each other that I believe it impossible to know the one without knowing the other, nor without a knowledge of the whole.' It was once said to Napoleon 'that such discoveries as Newton's were no longer possible.' 'There remains,' replied he, 'the

world of details.' This is true, but details are only significant as they are co-ordinated in a system.

"Our modern tendency is to consider knowledge of details, which are unrelated in thought, standing apart from any coherent system, as science. This is the weakness of our age. The weakness of former ages was contempt for investigation of details, and a disposition to evolve science from an empty mind. Thus we oscillate from one extreme to another. It is the part of a wise man to remedy so far as he can the specific evils of his own age. This, I take it, was the inspiration of your address. I hope you will go farther in the same direction.

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "M. B. ANDERSON."

This letter speaks so eloquently of the necessities of a thorough education and training for the practice of any learned profession or calling, and so tersely of the dangers of too marked a subdivision of scientific work, that I begged permission of the distinguished educator to publish it. No additional testimony is, I believe, called for to sustain the views I have expressed and advocated.

MORRIS H. HENRY.

VULGARITY.

If the present age were less of a hypocrite than it is, probably its conscience would compel it to acknowledge that vulgarity is excessively common in it; more common than in any preceding time, despite its very bountiful assumptions of good taste and generalized education.

Vulgarity is almost a modern vice; it is doubtful whether classic ages knew it at all, except in that sense in which it must be said that even Socrates was vulgar, *i. e.* inquisitiveness, and in that other sense of love of display to which the tailless dog of Alkibiades was a mournful victim. I am aware that Alkibiades said he cut off his dog's tail and ears to give the Athenians something to talk of, that they might not gossip about what else he was doing. But though gossip was no doubt rife in Athens, still vulgarity in its worst sense, that is, in the struggle to seem what the struggler is not, could have had no existence in times when every man's place was marked out for him, and the lines of demarcation could not be overstepped. Vulgarity began when the freedman began to give himself airs, and strut, and talk, as though he had been a porphyrogenitus; and this pretension was only possible in a decadence.

There may be a vast vulgarity of soul with an admirable polish of manners, and there may be a vast vulgarity of manner with a generous delicacy of soul. But, in this life, we are usually compelled to go by appearances, and we can seldom see beyond them, except in the cases of those few dear to, and intimate with us. We must be pardoned if we judge by the externals that are palpable to us and do not divine the virtues hidden beneath them. An essayist has recently defined good manners as courtesy and truthfulness. Now this is simply nonsense. A person may be full of kindly courtesies, and never utter the shadow of an untruth, and

yet he may have red-hot hands, a strident voice, an insupportable manner, dropped aspirates, and a horribly gross joviality, which make him the vulgarest of the vulgar. It is often said that a perfect Christian is a perfect gentleman, but this also is a very doubtful postulate. The good Christian may "love his neighbor as himself," and yet he may offend his ear with a cockney accent and sit down to his table with unwashed hands. "Manners make the man" is an old copy-book adage, and is not quite true either: but it is certain that, without good manners, the virtues of a saint may be more offensive, by far, to society than the vices of a sinner. It is a mistake to confuse moral qualities with the qualities which come from culture and from breeding.

I have said that Socrates must have been in a certain degree vulgar, because he was so abominably inquisitive. For surely all interrogation is vulgar. When strangers visit me I can at once tell whether they are ill-bred or high-bred persons by the mere fact of whether they do or do not ask me questions. Even in intimacy, much interrogation is a vulgarity; it may be taken for granted that your friend will tell you what he wishes you to know. Here and there when a question seems necessary, if silence would imply coldness and indifference, then must it be put with the utmost delicacy and without any kind of semblance of its being considered a demand which must be answered. All interrogation for purposes of curiosity is vulgar, curiosity itself being so vulgar; and even the plea of friendship or of love cannot be pleaded in extenuation of it. But if love and friendship be pardoned their inquisitiveness, the anxiety of the general public to have their curiosity satisfied as to the habits, ways and scandals of those who are conspicuous in any way, is mere vulgar intrusiveness, which the "society newspapers," as they are called, do, in all countries, feed to a most pernicious degree. Private life has no longer any door that it can shut and bolt against the intrusion of the crowd. Whether a royal prince has quarreled with his wife, or a country mayoress has quarreled with a house-maid, the press, large or small, metropolitan or provincial, serves up the story to the rapacious curiosity of the world-wide, or the merely local, public. This intrusion on personal and wholly private matters is an evil which increases every day; it is a twofold evil, for it is alike a curse to those whose privacy it poisons and a curse to those whose debased appetites it feeds. It would be wholly impossible, in an

age which was not vulgar, for those journals which live on personalities to find a public. They are created by the greed of the multitude which calls for them. It is useless to blame the proprietors and editors who live on them; the true culprits are the readers—the legions of readers—who relish and patronize them, and without whose support such carrion flies could not live out a summer.

"It is so easy to talk about people" is the excuse constantly made by those who are reproved for gossiping about others who are not even, perhaps, their personal acquaintances. Yes, it is very easy; the most mindless creature can do it; the asp, be he ever so small, can sting the hero, and perchance can slay him; but gossip of a malicious kind is intensely vulgar, and to none but the vulgar should it be welcome, even if their vulgarity be such as is hidden under a cloak of good manners. It is true that there is a sort of spurious wit which springs out of calumny, and which is *malgré nous* too often diverting to the best of us, and this sort of personality has a kind of contagious attraction which is apt to grow even on those who loathe it, much as absinthe does. But it is none the less vulgar, and vulgarizes the mind which admits its charm, as absinthe slowly eats up the vitality and the digestive powers of those who yield to its attraction. Were there no vulgarity, it may be said that there would be no scandal; for scandal is born of that marked desire to think ill of others, and that restless inquisitiveness into affairs that do not concern us, which is pre-eminently vulgar. When we talk of the follies of our friends, or the backslidings of our acquaintances, in a duchess's boudoir, we are every whit as vulgar as the fish-wives or the village dames jabbering of the sins of Jack and Jill in any ale-house. The roots of the vulgarity are the same; inquisitiveness and idleness. All personalities are vulgar; and whether personalities are used as the base weapons to turn an argument, or as the equally base bait wherewith to make the fortunes of a newspaper, they are alike offensive and unpardonable. The best characteristic of the best society would be that they should be absolutely forbidden in it.

Another reason why the present age is more vulgar than any preceding it may also be found in the fact that in it pretension is infinitely more abundant, because infinitely more successful than it ever was before. An autocratic aristocracy and a perfect equality

would equally make pretension impossible. But, at the present time, aristocracy is without power, and equality has no existence outside the dreams of Utopians. The result is, that the whole vast mass of humanity, uncontrolled, can struggle, and push, and strive, and sweat, and exhaust itself, to appear something that it is not, and all repose and calm and dignity, which are the foes of vulgarity, are destroyed.

Essayists have often attempted to define high breeding; but it remains indefinable. Its incomparable charm, its perfect ease, its dignity which is never asserted, yet which the most obtuse can always feel is in reserve, its very manner of performing all the trifling acts of social usage and obligation, are beyond definition. They are too delicate and too subtle for the hardness of classification. The courtier of the old story who, when told by Louis Quatorze to go first, went first without protest, was a high-bred gentleman. Charles the First, when he kept his patience and his peace under the insults of his trial at Westminster, was one also. Mme. du Barry screams and sobs at the foot of the guillotine; Marie Antoinette is calm.

True, I once knew a perfectly well-bred person who yet could neither read nor write. I can see her now in her little cottage in the Derbyshire woods, on the brown, flashing water of the Derwent River (Darron, as the people of Derbyshire call it), a fair, neat, stout, old woman with a round face and a clean mob cap. She had been a factory girl in her youth (indeed, all her womanhood had worked at the cotton mill on the river), and now was too old to do anything except to keep her one-roomed cottage, with its tall, lancet windows, its peaked, red roof, and its sweet-smelling garden, with its high elder hedge, as neat, and fresh, and clean as human hands could make them. Dear old woman! with her racy, Chaucerian English, and her happy, cheerful temper, and her silver spectacles, which some of the "gentry" had given her, and her big Bible open on the little round table, and the black kettle boiling in the wide fire-place, and her casements wide open to the nodding moss-roses and the sweet-brier boughs. Dear old woman! she was a bit of Shakespeare's England, of Milton's England, of Spenser's England, and the memory of her, and of her cottage by the brown, bright river, often comes back to me across the width of years. She was a perfectly well-bred person; she made one welcome to her little home with simple, perfect

courtesy, without flutter, or fuss, or any effort of any sort; she had neither envy nor servility; grateful for all kindness, she never either abused "the gentry" or flattered them; and her admirable manner never varied to the peddler at her door or to the squire of her village; would never have varied, I am sure, if the queen of her country had crossed her door-step. For she had the repose of contentment, of simplicity, and of that self-respect which can never exist where envy and effort are. She could neither read nor write; she scrubbed and washed and worked for herself; she had never left that one little green nook of Derbyshire, or seen other roads than the hilly one which went up to the pine woods behind her house; but she was a perfectly well-bred woman, born of a time calmer, broader, wiser, more generous than ours.

A few miles off in the valley, where she never by any chance went, the excursion trains used to vomit forth, at Easter and in Whitsun week, throngs of the mill hands of the period, cads and their flames; tawdry, blowzy, noisy, drunken; the women with dress that aped "the fashion," and pyramids of artificial flowers on their heads; the men as grotesque and hideous in their own way, tearing through woods and fields like swarms of devastating locusts, and dragging the fern and hawthorn boughs they had torn down in the dust, ending the lovely spring day in pot-houses, drinking gin and bitters, or heavy ales by the quart, and tumbling pell-mell into the night train, roaring music-hall choruses; sodden, tipsy, yelling, loathsome creatures, such as make the monkey look a king, and the newt seem an angel beside humanity,—exact semblance and emblem of the vulgarity of the age.

I pass to-day a little wine-house built this year; it has been run up in a few months by a speculative builder; it has its name and purpose gaudily sprawling in letters two feet long across its front; it has bright green shutters and a slate roof with no eaves; it has a dusty graveled space in front of it; it looks tawdry, stingy, pretentious, meager, squalid, fine, all in one. A little way off it is another wine-house, built somewhere about the sixteenth century; it is made of solid gray stone; it has a roof of brown tiles, with overhanging eaves like a broad-leafed hat drawn down to shade a modest countenance; it has deep arched windows, with some carved stone around and above them; it has an outside stairway in stone and some ivy creeping about it; it has grass

before it and some cherry and peach trees; the only sign of its calling is the green bough hung above the doorway. The two wine-houses are, methinks, most apt examples of the sobriety and beauty which our forefathers put into the humblest things of life and the flimsy tawdriness and unendurable hideousness which the present age displays in all it produces. I have not a doubt that the one under the cherry tree, with its bough for a sign, and its deep, cool casements, and its clean, aged look, will be soon deserted by the majority of the carters and fruit growers and river fishermen who pass this way, in favor of its vulgar rival where I am quite sure the wines will be watered tenfold and the artichokes fried in rancid oil; its patrons will eat and drink ill, but they will go to the new one, I doubt not, all of them, except a few old men, who will cling to the habit of their youth. Very possibly those who own the old one will feel compelled to adapt themselves to the progress of the age; will cut the eaves off their roof, cut down their fruit trees, whitewash their gray stone, and turn their fine old windows into French doors with green blinds,—and still it will not equal its rival in the eyes of the carters and fishers and gardeners, since it was not made yesterday! Neither its owners nor its customers can scarcely be expected to be wiser than are all the municipal counselors of Europe.

Perfect simplicity is the antithesis of vulgarity, and simplicity is the quality which modern life is most calculated to destroy. The whole tendency of modern education is to create an intense self-consciousness; and whoever is self-conscious has lost the charm of simplicity, and has already become vulgar in a manner. The most high-bred persons are those in whom we find a perfect naturalness, an entire absence of self-consciousness. The whole influence of modern education is to concentrate the mind of the child on itself; as it grows up this egoism becomes confirmed; you have at once an individual both self-absorbed and affected, both hard towards others and vain of itself.

When pretension was less possible, vulgarity was less visible, because its chief root did not exist. When the French nobility, in the time of Louis Quatorze, began to *engraisser leurs terres* with the ill-acquired fortunes of farmer-general's daughters, their manners began to deteriorate and their courtesy began to be no more than an empty shell filled with rottenness. They were not yet vulgar in their manners, but vulgarity had begun to taint their

minds and their race, and their *mésalliances* did not have the power to save them from the scaffold. Cowardice is always vulgar, and the present age is pre-eminently cowardly; full of egotistic nervousness and unconcealed fear of all those physical dangers to which science has told all men they are liable. Pasteur is its god, and the microbe its Mephistopheles. A French writer defined it, the other day, as the age of the "infinitely little." It might be also defined as the age of absorbing self-consciousness. It is eternally placing itself in innumerable attitudes to pose before the camera of a photographer; the old, the ugly, the obscure, the deformed, delight in multiplying their likenesses on cardboard, even more than do the young, the beautiful, the famous, and the well-made. All the resources of invention are taxed to reproduce effigies of persons who have not a good feature in their faces or a correct line in their limbs, and all the resources of science are solicited to keep breath in the bodies of people who had better never have lived at all. Cymon grins before a camera as self-satisfied as though he were Adonis, and Demos is told that he is the one sacred offspring of the gods to which all creation is freely sacrificed. Out of this self-worship springs a hideous, a blatant vulgarity, which is more likely to increase than to diminish. Exaggeration of our own value is one of the most offensive of all the forms of vulgarity, and science has much to answer for in its present pompous and sycophantic attitude before the importance and the excellence of humanity. Humanity gets drunk on such intoxicating flattery of itself.

Nay, see how even what is called the "best" society sins as these do who forsake the gray stone house for the slate-roofed and stuccoed one. There has been an endless outcry about good taste in the last score of years. But where is it to be really found? Not in the crowds who rush all over the world by steam, nor in those who dwell in modern cities. Good taste cannot be gregarious. Good taste cannot endure a square box to live in, however the square box may be colored. That the modern poet can reside in Westbourne Grove, and the modern painter in Cromwell Road, is enough to set the hair of all the Muses on end. If Carlyle had lived at Concord, like Emerson, how much calmer and wiser thought, how much less jaundiced raving would the world have had from him! That is to say, if he would have had the soul to feel the green and fragrant tranquillity of Concord, which is doubt-

ful. Cities may do good to the minds of men by the friction of opinions found in them, but life spent only in cities under their present conditions is debasing and pernicious, for those conditions are essentially and hopelessly vulgar.

If the soul of Shelley in the body of Sardanapalus, with the riches of Crœsus, could now dwell in Paris, London, or New York, it is doubtful whether he would be able to resist the pressure of the social forces round him and strike out any new forms of pleasure or festivity. All that he would be able to do would, perhaps, be to give better dinners than other people. The forms of entertainment in them are monotonous, and trivial where they are not coarse. When a man colossally rich, and therefore boundlessly powerful, appears, what new thing does he originate? What fresh grace does he add to society; what imagination does he bring into his efforts to amuse the world? None; absolutely none. He may have more gold plate than other people; he may have more powdered footmen about his hall; he may have rosewood mangers for his stables; but he has no invention, no brilliancy, no independence of tradition; he will follow all the old worn ways of what is called pleasure, and he will ask crowds to push and perspire on his staircases, and will conceive that he has amused the world.

When one reflects on the immense possibilities of an enormously rich man, or a very great prince, and sees all the *banalité*, the repetition and the utter lack of any imagination, in all that these rich men and their great princes do, one is forced to conclude that the vulgarity of the world at large has been too much for them, and that they can no more struggle against it than a rhinoceros against a quagmire; his very weight serves to make the poor giant sink deeper and quicker into the slime.

From his birth to his death it is hard indeed for any man, even the greatest, to escape the vulgarity of the world around him. Scarcely is he born than the world seizes him, to make him absurd with the fussy conventionalities of the baptismal ceremony, and, after clogging his steps, and clinging to him throughout his whole existence, Vulgarity will seize on his dead body and make even that grotesque with the low comedy of its funeral rites. Had Victor Hugo not possessed very real qualities of greatness in him he would have been made ridiculous forever by the farce of the burial which Paris intended as an honor to him.

All ceremonies of life which ought to be characterized by simplicity and dignity, vulgarity has marked and seized for its own. What can be more vulgar than the marriage ceremony in all of what are called "civilized countries?" What can more completely take away all delicacy, sanctity, privacy and poetry from love than these crowds, this parade, these coarse exhibitions, this public advertisement of what should be hidden away in silence and in sacred solitude? To see a marriage at the Madeleine or St. Philippe du Roule, or St. George's, Hanover Square, or any other great church in any great city of the world, is to see the vulgarity of modern life at its height. The rape of the Sabines, or the rough bridal still in favor with the Turcomans and Tartars, is modesty and beauty beside the fashionable wedding of the nineteenth century, or the grotesque commonplace of civil marriage. Catullus would not have written "O Hymen Hymenæe!" if he had been taken to contemplate the thousand and one rare petticoats of a modern trousseau, or the tricolored scarf of a continental mayor, or the chairs and tables of a registry office in England or America.

Modern habit has contrived to dwarf and to vulgarize everything, from the highest passions to the simplest actions; and its chains are so strong that the king in his palace and the philosopher in his study cannot keep altogether free of them.

Why has it done so? Presumably because this vulgarity is acceptable and agreeable to the majority. In modern life the majority, however blatant, ignorant or incapable, gives the law, and the *âmes d'élite* have, being few in number, no power to op pose to the flood of coarse commonplace with which they are surrounded and overwhelmed. Plutocracy is everywhere replacing aristocracy, and has its arrogance without its elegance. The tendency of the age is not towards the equalizing of fortunes, despite the boasts of modern liberalism; it is rather towards the creation of enormous individual fortunes, rapidly acquired and lying in an indigested mass on the stomach of Humanity. It is not the possessors of these riches who will purify the world from vulgarity. Vulgarity is, on the contrary, likely to live, and multiply, and increase in power and in extent. Haste is one of its parents, and pretension the other. Hurry can never be either gracious or graceful, and the effort to appear what we are not is the deadliest foe to peace and to personal dignity.

"Dans les anciennes sociétés l'aristocracie de l'argent était contrepesée par l'aristocracie de la naissance, l'aristocracie de l'esprit, et l'aristocracie du cœur. Mais nous, en abandonnant jusqu'au souvenir même de ces distinctions, nous n'avons laissé subsister que celles que la fortune peut mettre entre les hommes. . . . Dans les anciennes sociétés la fortune comme la noblesse représentait quelque chose d'autre, si je puis ainsi dire, et de plus qu'elle-même. Elle était vraiment une force sociale parcequ'elle était une force morale. On s'enrichissait lentement: de telle sorte que la richesse représentait non-seulement, comme je crois que disent les économistes, le travail accumulé de trois ou quatre générations, mais encore toutes les vertus modestes qui perpétuent l'amour du travail dans une même famille, et quelque chose enfin de plus haut, de plus noble, de plus rare que tout cela: le sacrifice de l'égoïsme à l'intérêt, la considération, la dignité du nom. . . . Il n'y a plus d'effort, il n'y a même pas de travail à l'origine d'un grand nombre de ces nouvelles fortunes, et l'on peut se demander s'il y a seulement de l'intelligence. Mais, en revanche, il y a de l'audace et surtout cette conviction que la richesse n'a pas de juges mais seulement des envieux et des adorateurs. C'est ce qui fait aujourd'hui l'immoralité toute particulière et toute nouvelle de cette adoration que nous professons publiquement pour lui. Le temps approche où il ne sera pas fâcheux mais honteux d'être pauvre."

These words of the celebrated French critic, Brunettière, written apropos of *La France Juive*, are essentially true, even if truth is in them somewhat exaggerated. The modern worship of riches *per se* is a vulgarity, and as he has said, it even amounts to a crime.

This is altogether opposed to the temper of the age; it is called reactionary, old-fashioned and exclusive; but there is a vast quantity of truth in it. If the edge were not rubbed off of personal dignity, if the bloom were not brushed off of good taste, and the appreciation of privacy and *recueillement* greatly weakened, all the personalities of the press and of society would never have been endured or permitted to attain the growth which they have attained. The faults of an age are begotten and born out of itself; it suffers from what it creates. One looks in vain, in this age, for any indication of any new revolt against the bond of vulgarity, or return to more delicate, more dignified, more reserved manners of life. If socialism should have its way with the world (which is possible), it will not only be vulgar, it will be sordid; all loveliness will perish; and, with all ambition forbidden, heroism and greatness will be things unknown, and genius a crime against the divinity of the Eternal Mediocre. The socialism of Bakounine, of Marx, of Krapotkine, of Tolstoï, is the dreariest and dullest of all earthly things—an Utopia without an idea, a level as blank and hopeless as the dust plains of a Russian summer. It may be a vision, dreary as it is, which will one day be realized. There is hourly growing

in the world a dull and sullen antagonism against all superiority, all pre-eminent excellence, whether of intellect, birth or manner; and this jealousy has the germs in it of that universal war on superiority which will be necessary to bring about the triumph of socialism. At present, society is stronger than the socialists—is stronger in Germany, in America, in Italy, in Russia, even in France; but how much longer it will have this superior strength who can say? Socialism being founded, not on love, as it pretends, but on hatred—hatred of superiority—appeals to a malignant instinct in human nature, in the mediocrity of human nature, which is likely to increase as the vast and terrible increase of population makes the struggle of existence more close and more desperate. Socialism will very possibly ravage and lay waste the earth like a hydra-headed Attila; but there will be nothing to be hoped for from it in aid of the graces, the charms, or the dignity of life. Were riches more careful of these, they would hold their own better in the contest with socialism. Were society more elegant, more self-respecting, more intelligent, more distinguished, it would give its defenders much more reason and strength to plead in favor of its preservation.

But society is on the whole both stupid and vulgar. It scarcely knows the good from the bad in anything. If a fashion is set, it follows the fashion sheepishly, without knowing why it does so. It has neither genuine conscience, nor genuine taste. It will stone A. for what it admires in B., and will crucify Y. for what it smilingly condones in Z. It has no true standard for anything. It is at once hypercritical and over-indulgent. What it calls its taste is but a purblind servility. It will take the deformed *dachshund* as a pet and neglect all the beautiful races of dogs; it will broil in throngs on a bare strip of sand, and avoid all the lovely places by wood and sea; it will worship a black rose, and never glance at all the roses which nature has made. If only Fashion decree, the *dachshund*, the bare sand, and the black rose are to it the idols of the hour. It has no consistency; it will change the Japanese for the Rococo, the Renaissance for the Queen Anne, the Watteau for the Oriental, or mix them all together at the mere weather-cock dictate of fashion or caprice. It has no more consistency in its code of morals; it will ask Messalina anywhere as long as a prince speaks to her and she is the fashion; if the prince cease to speak and she cease to be the

fashion, it puts up its fan at her vices, and scores her name out of its visiting list. There is no reality in either its pretensions to morality or good taste.

When we think of the immense potentialities and capabilities of society, of all that it might become, of all that it might accomplish, and behold the monotony of insipid folly, of ape-like imitation, of consummate hypocrisy in which it is content to roll on through the course of the years, one cannot but feel that, if its ultimate doom be to be swallowed up and vomited forth again, lifeless and shapeless, by the dragon of socialism, it will have no more than its due; that it will fall through its own sloth and vileness as the empire of Rome fell under the hordes of the barbarians.

That charming writer Gustave Droz has said that railways are at once the symbol and the outcome of the vulgarity of the age; and that whoever lets himself be shot through space like a parcel through a tube, and condescends to eat in a crowd at a station buffet, cannot by any possibility retain dignity of appearance or elegance of manners. The inelegant scrambling and pushing, and elbowing and vociferating of a modern railway station form an exact and painful image of this restless, rude, and gregarious century.

Compare the stately progress of a Queen Elizabeth, or a Louis Quatorze through the provinces, calm, leisurely, dignified, magnificent, with the modern monarch or prince always in movement as if he were a *commis-voyageur*, interviewed ridiculously on a square of red carpet on a station-platform and breathlessly listening to a breathless mayor's silly and verbose address of welcome; then rushing off, as if he were paid so much an hour, to be jostled at a dog show, hustled at an agricultural exhibition, and forced to shake hands with the very politicians who have just brought before the House the abolition of the royal prerogative. It is not the question here of whether royalty is, or is not, better upheld or abolished; but so long as royalty exists, and so long as its existence is dear to many millions, and esteemed of benefit by them, it is infinitely to be regretted that it should have lost, as it has lost, all the divinity which should hedge a king.

Recent publications of royal feelings and royal doings may be of use to the enemies of royalty by showing what twaddling nothings fill up its day; but to royalty itself they can only be belittleing and injurious in a great degree, whilst the want of

delicacy which could give to the public eye such intimate revelations of personal emotions and struggles with poverty, as the publication of the "Letters of the Princess Alice of England," made public property, is so staring and so strange that it seems like the public desecration of a grave.

Books, in which the most trivial and personal details are published in print by those who should veil their faces like the Latins in sorrow and veil them in their purples, could only be possible in an age in which vulgarity has even reached up and sapped the very foundations of all thrones. One cannot but feel pity for the poor dead princess, who would surely have writhed under such indignity, when one sees in the crudeness and cruelty of print her homely descriptions of suckling her children and struggling with a narrow purse, descriptions so plainly intended for no eyes but those of the person to whom they were addressed. Better—how much better !—have buried with her those humble letters in which the soul is seen naked as in its prayer-closet, and no more fit to be dragged out into the garish day of publicity than the bodily nakedness of a chaste woman is fit to be pilloried in a market place. I repeat, only an age intensely and despairingly vulgar could have rendered the publication of such letters as those royal letters to royal persons possible. Letters of intimacy are the most sacred things of life ; they are the proofs of the most intimate trust and confidence which can be placed in us ; and to make them public is to violate all the sweetest sanctities of life and of death.

La pudeur de l'âme is forever destroyed where such exposure of feelings, the most intimate and the most personal, becomes possible. In the preface to those letters it is said that the public will in these days know everything about us, and therefore it is better that they should know the truth from us. Not so ; this attitude is indeed submission to the mob : it is unveiling the bosom in the market place. Any amount of calumny cannot destroy dignity ; but dignity is forever destroyed when it condescends to call in the multitude to count its tears and see its kisses. The great man and the great woman should say to the world : "Think of me what you choose. It is indifferent to me. You are not my master ; and I shall never accept you as a judge." This should be the attitude of all royalty, whether that of the king, the hero, or the genius.

OUIDA.

"THE NEW SOUTH"—FINANCIALLY REVIEWED.

At the close of the war the South was a financial wreck. All agricultural interest was in chaotic ruin. All commercial matters were stiffened in rigid convulsion by the shocks of war. Every branch of trade was stripped of its support. All manufacturing industries were paralyzed. All facilities for transportation were cut off, or crippled by the wide-spread devastation. In this sad plight, the New South was ushered into historical existence, and, as a climax to her destitution, she was bereft of state, municipal, and individual credit. The whole system of labor had been so violently disturbed and suddenly revolutionized, that every industry stood on the verge of destruction. On such a state of affairs there could be no substantial credit, and, consequently, values of every description contracted with a severity that threatened universal bankruptcy. Prior to the war, the great bulk of all that section's fortune was concentrated in slaves and land, and in the dawn of this new era one constituent part of that wealth was absolutely obliterated, and the other, because of its supposed dependence on that, became unavailable possession and suffered extreme depreciation. Enormous debts, private and public, had been contracted through the wreckless extravagance induced by the inflated currency of war times, and now all these obligations seemed beyond the possibility of adjustment, except by wholesale repudiation. Corporations were dismantled of their equipment, and crippled in their capacity. Cities were wrapped in gloom and destitute of thrift; and even the States were ruptured in every department and wasted in treasury. All local government was virtually out of harmony with law and order. In this state of almost utter despair, the people stood transfixed by the oppressive darkness of that hour, which was just before the dawn of a new epoch. That blessed dawn soon came, breaking with its shimmering light of

promise above the heavy clouded horizon, awaking the people to new strength, new hope, new energy, and new life, all of which combined in sacred pledge to make the New South.

The people soon adjusted themselves to their new relations, and began work with a steadfastness of purpose that bespoke determination in every energetic stroke. Various branches of business were nursed back into health by watchful care and untiring zeal. The diversified manufacturing interests were steadily revived through the encouraging return of local self-government, and the renewal of active trade. Seriously damaged, and even totally wrecked, railroad properties were gradually repaired and rebuilt, until the indispensable means of transportation were thoroughly re-established. The new system of agricultural labor was adopted in good faith, and the wage-worker proved a no more formidable element in the cost of production than had been the expense of supporting the slaves in former times. The extreme hardships which were suffered, and the privations endured during this season of severe struggle, developed a wise frugality and talent for economic management hitherto unknown among that people, who, in previous years, had been noted for their prodigal extravagance and lavish luxuries.

Slowest of all to recover from the destroying evils of war was public and private commercial credit. Corporations continued for several years without the support of advantageous loans, and individuals were strictly confined to a cash basis in their negotiations. To illustrate the latter phase of this fact, one unique instance is sufficient. As late as 1875 a prominent house in Augusta, Ga., telegraphed a very large establishment in New York City, asking the price of sugar. The reply gave no quotations, but simply said, "We do not sell South." Things have changed. To-day that same establishment sends its traveling salesmen from one end of Georgia to the other, and every mail carries many price currents and circular letters to Augusta merchants soliciting their patronage.

Foreign capital was timid and tardy in creeping back into the reconstructed States, but, as it ventured cautiously across the border lines, it saw in the wide expanse of fertile fields, and in the fast flowing channels of growing trade, an abounding security for promises to pay, and soon began to lend itself liberally to the continued development of the natural resources, and the rapid

recuperation of the scientific industries of the section. Through this assistance, confidence at home and abroad was hurried to restoration, and returning prosperity quickened its pace to the sweet music of better times. All property improved in value, and many assets that had long been regarded as unavailable and nominal were revived into marketable appreciation.

This bright season of triumph lifted the people into the heights of pride and rejoicing, and, intoxicated with their brilliant success, they flung themselves for a brief season into the delirium of speculation, which jeopardized their recuperating credit and checked their healthful prosperity. They learned quickly the fatal error of this course, and at once re-established themselves in the conservative habits of legitimate business and profitable industry. There is comparatively very little speculation to-day in the South, while several years ago the dangerous practice prevailed to an alarming degree. The universal boom in 1880 throughout the country, spread wide the passion for rapid gain, and the inordinate advance of values stimulated the natural "bull" spirit of the Southern operator, and made him reckless in his ventures. Profit piled upon profit through the fictitious appreciation in all classes of securities, until visions of quick-coming wealth danced through the fevered brain of hazardous traders, and nearly all men became imbued with the spirit of the times, and, adopting that dangerous motto, "nothing venture, nothing have," took desperate part in the "big gamble."

The natural reaction from the unreasonable height to which prices attained had necessarily to come, and when it did, the decline was sharp and violent. The general collapse caught the South for many millions of dollars, and, while the losses were severe, the reformatory effect was worth all it cost. The burnt children have been very timid of the fire since. Ask any Wall street broker or member of the Chicago Board of Trade how the amount of speculative business being done by the South to-day compares with its volume of five or six years ago, and hear their report of how enormously it has fallen off. They are eminently competent witnesses in "the case at bar," and their testimony is invaluable for proving the re-established conservatism in trade, and contentment with the legitimate rewards of labor.

The South is on firmer financial basis to-day than she has been since the war. By way of palpably demonstrating this creditable

fact, permit us to offer a few comparative figures and relative statements.

At the close of the war the largest cotton crop which had ever been produced under the slave system of labor was 4,861,292 bales, in 1859 and 1860. For the crop year which closed Sept. 1st, 1883, the report of the *Financial Chronicle* gave the unparalleled total of 6,992,234 bales. Make every allowance for the more liberal use of commercial fertilizers that season, for the exceptionably favorable weather and the unusual extent of acreage, and still, there is in those enormous figures too great increase to ignore the proven efficiency and gratifying results of hired labor in agricultural pursuits. Neither is the tremendous yield of that year apt to dwarf its near successors. The popular estimate of the current crop is over six and a half million bales.

The chief disadvantage which is experienced with the present system of labor is the irresponsibility of the negro in making a contract for his services. He will agree to work for a year on certain terms, which are usually part for cash and part for supply of rations. He has a marvelous talent for overdrawing both accounts, and, after getting in debt, he is more than apt, regardless of the value of his services at that immediate time, to utterly ignore his contract and quit the premises. This evil, it is hoped, will be materially corrected when the negro shall have been educated up to a proper appreciation of the binding obligation of promises. Until then, the farmer's only apparent remedy is a constant cultivation of patience, and an exercise of close discrimination in employing his hands.

The cereals are being more widely sown, which indicates an increasing appreciation of diversified crops, and with a still wider practice of this plan will surely come better returns to the planter. Some improvement in stock-breeding, and considerable increase in the raising of blooded cattle, are to be generally noted. These conditions in the present farming interest of the South of course contribute valuably to the general wellfare, and do much for the health and strength of the financial situation.

Looking directly to money matters, as they were and as they are, the first thing that commands attention is the ruling rate of interest. For some time after the war money was scarce at any price, and for several years first-class commercial paper could rarely be discounted at less than 12 per cent. Even that rate was

a matter of favor to a select few. The great majority of notes were negotiated at 1½ per cent. a month. These exorbitant and ruinous rates have, to the great relief of commercial affairs, gradually lessened, until to-day the predominating rate of interest on good paper throughout the Southern States is 7 per cent., and choice loans can easily be placed at 6 per cent.

A moment's reflection on the immense saving between these extreme rates furnishes splendid and substantial evidence of the improved credit and financial betterment of the section. All desirable securities, too, have improved in the ratio of that reduction which has been made in ruling rates of interest. State, municipal, and railroad bonds, which were *then* sunken low in disfavor and distrust, are *now* marked up in the range of liberal premiums. Of State bonds, those of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama stand best. For Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana so much cannot be claimed, but it must be remembered, with charity and patience, that they suffered most during the terrible conflict. To make comparative figures, it is only necessary to use one State, a few cities, and two or three railroads. These will serve to illustrate the general principle.

In selecting Georgia for these comparisons, I am influenced by a natural partiality toward my native State and her institutions; but in according especial distinction to her, I would withhold no praise nor congratulation from the others. At the close of the war nearly all the floating bonds of Southern States were bearing liberal rates of interest, some as high as 8 per cent. To this general rule Georgia was no exception. She had out quite an issue of eights, and very few were under seven. Even these eights sold as low as 75c., and for several years all issues dragged heavily, and ruled at prices considerably below par. Slowly, but steadily, they appreciated, after an advance was once begun, until all classes crossed the face-value line, and Georgia's "I. O. U." was again worth a hundred cents on the dollar. The eights have all matured and been retired with new issues at lower rates. The sevens are nearly all redeemed, and even of sixes there are now comparatively few outstanding. The last obligation which the State issued was made about a year ago, when she marketed a thirty year 4½ per cent. bond at a premium. The entire issue was bought by a syndicate of New York and Philadelphia capitalists on speculation. The deal proved exceedingly

profitable. The bonds were rapidly resold at a material advance over the price which the State realized, many of them being drawn back home by the strong demand among general investors there, and an especial desire for them by those having the management and control of trust funds. It is also worthy of mention that $2,000,000 of them have recently been sold to Paris at 107½, and while this is striking evidence of *foreign* confidence, it is no more assuring than the implicit trust of her own people, which makes Georgia's credit as high at home as it is abroad.

Municipal bonds of the principal cities of this State are now likewise held in very high esteem. Savannah suffered great financial disaster and indescribable affliction through the memorable epidemic of 1876. At this time her bonded debt was bearing 7 per cent. interest. The extreme depression in all business, and consequent difficulty in collecting taxes subsequent to the scourge, forced Savannah to the necessity of appealing for indulgence. She made no threat of repudiation, nor asked any compromise on the face of her indebtedness, but only begged a reduction of interest on her debt. This was allowed by her creditors, and the floating bonds then bearing seven were accordingly reduced in their rate of interest to five per cent. All these have since matured, and been redeemed by new issues bearing 5 per cent. These are now selling readily at several points above par. The way in which this record contributes materially to the evidence of general improvement in the South, is by comparing the present price of the five per cent. bonds with that at which the old sevens ruled, even before the epidemic. Such comparison shows a marked appreciation, despite the reduction of interest.

Augusta has made a very recent issue of bonds bearing 4½ per cent., which were readily sold at par. Nearly all previous issues are bearing 6 per cent., none a lower rate, but they command sufficient premium in open market to-day to justify the great reduction of interest on the late issue. In that city the vast cotton manufacturing interest of the South has so concentrated as to make the place known as "the Lowell of the South." The mills are large, numerous, and successful, some of them having a record of marvelous profit to their stockholders, and all combining in a history of sufficient prosperity to prove the success of cotton spinning in the South. The factories at Augusta involve several millions of money, give employment to nearly five thou-

sand operatives, disburse through their pay-rolls at least a million dollars annually, and turn out a yearly product amounting almost to the total of their aggregate capital.

These mills have naturally increased the population of the city very rapidly, and through them the taxable property of the place has been nearly doubled within the last 15 years. For a time it was thought a lack of skilled labor would put Southern mills at a serious disadvantage in competing with the long-established cotton factories of New England. A fair test has disposed of that fear, and the vast natural advantages of that section for spinning and weaving the staple of her soil have never been disputed. Capital has become enthusiastically converted to the faith, and consequently, while, according to the census report of 1880, the South had only 583,696 spindles, and consumed that year 188,744 bales of cotton, it is estimated that on September 30th, 1885, there were running 1,125,000 spindles, and during that year that 316,062 bales of cotton were consumed.

I return to the cities of Georgia, to make special mention of Atlanta, the State capital. This, the "Gate City" of Georgia (so called because of the many railroads entering it), is perhaps the most active and enterprising city of the South. Without any great number of large individual fortunes among its citizens, there are a few conspicuously rich men. Better than these for the town's welfare, however, is an abounding flow of public spirit through the entire population. Men, women, and children have all their powers consecrated to the progress and general good of the city. The men work for it, the women pray for it, "the children cry for it." This universal spirit of loyalty and untiring industry has lifted the city out of the ashes to which the war consigned it, and built it anew; making it noted for its energy, admirable for its thrift, and conspicuous for its financial credit. Fifteen years ago Atlanta floated an issue of 10 per cent. bonds with great difficulty at par, to-day her sevens sell at over 20 per cent. premium, and within the last six months she has marketed a 4½ per cent. bond at par.

Just at present railroads in Georgia are on a genuine boom. Those already established are doing a magnificent business, and yielding excellent returns upon the capital invested in them. This is constantly encouraging the consideration and projection of various new lines to facilitate the development of that vast wealth which abounds in the natural resources of the section.

The instances cited in Georgia are not exceptional to her borders, but are only fairly illustrative of the general condition of affairs in the South, compared with what they were twenty years ago.

Nearly all railroad and other corporate properties are untrameled by excessive fixed charges, and have only such liabilities as are commensurate with their earning capacity. Most of the cities are free from burdensome debt, and restricted by State law from increasing their obligations beyond a conservative limit, based upon the value of taxable property. The majority of the States, too, are enjoying the advantages of superior credit, and suffering no financial inconvenience. Few pressing needs are now apparent, yet further promotion of the general welfare may be effected through a liberal increase of banking capital, and legislation devising better methods for the prompt collection of loans, secured by real estate.

In any discussion of the New South, the negro becomes an important element, and, in fact, has monopolized so much of the thought that has been given to the subject, that to-day we find him inseparably associated with it. He is there to stay, and when all new circumstances, and conditions, and relations shall have worn themselves old, and the South with the lapse of years shall have lost its present prefix, the negro will be found fastened to her soil, and fenced in by her borders. In politics he is a problem that will solve itself; socially he will never rise above his own level; morally he will continue to be guided by the impulses of his emotional nature, and for their better direction let us look with hope to the probable results of his prospective education.

The harmonious relations which have been so generally preserved since the war between the negro and his former owners make a remarkable record, which redounds to the praise and honor of all concerned. It has required the profoundest consideration on the one side, and the most exemplary decorum on the other. The demands of the case were prodigious, and they have been most admirably met. Without such mutual observances, the South would have lingered in that desolation and poverty which the war entailed, and had even those miseries cruelly aggravated by arson, riot, and bloodshed. Instead of provoking such calamities, she has heroically lifted herself back to the high and fertile plains of prosperity, where the present is rich with ripe fruit, and the future blooms with luxuriant promise.

MARION J. VERDERY.

THE CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN STAGE.

DURING the last two or three seasons so few good plays have been brought out in this country that the theatres have been generally unattended by the more intelligent portion of the drama-loving public. As a natural consequence, we hear the cry started by managers, who do not or will not understand the situation, that people who go to the theatre do not want to think, but only to be startled by sensational effects or tickled by grotesque antics. Through gross pandering to morbid tastes, or the desire for mere clowning, managers have, like Frankinstein, created a monster which now pursues and threatens to devour them. The only managers we have who direct stock-theatres, Messrs. Wallack, Daly, and Palmer in New York, and Mr. Field in Boston, have fought bravely, though often unsuccessfully, against the demoralizing tendencies of the mere theatrical speculator, who takes up the drama, or rather some miserable offshoot thereof, for the sole purpose of making money. Now, a manager who is really worthy of the name, must have some feeling for and pride in the art with which he is associated. Unless he has the literary taste to appreciate clever writing, the theatrical training which enables him to choose good and reject bad dramatic "construction," the critical insight necessary to secure able actors and actresses, and to cast them in suitable rôles, and an artistic feeling in the selection of scenery, furniture, and other stage-appointments, he is unfitted for his position, no matter how great his business ability. Every one of the managers named above, possesses these qualities in a high degree; but one or two have become at times so discouraged, as to state in print that they were only business men who kept, so to speak, theatrical shops, and were bound to stock them with just such goods as the public would buy. Admitting for a moment this low view of their calling, it must be conceded by any person who looks beyond the immediate present, that the good man-of-

business who has a reputation to maintain, will not imperil the character of his establishment by offering inferior goods. Messrs. Tiffany could, doubtless, add largely to their profits if they sold flawed or off-colored gems, and Messrs. Steinway or Chickering could immensely increase their sales if they would put their names on cheaply-made and, consequently, low-priced pianos. But these firms, and hundreds of others of similar standing, know that such profits would not be long secured, and that the temporary gain would be far outweighed by the ultimate loss of reputation, and the better-paying and more enduring business dependent thereon. Such firms do not lower the quality of their goods during periods of business depression; on the contrary, they seek to draw trade by making, if possible, their wares more tasteful, novel, and attractive. The theatrical manager, therefore, who, in like times, lowers the quality of the entertainment he provides, is not even a good tradesman, for he is ruining his reputation and driving away future patrons.

The causes which have mainly contributed to bring about the present unsatisfactory condition of the American stage are:

1. General mercantile depression.
2. The lack of particularly good English or French plays.
3. The want of encouragement of American authors.
4. The rise and growth of the acrobatic comedy.
5. The prevalence of the combination system.
6. The fact that management is so largely in the hands of mere speculators.
7. The flooding of the profession by novices from comic opera companies.

(1.) Strikes, labor troubles, the low price of agricultural produce, the dishonest management of railroads, and the nervousness of some capitalists at the transference of political power to the Democracy have combined to cause a stringency in money matters which, naturally, has resulted in a general economizing of expenditures. And the very first expenses which people curtail are those of their amusements. At one time it was contended that in periods of panic and business failure men would go to the theatre to divert their thoughts. Experience and observation have, however, shown this theory to be a fallacy. Nor is it the very rich and fashionable class, who are least affected by the condition of business, that are the best supporters of the theatre.

They have so incessant a round of social amusement that, except when a play is so strong as to become a general topic of conversation, about which it is necessary to know something, they can rarely spare time for the drama. The most constant and liberal theatre-goers are those who may be most accurately defined by the Anglicism, "the upper middle-class." It is precisely these persons, whose incomes are largely dependent on the momentarily existing state of trade or the demand for professional services, who are the first to feel the necessity for economizing.

(2.) Of plays which combined literary excellence with strong dramatic effect both the French and English stages have, during the last three or four years, been singularly barren. "Fédora" is almost the only great drama that has come to us from France. Augier, the greatest of all contemporary French dramatists—though unhappily little known to our stage—has been silent; Dumas has produced only one piece, "Denise," treating in a rather dull way an extremely unpleasant subject; Feuillet, author of "Led Astray" and "The Romance of a Poor Young Man," as they are here named, has written only "Chamillac," not a very assured success in Paris, and handicapped for this market by the fact that the hero, having been a criminal, is unheroic; Dennery, the *doyen* of French dramatists, has, it is true, constructed another powerful melodrama, "Martyr," the American right to which has been secured by Mr. A. M. Palmer, of the Madison Square Theatre, where it will probably be included in the attractions of this season. He produced the play in Chicago, in June last, but the critics of that city were not nearly so enthusiastic concerning it as were those of Paris. The intrigue is based on adultery and the birth of an illegitimate child, subjects with which we have been somewhat surfeited, and from which our healthier moral taste turns with no little abhorrence.

Since the deaths of Robertson and H. J. Byron, England has been without a dramatist of notable force or originality. Wills can treat an old subject poetically, but seems to have no invention; Pinero, though accused of plagiarism in "The Squire," has shown in "The Magistrate" that he can write a good, bustling light-comedy; perhaps the most earnest and serious writer is H. A. Jones, of "Silver King" and "Saints and Sinners" fame. The last-mentioned is a good, though by no means a great, play, and was, assuredly, the best English piece that was made known here

last season. There have been many English melodramas reproduced of late in this country, but they are nearly all put together for scenic effect, and do not call for critical attention.

(3.) Not having been able to secure good plays from abroad, have our managers endeavored to give American authors a chance to make their abilities known? Unfortunately only to a very limited extent! A new manageress, Miss Dauvray, did secure a play from Mr. Bronson Howard, and was able to run it an entire season in a theatre previously associated only with failures. This gentleman is certainly the cleverest of American dramatists, and even he finds it desirable to live for the greater part of his time in England, where his pieces are fully appreciated and find ready hearing. In a recent article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. Daly pointed to a number of American dramatists who had done good work, and were certainly capable of doing more, but scarcely one of them succeeded in getting a play upon the boards during the season of 1885–6. A man who has a story to tell dramatically will only do his best work when writing for a stock-company, unfettered by the necessity of bringing a "star" or "stars" into prominence to the detriment of the natural development of his plot. Now when there are only in this vast country four permanently-established stock-companies, it is evident that the opportunities for the native dramatist, who aspires to something higher that "star-fitting"—the dramatic tailoring of writing—are very few. One of these four is almost permanently closed against him, for the fortunate manager, Mr. Daly, is able to adapt and arrange his own plays. To his credit, it must be said that he accomplishes his task in a masterly style, and probably no one else could so well fit his company or so thoroughly please his audiences. Then, too, he has settled on a class of light play, which excludes from his stage the writers who deal with the stronger emotions and passions. So the American dramatist's field is narrowed down to three theatres, the managers of which are bidding against each other for established foreign successes, and who, as a rule, will only deal with the native product when their favorite source of supply has temporarily run dry. The extremely uncertain chance of having a play adequately produced is so remote that it deters writers who are able to put their ideas into any other form of literature from attempting to write for the stage. It is absurd to state or suppose that the literary ability

which Americans are constantly displaying, could not be profitably employed on the drama. The technical knowledge necessary can be gained by a close study of plays and the theatre, or may more easily be obtained by taking into collaboration an experienced stage-manager or a hack playwright.

Up to the present time in this country, a dramatist's only source of revenue has been the royalty for the representation of his works, the taste for reading plays not having yet made much progress. In France, a successful play will sell by the tens of thousands, and at a price that yields author and publisher handsome profits. It is a marvelously enticing form of reading, from its necessary terseness, strength, and vivid characterization. A little start has happily been made in this direction in the publication in some of our best magazines of the little reading comedies of Howells, Brander Matthews, Sturgis, and some efforts of my own in the same direction. And I am assured by the editors that stories told in this form are well liked by their readers. The plays of W. S. Gilbert, printed in one volume, have found a fair sale here, and all indications seem to point to the fact that we are slowly, but surely, following the French lead.

(4.) Nearly fifteen years ago, the Vokes family, a number of very clever specialty performers, who had appeared in pantomimes and on the stages of music halls in Great Britain, came to this country and played in a farcical absurdity entitled "Belles of the Kitchen," at the Union Square Theatre. It was an amusing hodge-podge of singing, dancing, pantomime, and burlesque acting. All the performers were able, and none more so than the charming Rosina, who returned to this country last year, and, in a number of short plays, proved that she was still an excellent and most attractive artist. Very soon after the immediate and extremely pronounced success of the Vokes family, a swarm of imitators began to settle on the country. The Troubadours were the first, and then followed such conglomerations as "Fun on The Bristol," "Pop, the Author," etc., etc. These were simply excuses for the introduction on the stages of legitimate theatres of performers and performances which had previously been restricted to the variety stage. Variety theatres were not at that time considered particularly proper places for ladies to go to, and when the new style of entertainment was first opened to them its very novelty, and, perhaps, even the slight suspicion of impropriety that

hung around it, proved attractive. Such alleged plays, which may be termed "acrobatic comedies," appeal only to the eyes, and tickle the ear with "catchy" melodies; but they never give intellectual gratification, and never arouse any thought, except, perhaps, among those who look on them as a degradation of the drama. Now, a few of these theatrical hashes might not have done any harm, and would have been certainly enough to please the audiences who find it tiresome to follow the thread of a story, or to have their deeper feelings stirred. But, unhappily, the majority of American managers have no distinct policy. When one makes a "hit" with a special style of entertainment, the others all cry out "that is evidently what the public want," and immediately rush off to try and get as close an imitation as possible. The result has been that the country has been literally flooded with acrobatic comedies, each successive one endeavoring to be more outrageously absurd than its predecessor. Last season, what appears to be the climax was reached, in making one of these olla-podridas the medium for putting a circus upon the stage. It was not successful, though the acting people engaged did their best to work up interest for the horses and their riders. It scarcely seems possible that the putters-together of these farce-comedies can extend their field of operations much further. They have tried moving trains, revolving houses, clowns, acrobats, performing animals, and very nude dressing until it seems that their efforts must fail from lack of novelty. Scarcely any actors are employed in these pieces, nearly all the performers being known as "specialty people," whose singing, dancing, or gymnastic accomplishments form nearly their whole claims to notice.

Audiences have become so used to this combination of burlesque with what is technically known as the "knock-down-and-drag-out" business, that they are in the position of a man whose palate has been so long tempted with "kickshaws" that he is unable to enjoy a wholesome diet of plain roast beef. A taste for caviare and *pâté de foie gras*, when once acquired, is not easily shaken off, and the return to healthier food requires a strong effort, and one that may be even a little painful. But the reaction is bound to come, for the most vitiated appetite will, after a while, ask variety in its pleasures.

(5.) The prevalence of the combination system, by which all theatres outside of New York and Boston are furnished with their

entertainments by traveling organizations, has wrought almost incalculable damage to our dramatic art, in every one of its departments. Formerly, when actors and managers of taste and long experience, like McVicker in Chicago, De Bar in St. Louis, Albaugh and Ford in Baltimore, Miles in Cincinnati, Ellsler in Pittsburgh, and others too numerous to mention, controlled the chief theatres of the various States, they kept resident companies, produced new plays, and were, in the true sense of the word, managers. Now they are little more than janitors of their respective houses, having no control whatever over the entertainments given on their stages, beyond, in the first instance, the selection of them. The authors who used to get, in these theatres, an occasional chance for the production of their plays, are now effectually barred out. The actors who were able to make homes for at least a season, are now perpetually traveling—a life that destroys comfort and imperils health and the sanctity of domestic relations. Instead of playing a great number of parts each year, thereby gaining the ease and experience which are absolutely necessary to good acting, the actor represents one character for an entire season, and probably plays it far worse at the end than at the beginning of his engagement. His performance becomes mechanical and perfunctory; his audiences are always changing, and he cares comparatively little what they think of him, for they may not meet again for a long time. When the actor was in the "stock" he was ever striving to become a local favorite, knowing that the doing so would insure his reëngagement for another season, possibly in a more advanced position, or secure a transferrence to a theatre of higher standing. There is, undoubtedly, more raw talent to-day in the ranks of actors and actresses than ever before, but the practical impossibility of securing proper artistic training leaves it, for the most part, imperfectly developed. Then, too, the accidental "hits" made by a few stars of no decided ability leads many players to have no ambition beyond "getting a piece" and inflicting themselves on the public in what they too frequently vainly believe to be their specialties. The desire to be a good leading stock actor is far more commendable, and more truly artistic, than that to be a star playing one rôle continually. But as with managers, so with actors, the desire for money-getting overrides devotion to art, and the followers of this greatest, because most absolutely realizing—

fleeting though its form be—of all arts, come to regard it merely as a business.

(6.) How few managers of stock companies there are left, has been previously stated. With the exception of Mr. Daly, every one of them seems at times to be feeling his way and not to have a distinct policy. Each occasionally jumps from comedy to farce, from farce to melodrama, and from melodrama to domestic drama. Their companies are, naturally, not equally at home in all kinds of plays, and unsatisfactory performances often result from these violent alternations. The experience of older countries has shown the advisability of a manager restricting himself to one class of play. His company is then seen always at its best, for it is doing the work for which it is especially selected. His patrons, moreover, know what to expect, and learn to go to his theatre, without even particularly inquiring what the night's bill may be, for they are assured they will witness something good and of the kind they like. At one time Mr. Wallack had such a reputation for the presentation of high-class comedies of both the old and new schools; but his production of sensational melodramas, however remunerative temporarily, has, it is generally believed, driven away his old and, for a long time, faithful lovers of comedy.

The road-manager has very rarely been an actor. He is a business man, pure and simple, and is generally rather given to boast of the fact. He has no "weakness," as he would term it, for art; he is "in to make money," which he proceeds to do by beating down the salaries of actors till they reach such a low level that ambition is almost crushed. He makes his companies play nine, ten, and even, sometimes, twelve times a week, and is happiest when he reaches some Godless Western town where he can give two performances on Sunday. Whenever it is possible he makes an actor play two or three parts, and the best actor is very often to him the one who will accept the smallest salary. As for encouragement, sympathy, or consideration, an actor might quite as hopefully look to a calculating machine, and would, at least, have in that case an assurance that its figures were correct—a confidence he does not always feel when the manager exhibits a statement which shows the impossibility of paying salaries. These so-called managers are, moreover, constantly on the look-out for rich and ambitious amateurs, who, for the sake of exhibiting their supposed charms and gorgeous dresses, will forego the trifling consideration

of salary. It is these people who too frequently take the bread out of the mouths of the well-trained professional; and it is these people, with whom the stage is only a means of gratifying vanity, who are responsible for by far the larger share of the immorality so freely, and often so baselessly, charged against actresses.

(7.) When "Pinafore" overran this country like a virulent epidemic, amateurs and church-choir members by the hundreds became, in their own opinions, professional actors and actresses. A few weeks' work in the chorus sufficed to render them so dissatisfied with their old means of earning a livelihood that they have never returned to it. Posing as actors and actresses they have been engaged by undiscriminating or unscrupulous managers at salaries so low that many old-time actors, rather than compete with such incompetence and inexperience, have retired from the profession. The writer has repeatedly met girls, who, after one season in the chorus of comic opera, have sought positions as leading ladies in dramatic companies, and, what is worse, have sometimes obtained them. The inefficient actors and actresses, of whom the public so often complain, come most frequently from this class.

Whence is the amelioration of this unhappy condition of our stage coming, if coming at all? I sincerely believe the signs, though they are, perhaps, like the cloud, no larger than a man's hand, are still plainly to be seen. The most hopeful, perhaps, were the receptions accorded in New York last season to two plays, "The Jilt," by Dion Boucicault, and "Our Society," a version by Clinton Stuart of Pailleron's "*Le monde ou l'on s'ennuie.*" "The Jilt" is a brilliantly written, but entirely unsensational, comedy of character, something in the vein of its distinguished author's first effort, "London Assurance." It was greeted most warmly by critics and public. "Our Society," a three-act comedy, is almost uneventless during the first two acts, and depends for its effect on clever contrast of types and brilliant dialogue. The third act has more dramatic action, but, even then, nothing of a stirring nature. Yet this play was a marked success of the season at the Madison Square Theatre.

In an article printed in the *Century* some months since, I quoted Théophile Gautier's *dictum*, that the stage always follows, and follows at a considerable interval, the taste in fictional litera-

ture. How strongly we are tending in our novels to the study and depiction of character, to the exclusion of mere sensational incident, must be evident to every one. The greetings given to the two comedies above instanced, prove that in New York, at least, there is a theatre-going public being gradually educated up to demand in plays the same qualities they admire in novels. And the taste that is first created in our intellectual centres will slowly, but surely, filter through the country. There will, of course, be always a demand for melodrama and farce, but that demand will decrease till it will be fully satisfied by the cheaper theatres, while the stages of the more expensive ones will be left for plays which possess accurate character-drawing and literary merit.

In a recently published article on Russian literature, Mr. Francisque Sarcey quotes M. Melchior de Vogues to this effect:

"Romanticism was a bastard product. It inspired the revolt. By a reaction against the classical heroes it sought from preference its characters in the social dregs. But, unwittingly, it was still penetrated with the classic spirit, for the monsters that it invented were still heroes among their class. Its courtesans, its convicts, its beggars, were more vain and boastful than the kings and queens of the old time. The bombastic theme had changed, but not the bombast. The public soon grew weary of romanticism. It demanded writers that would more faithfully represent life, that would depict society more in conformity with its actual manifestations. It sought in its literature the complexities of life, of beings, of ideas, and that element of relation which has been replaced in our time by the taste for the absolute."

The public has grown weary of the romaniticism of the novel. It is already wearying fast of that of the stage. It is beginning to demand truth and naturalness, and of such kinds as it daily meets and knows. To render these attractive, the skill of the able writer must be added to that of the technical playwright. When this shall have been done a few times, and managers have found courage to present such work, we shall hear no more of the "permanent divorce of literature from the stage." The parting will prove to have been, happily, only a temporary separation. May it, like many other such separations, lead to a better understanding and appreciation of each by the other.

JULIAN MAGNUS.

THE CONSPIRACIES OF THE REBELLION.

THE first conspiracy of the rebellion was for the abduction of James Buchanan, then President of the United States. Its object was to hold him as a hostage, in order to effect more easily terms of compromise with the North. The motive of the conspirators did not involve the death of any one. The plan was to kidnap Buchanan, take him out of Washington, and, as he disappeared, to inaugurate Breckenridge president.

The leader of it was Mr. Wigfall, then senator from Texas, but it failed for want of unity of purpose. On Christmas day, 1860, Wigfall went to the house of Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, taking other gentlemen with him. Mr. Floyd heard the emissaries through, and then, in a most emphatic manner, refused to have anything to do with such a conspiracy. Disappointed in Floyd's conclusion and action, Wigfall lost his temper and deported himself in a boisterous manner. This conspiracy was mainly made up of the Southern people, but embraced prominent men at Washington and some in New York. It was the only one formed during the rebellion which had anything in it except crime. This had a logical, sensible purpose, and who can measure or define the difference to this country whether it had succeeded or not.

The next conspiracy was to kill President Lincoln at Baltimore, on his way to Washington to be inaugurated. At that time, the journey of the President to Washington had become something of a triumphal march, and in the passage of Mr. Lincoln large assemblages convened along the route at the prominent towns where he made speeches. The plan of his journey took him to Harrisburg the twenty-second of February, and through Baltimore to Washington on the twenty-third, passing Baltimore about eleven o'clock in the morning and arriving at Washington later the same day.

At that time there lived in Chicago a man by the name of Allan Pinkerton, the President of a detective agency there, and of other co-operative branches in the principal cities of the United States. He was a man of real integrity, and stood well with the prominent men of the country, and he and his force were often employed by the railroads and express companies in ferreting out crimes. Early in the year 1861, Mr. Pinkerton, at Chicago, received a letter from Samuel H. Felton, then President of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, requesting his presence in Philadelphia. Going there, he was told that the company had learned that schemes were on foot for the injury of their railroad, and the obstruction of travel. Communication with the North could be cut off in this manner, and by the destruction of bridges along this line of railroad, or of ferry-boats, which transmitted the trains at Havre de Grace. Mr. Pinkerton visited various points along the road, and stationed his men, among other places, at Perryville, Havre de Grace, and Baltimore. He found all desire to injure the road resulted from a wish to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, and the ultimate design of this contemplated disturbance was purely political.

With a view to penetrate this plot, Mr. Pinkerton stationed men of fine address and appearance at the leading hotels in Baltimore; they claiming to have come from New Orleans and other Southern cities, where they were actually familiar with the localities in such cities, and, going to Baltimore himself, instructed them to assume the appearance of secessionists, wear secession badges, talk secession talk, mingle with secession men, and report to him at his office in that city, approachable by an alley. One of these was Timothy Webster, who was afterwards hung as a Union spy in Richmond, Virginia. These men attended secession meetings, floated with the tide of public opinion, joined in the conspiracy itself, assisted in the formation of a design to assassinate the President, and attended the meetings at which the men were selected for the act of killing. Mr. Pinkerton had also a lady who represented herself as being from Montgomery, Alabama, where she had actually lived, and she moved in society in Baltimore to learn what the ladies had to say on the subject.

The plan there matured was, when the train should arrive upon the railroad from Harrisburg, at eleven o'clock in the morning, for these conspirators to collect at the depot, near where Mr.

Lincoln would be, and that a riot should be excited, and Mr. Lincoln killed in the confusion.

By the time these facts had been ascertained, he had reached New York on his way from Springfield to Washington. Pinkerton left Baltimore and went to Philadelphia, where he met Mr. Judd, from Chicago, and of the President's party, and late in the evening of the twenty-first made known the facts as above stated to him and Mr. Lincoln.

General Winfield Scott was then Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United States, and in that capacity had charge of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. It was his duty to see that that inauguration took place peaceably. News of this conspiracy having come to his knowledge, he placed the details of the investigation in the hands of his Inspector-General, Col. Charles P. Stone. Mr. Stone, in an article in the *Century* for July, 1883, page 465, thus describes what was done by himself independently and not knowing of anything done by Mr. Pinkerton. He says:

"I received daily numerous communications from various parts of the country, informing me of plots to prevent the arrival of the President-elect at the capital. These warnings came from St. Louis, from Chicago, from Cincinnati, from Pittsburgh, from New York, from Philadelphia, and, especially, from Baltimore. Every morning I reported to General Scott on the occurrences of the night and the information received by the morning's mail; and every evening I rendered an account of the day's work and received instructions for the night. General Scott also received numerous warnings of danger to the President-elect which he would give me to study and compare. Many of the communications were anonymous and vague. But, on the other hand, many were from calm and wise men, one of whom became, shortly afterward, a Cabinet Minister; one was a railway President, another a distinguished ex-Governor of a State, etc., etc. In every case where the indications were distinct, they were followed up to learn if real danger existed.

"So many clear indications pointed to Baltimore, that three good detectives of the New York police force were constantly employed there. These men reported frequently to me, and their statements were constantly compared with the information received from independent sources.

"Doubtless, Mr. Lincoln, at his home in Springfield, received

many and contradictory reports from the Capital, for he took his own way of obtaining information. One night between eleven o'clock and midnight, while I was busy in my study over the papers of the day and evening, a card was brought me, bearing the name 'Mr. Leonard Swett,' and upon it was written, in the well-known hand of General Scott, 'General Stone, Inspector-General, may converse freely with Mr. Swett.' I gave orders for his admission, and a tall gentleman of marked features entered my room. At first I thought that Mr. Lincoln himself was present, so much, at first glance, did Mr. Swett's face resemble the portraits I had seen of Mr. Lincoln, and so nearly did his height correspond with that attributed to the President-elect. But I quickly found that the gentleman's card bore his true name, and that Mr. Swett had come directly from Mr. Lincoln, having his full confidence, to see for him the state of affairs in Washington, and report back to him in person. * * *

"As President Lincoln approached the capital, it became certain that desperate attempts would be made to prevent his arriving there. To be thoroughly informed as to what might be expected in Baltimore, I directed a detective to be constantly near the Chief of Police and to keep up relations with him; while two others were instructed to watch independent and without knowledge of the Chief of Police. The officer who was near the Chief of Police reported regularly, until near the last, that there was no danger in Baltimore, but the others discovered a band of desperate men plotting for the destruction of Mr. Lincoln during his passage through the city, and by affiliating with them, these detectives got at the details of the plot. Mr. Lincoln passed through Baltimore in advance of the time announced for the journey in accordance with advice given by me to Mr. Seward and which was carried by Mr. Frederick Seward to Mr. Lincoln."

Mr. Lincoln, in December, 1864, related to Benjamin J. Lossing the circumstances of his trip to Washington, at the time of the inauguration. He said:

"I arrived at Philadelphia on the twenty-first. I agreed to stop one night, and on the following morning hoist the flag over Independence Hall. In the evening there was a great crowd when I received my friends at the Continental Hotel. Mr. Judd, a warm, personal friend from Chicago, sent for me to come to his room. I went, and found there Mr. Pinkerton, a skillful police

detective, also from Chicago, who had been employed for some days in Baltimore, watching and searching for suspicious persons there. Pinkerton informed me that a plan had been laid for my assassination, the exact time I expected to come through Baltimore being publicly known. He was well informed as to the plan, but did not know that the conspirators would have pluck enough to execute it. He urged me to go right through to Washington that night. I did not like that. I had made arrangements to visit Harrisburg and go from there to Baltimore, and had resolved to do so. * * * When I was making my way back to my room through crowds of people, I met Frederick W. Seward. We went together to my room, when he told me that he had been sent at the instance of his father and General Scott, and informed me that *their detectives* in Baltimore had discovered the plot there to assassinate me. They knew nothing of Pinkerton's movements. I now believed such a plot to be in existence."

The change in the programme of the journey occurred at Harrisburg at a dinner on the night of the twenty-first, which was presided over by Governor Curtin, and the circumstances are told by Alexander K. McClure, in a paper to the "Clover Club," of Philadelphia. It seems that General Scott and Mr. Seward, being for some reasons alarmed at the continuance by Mr. Lincoln of the original plan of his journey, sent a dispatch to Governor Curtin, which was received at the dinner over which he was presiding at Harrisburg. I give the language of Mr. McClure:

"While all were intent on the enjoyment of a dinner, with the new president as the central figure of the feast, a message was brought by a servant and quietly handed to Governor Curtin. The mere interruption of presenting a message to the Governor in his own capital attracted no special attention; but when the smile fled, and a sudden cloud of despair fixed itself upon his face, there was ominous silence and painful suspense around the table before a word was spoken. Mr. Lincoln was among the first to note that a shadow had been suddenly flung upon the circle, and he did not conceal his anxiety to learn the cause. The truth was soon made known by Governor Curtin. The message he had received was a joint one from General Winfield Scott and Senator Seward, who had already been designated as premier of the new administration, and it notified the Governor that Mr. Lincoln could not pass through Baltimore alive on the following day, and

peremptorily commanded a change of route and programme to save the life of the President-elect.

"It is needless to say that the occasion was no longer one of festivity. The solemnity of the funeral quickly enthroned itself where there had been pleasant converse and welcome wit but a moment before. All but one of the dozen or more men present seemed utterly appalled, and that one was Abraham Lincoln. While every other face was pale with apprehension, he maintained the same sober, sad expression that he had exhibited from the beginning, and as usual he said nothing until all the others had spoken and he was personally appealed to for his views. One by one, beginning with Governor Curtin, gave pointed expression to the judgment that Mr. Lincoln's route and programme must be changed, and that it must be done without publicity. The silence of Mr. Lincoln had hardly been noted until all but himself had spoken, in the intensity of their feelings; and then, as if suddenly called to the recollection of the presence of the man who was the decreed victim of the assassin, all turned to him for counsel. Even when personally appealed to, he seemed reluctant to answer; but, when pressed to acquiesce in the unanimous judgment of his friends, he said, with scarcely a tremor in his clear voice: 'What would the people think of their ruler stealing into his capital like a thief in the night?' He seemed to think little of the peril to his life, but he thought much of the peril of forfeiting the respect of the nation. Mr. Lincoln's unwillingness to assent to a change of route and programme brought the dinner-guests to face a new duty. Instead of suggesting, one by one, they followed Governor Curtin in commanding, and the President-elect was notified that the time and manner of pursuing his journey to Washington had passed beyond his discretion, and that he must defer to such measures as could be devised for his safety. He silently acquiesced; but his was the only face at the table that was not blanched with fear. Colonel (Thomas A.) Scott, the keenest of all in perception, and the boldest to execute, at once proposed a new route and programme, and suggested all its details. His plan was promptly and gratefully accepted, and Mr. Lincoln himself seemed to share the general sense of relief when Colonel Scott's programme was settled. The first duty was to avoid even the suspicion outside that the route or time of the President had been changed. To mislead the vast crowd that

surrounded the hotel, a carriage was ostentatiously called for Governor Curtin and President Lincoln, and they walked out together, entered the carriage, and ordered the driver to take them to the Executive Mansion. This was a natural proceeding, and attracted no attention; but the Executive Mansion was not the destination of the two distinguished executives. Before they had started, Colonel Scott and myself hastened to the Pennsylvania Railroad depot, where he promptly cleared one of his tracks to Philadelphia, gave some confidential instructions by telegraph to a trusted agent in West Philadelphia, had a special engine and car made ready, and then I saw him personally superintend the cutting of every telegraph line that entered Harrisburg. By the time that was accomplished, a carriage stopped near the depot where there were no brilliant rays of gas-light, and the Governor and the President-elect, who had driven circuitously to the depot, alighted. Mr. Lincoln and Colonel Lamon entered the special car, and they were soon whirling along on their way to the City of Brotherly Love."

It is fortunate for the nation that the solution of this question, so fraught with the gravest consequences, among others, fell upon two such men as Thomas A. Scott and Alexander K. McClure. The writer heard Mr. Lincoln say in the fall of 1864, after a protracted interview with him, and after Mr. McClure had left, that he had more brain power than any man he had ever known, and everybody who knew Thomas A. Scott knows that he saw the intricacies and the solution of any complicated question, at a glance, as accurately as most men see them in afterthought. He was the brightest, quickest, and promptest man of his time.

Pinkerton had been left at Philadelphia to arrange matters there, in case an emergency should arise. As the special from Harrisburg would arrive before the train for Washington would leave, Mr. Pinkerton received Mr. Lincoln and Colonel Lamon at the depot, with a private carriage, and drove about the city, until it was time for the train to start for Washington. The party then took the rear car, the last half of which, divided off by a curtain, had been engaged by Pinkerton's lady, for a sick brother, and Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lamon, Mr. Pinkerton, and the lady, occupied this part of the sleeper for the journey.

They left Philadelphia about eleven o'clock. Not a soul except the four people in the rear end of the car, and the few at the

dinner party at Harrisburg, knew that Mr. Lincoln had left that city or was on his way to Washington.

He could not, of course, take a large number of persons with him without attracting attention and betraying his presence, and therefore reduced his arrangements for defense upon that journey to the smallest possible compass, by the selection of Ward H. Lamon as his only companion. Lamon was a native of Virginia, who had come to Danville, Illinois, at an early day, and for many years had practiced law as the partner of Lincoln, on the circuit at that place. He was all over a Virginian, and strong, stout, and athletic—a Hercules in stature, tapering from his broad shoulders to his heels, and the handsomest man, physically, I ever saw. He was skilled in all the ways of the manly art, thirty-four years of age, six feet high, and, although prudent and cautious, was thoroughly courageous and bold. He wore that night two ordinary pistols, two Derringers, and two large knives. You could put no more elements of attack or defense in a human skin than there were in Lamon and his armory on that occasion.

Mr. Lincoln selected him for this place because the two were wholly unlike, and each admired in the other qualities he himself did not possess. Lincoln knew the shedding the last drop of blood in his defense would be the most delightful act of Lamon's life, and, that in him, he had a regiment, armed and drilled for the most efficient service.

Having taken possession of the rear end of their car, the conductor was handed a package of papers, for which he had been instructed by telegram to wait. It is not true that Lincoln wore a Scotch cap or used any other mode of disguise. All the persons accompanying him were dressed in ordinary dress, and went simply as private citizens.

They arrived at Baltimore at three o'clock and waited there, because of some ordinary detention, about two hours. Before the train left, workmen began to come around, and one was heard to say, with expletives, that "Old Lincoln is coming here to-day, but I don't believe he will get through alive." Mr. Lincoln laughed heartily at the remark, and soon the train pulled out, and a little after daylight he reached Washington.

During the rebellion, occasional confirmations crept out as to the existence and real purposes of this conspiracy. Shortly after being appointed marshal of the District of Columbia, Mr. Lamon

arrested a very bad and notorious man in Washington. This man believed himself to be in danger on account of a political offense he had committed, and was greatly alarmed, and Lamon, whose perceptions were keen and clear, discovered from his conversation that he knew something of moment, and consequently cultivated him, and finally said to him frankly, if he would tell him all he knew he would endeavor to shield him from the charge on which he was arrested. The man did so, and his disclosures confirmed fully the existence of the conspiracy in Baltimore. He named many of the men engaged in it, and stated that the purposes of it were to kill Mr. Lincoln in the riot and confusion created at the depot.

Again, later on in the war, Lamon had occasion to arrest a notorious and dangerous man in Baltimore. The circumstances of his arrest were simply teriffic, but, finally, he was captured, and during his confinement, made to Lamon, a confession of the conspiracy at Baltimore, and named many parties engaged in it. He also said that the purposes of this conspiracy were to kill Mr. Lincoln.

It is doubtful if there was any time during the war, in which there was not in Washington, Baltimore, or in that general vicinity, some conspiracy in existence to capture or injure Mr. Lincoln. On one occasion, in the summer of 1863, if I remember rightly, the writer of this article had occasion, with William H. Hanna, of Bloomington, Ill., to ride to the Soldiers' Home, about four miles from Washington, to call upon Mr. Lincoln in the evening. Our driver missed the way, passing by the Home into the forest below. Being once in the intricacies of this labyrinth, we did not get out until two o'clock in the morning, and the question arose, why the rebels might not send a force across the river, and coming up in the woods to the Soldiers' Home, capture Mr. Lincoln and carry him within the enemy's lines. Mr. Hanna was very much concerned in reference to the situation, and I said to him, "You go and talk with Mr. Lincoln, you are a new man." The subject of his capture or assassination had been discussed until it was a sore subject between Mr. Lincoln and his friends. So, the next day, we got Marshal Lamon, and the three obtained an audience with the President.

"I cannot be shut up in an iron cage and guarded," he said. "If I have business at the War Office, I must take my hat and go

there ; and if to kill me is within the purposes of this rebellion, no precaution can prevent it. You may guard me at a single point, but I will necessarily be exposed at others. People come to see me every day and I receive them, and I do not know but that some of them are secessionists or engaged in plots to kill me. The truth is, if any man has made up his mind that he will give his life for mine, he can take mine."

We argued that, while this was true, it was his duty to the country not unnecessarily to expose himself, that, there being no guard at the Soldiers' Home, and the condition of the country below as described, it was recklessness upon his part to go there and be there without a guard.

He raised various objections, and finally we said, "Somebody must do something if anything is done. Will you leave it to us three to make such disposition as we think to be prudent, and will you simply acquiesce in what we do ?" Finally, in substance, he assented, and we went to Secretary Stanton and got for him the guard of cavalry, which accompanied him every evening from the White House to the Soldiers' Home, and remained at the Home all night and came in with him in the morning.

Mr. Lamon's official duties embraced the safety of the President, and these facts, with many others, made a deep impression upon his mind. During the fall of 1864, I was a guest at his house nearly three months. During that time he did not sleep at home a single night, but left his house about ten o'clock, went to the White House, and with a guard which he stationed there, and without Mr. Lincoln's knowledge, remained during the night. At the time of the assassination Lamon was, unfortunately, out of the city, and his absence occurred in this wise : Mr. Lincoln had just returned from Richmond, and having inaugurated some steps looking toward the holding of a convention to get that State back into the Union, he asked Lamon, being a Virginian, to go to Richmond and attend this convention. The following is the pass which he gave him :

"Allow the bearer, Ward H. Lamon, and friend, with ordinary baggage, to pass from Washington to Richmond and return.

"A. LINCOLN.

"April 11, 1865."

Lamon said to the President as he separated from him, "Make me one promise."

"What is that?" said the President, "perhaps I can."

"I want you to promise not to go to the theatre during my absence."

"Well," said he, after some conversation, "I will do the best I can," then turning to John P. Usher, who was present at the interview, he said in substance, "My friend is crazy on the subject of my assassination."

When Mr. Seward first became conscious after the attack upon him, he said, "Where was Colonel Lamon? If he had been in the city this would not have happened." He repeated this remark often afterwards.

But Mr. Lincoln *did go* to the theatre on the night of the eventful fourteenth, and the stealthy tread of the murderer followed him. There was a pistol shot which echoed through the land, louder than the cannon's roar, and a murderous horseman dashed into the night. A tall man, wounded and limp, was carried to the nearest house and stretched upon his bed to die. Men who had faced death where the fire danced along the weird line of battle without blanching, stood around his bed and wept. The blood oozed from his head until it soaked through the bed and dropped from the under side. Towards morning there was a convulsive struggle and the spirit of Abraham Lincoln passed to where the angel at the gate said:

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

LEONARD SWETT.

LIFE AMONG THE INSANE.

THE subjoined article is published as an illustration of the inadequacy of our laws to guard the liberty of citizens suspected of insanity. As the author explains, she was imprisoned nearly thirty years in an asylum, and then discharged with the unanimous declaration of an official board of examining physicians that she was not insane, and had never been insane. EDITOR.

I DO not think any woman in America is better qualified than I to supply the material for a good sermon on insane asylums—for I was locked up in one for twenty-eight years.

During those years I never lost my reason—it is a wonder I did not—and so what I say may be relied upon as being truthful. The authority for my statement that I am not insane is the Committee* on Lunacy of the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania, through whose influence, in the summer of 1885, my unjust imprisonment came to an end.

My story is simple. I was put in the asylum for two reasons: the first was that I was extravagant and too fond of dress. What a lot of asylums there would be if all people whose natures were like mine had to be locked up! The other reason was that my family wanted me relieved of the disgrace of being publicly accused of obtaining goods under false representations, by resorting to the insanity defense, which, nowadays, seems reserved for the use of defendants in murder or arson cases.

But to begin. I was born in 1825, and am, therefore, now sixty years old. My father was William Draper Brincklé, a physician, who lived in Girard Row, Philadelphia. My mother died while I was young.

On July 13th, 1857, I was placed in the State Hospital for the Insane at Harrisburg, Penn., on the commitment of two physicians,

* This committee consists of Philip C. Garrett, Philadelphia, Chairman; Henry M. Hoyt, Philadelphia; Thomas G. Morton, M.D., Philadelphia; E. Coppee Mitchell, Philadelphia; W. W. H. Davis, Doylestown; A. J. Ourt, M.D., Philadelphia, Secretary.

one my father, the other a stranger to me. An excuse, perhaps, for the difficulty in which I became involved was that I had no own mother to guide me. My father, occupied with his professional duties, was of course much away from home, so that I grew up, wandering at my own pleasure. Yet my education was by no means neglected; for I received a thorough training in the ordinary English branches, became quite familiar with the French language, and acquired a thorough knowledge of music.

I was naturally of a gay temperament and inclined to extravagance, and I knew that I had my father, and an uncle who resided in our family, to help me out of possible financial straits. My father's property was invested in the mercantile business of the uncle to whom I have referred. In the year in which I was placed in the asylum there was a general panic in mercantile circles, and my father and uncle were unable to pay my debts.

The particular difficulty in which I became involved was that of buying furniture on part credit, for a parlor which I had rented in the home of two old ladies, distant relatives of my father's family. Their house was small and I had no room for a piano. Having been musically educated it was a great deprivation to me to have no piano; I therefore moved to a larger house in the same neighborhood, securing furnished parlors. Having no use for the furniture which I had purchased for the smaller house, I sold it. This proceeding came to the knowledge of the dealer from whom it had been purchased, and he prosecuted me. Before the time came for my appearance in court I was placed in the asylum. My father was advised to take this course by the late Judge George W. Woodward, then of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The examination of both physicians was very brief. My father asked me a few simple questions and then took his departure. The late Dr. George McClellan, the other examiner, inquired how I was in bodily health. I complained merely of a slight headache, having no idea that the visit was made with an alleged view of determining my mental condition. He also asked me if I was able to take a journey and where I would like to go. I replied that I was quite able and willing, and would like to go to Long Branch, remembering that my health generally had been much improved on a former occasion at that place. My father subsequently informed me of the purpose of the examination and of the determination to send me to an asylum, explaining to me that he did not think I

was insane, but that it was all that could be done under the circumstances.

I remember very distinctly that on the way to Harrisburg I did not relish the idea of being classed with lunatics, but Judge Woodward, who accompanied me, represented that it was better than being imprisoned in a jail, and that insanity was after all the bluntest horn of the dilemma, because it preserved family honor. So, on that eventful day, I was led into the presence of Dr. John Curwen, at that time the superintendent of the institution (now in charge of the State Hospital at Warren, Pa.), and Mrs. Cole, its matron. To these people Judge Woodward, in my presence, spoke of my extravagant tendencies; what he said when my back was turned I do not know. He wished me good-bye rather sorrowfully, and I think when he left it was with a little remorse at what he had done.

Everything in the institution was strange to me. I felt that I, as sane a person as any of the attendants, or any one else for that matter, was in the asylum under false pretenses. I make the hint of the distinction between the state of mind of the nurses of the insane, and the state of mind of members of the general community, because my observation convinced me that the nurses at the Harrisburg Hospital, for some reason or other, were not all rational beings. Perhaps it was the contact with mad women. Perhaps the fact that some were promoted to be nurses, first having been patients, made this seem to me true.

They put me in the best ward at first. I found life insupportably dull. The only things that made existence tolerable were music, which I loved passionately, and fancy work, which I liked less because of its monotony. It was a change, however, from the sameness of idling.

My nurses were Susan Spiegelmyer, and Ruth Noble. Susan had had erysipelas, and had lost most of her hair, which afterward grew in very abundantly. An incident happened in connection with Susan's hair that will show the character of the women who were my daily associates. Susan was accustomed to go into her room every night to put her abundant locks in curl papers. In going to her apartment for the purpose named she bumped up against the bed of a patient, invariably waking her up. The patient, who was nervous and irascible, complained every time, but the bumping went on in spite of it. One night

the patient calmly got of bed as the nurse passed, grabbed one of the curls and tore it out in its entirety and by the roots, leaving a bald spot the size of a dollar, quietly remarking as she did it, "Susan, I don't like the way you do your hair." Susan never bumped that bed again.

At the end of a year in the asylum, under the kindly care of these nurses, an attack of dyspepsia, from which I suffered prior to my incarceration, disappeared. I think the regular way of living and the plain food effected that cure.

In June, 1858, my father came to see me for the first time, and complimented me on my rosy cheeks and generally healthy look. That was all very well, but I wanted to get out, and I told him so. He promised me that if I would wait until the troubles caused by my debts had blown over he would have me released. Then he went away. I never saw him again, and he died four years later. He wrote to me, however, and his letters gave me the impression that my release would be a more difficult matter than I had anticipated. The man who can be said to have managed my detention was Judge Woodward, whose visits to me were frequent.

Referring to the letters written to me by my father reminds me of the matter that he wrote mostly about. Soon after my arrival at the asylum, I met at a picnic given to all the patients a young inmate of good family. He was a son of a judge of one of the upper counties of Pennsylvania, well-bred and entertaining. After meeting several times we became engaged to be married. He was not considered insane, but it seems his family thought the hospital would be a good prescription to cure a certain intemperate disposition with which he was afflicted. He was addicted to the use of wine. My father and Judge Woodward wrote to Dr. Curwen, asking him to put a stop to our meeting. Thereafter, when my affianced and I happened to be going out walking on the same day (he, frequently on parole, without an attendant), he was allowed to go out by the front door and I was smuggled out by the back. The matron had previously smiled upon our engagement, and asked us together to take tea with her. All that was now stopped. All we could do was to correspond, letters being carried to and fro through the kindness of a night watchman. I rarely caught glimpses of the young man. For seven years, however, we wrote letters to each other, and we were all along determined that

when we both should get out I should become his wife. It was the knowledge of his being near me that made me less active in my efforts to escape. We once arranged that whoever left the asylum first should aid in the efforts of the other to obtain freedom.

My friend was, at the end of the seven years of which I have spoken, removed from the asylum, I think to the Pennsylvania Hospital for the insane in Philadelphia. I do not know whether he is dead, but think that he is. At any rate, I have completely lost trace of him.

These things I remember so vividly because they were, as I said, all I had to relieve the monotony of life. A gentleman who was at one time Consul from Maracaibo, who had been very attentive to me before my incarceration, tried to see me but was not allowed to. He had two women-cousins in the institution. One was an opium eater and the other was insane on religion.

Mrs. Dr. S—— was one of the patients in my ward who gave a great deal of trouble. She was a woman who was subject to fits of great and unusual excitement, and we had to humor her. One day she arranged the hair of a little girl-inmate somewhat differently from the usual style in which we were accustomed to see it. The effect was extremely ridiculous. She asked me if I did not think it a great improvement over the old method. In an unguarded and frank moment I admitted that I did not. I saw her turn pale with rage. I did not think anything of the matter, and walked away from the dining table which we had just risen from, toward my room. Presently there was a whirring sound, and a large dish flew over my head and smashed itself on the floor in front of me. Having missed her aim, the flinger of plates rushed toward me, picking up on her way some of the broken pieces of china. I ran rapidly through the corridor. The first person I stumbled over was little Mrs. H——, an inmate, who always sat at the door of one of the wards, guarding it as she thought. We called her the "Watchwoman." She became frightened and joined me. We sped together to the end of the ward, and barricaded ourselves in a storeroom by piling trunks against the door, and in a few moments our pursuer was captured by an attendant. I saved my life on several other occasions of similar character, by fastening myself in my room as best I could. There were no inside locks on the doors.

Untrained nurses in a hospital for the insane know no more

about treating insane people than I know about prescribing for a case of fever. The secret of proper conduct toward the insane is *management*. It requires tact. The ex-laundry-woman or factory girl who becomes a nurse cannot understand such a problem as the mind, and when the patient is refractory she can only meet it with brutality. That is wrong. Those who are deprived of reason cannot understand violence, nor has it any good effect on them. They can only turn their poor puzzled eyes in apologetic rebuke to those who assault them, and wonder what it all means. I have seen a patient who had been struck look in surprise at the nurse who struck her, and ask, "Why do you do that? What have I done?" Many patients cannot be made to comprehend that what they do is not right, and violence to them is worse than useless. We may just as well thrash a cripple for limping, or vent our malice upon a blind man because he cannot see.

The only way in which patients can get on the right side of sane nurses is by doing their work for them. They are often expected to help to sweep and clean up. Of course to coerce the insane to do this is criminal. They should be regarded as human beings whose misfortunes entitle them to sympathy and pity, and not as scape-goats and laughing-stocks because of their uselessness to society.

I saw a harmless patient who was sitting listlessly on a heating register attacked and beaten because she would not work. One nurse knocked her down and then called another nurse to her assistance. Together they got a patient afflicted with homicidal mania to join them, and the three pounded the unfortunate creature until she was black and blue. Her brother and husband happened to call and see her that very night, and to them some untrue story of the cause of her bruises was given. They were not satisfied, however, and they removed her.

One of the patients in a ward adjoining mine was one morning found hanging with her head wedged between the transom and the door-frame. She was quite dead. How she had ever got in that position was a mystery. Probably one of her associates helped her up with a chair and then removed it. One of the inmates suggested to a weak-minded companion in an adjoining ward to tie a handkerchief around her (the companion's) neck and to pull it tight. The poor demented creature did as she was told, and it was not until she became very black in the face and was evidently

suffocating, that her tempter became alarmed and called for help. In doing so she calmly remarked to the nurse: "I have a suspicion that Mrs. So-and-so is trying to kill herself."

One man who was wrongfully placed in the asylum got out. He crossed the Susquehanna River far ahead of his pursuers, who left the hospital in full chase after him. He eluded them, pawned his watch to raise money, rallied his friends around him, and shortly afterward returned to the institution for his clothes—a free man. He had never been insane but was committed to the hospital, through some conspiracy, on the certificate of irresponsible physicians.

During my twenty-eight years' sojourn there, we had four or five fires. One of the most eventful of them happened at night. We all managed to get out. At another fire, Mrs. L——, an inmate and a sister of one of the governors of Pennsylvania, ran away, and for three weeks lived like a tramp in the neighborhood. She was finally caught and brought back. She always insisted that during her absence the birds of the air had fed her, and she could give no other account of herself for the time during which she was missing.

When I was playing a melodeon or doing embroidery, I watched the peculiarities of those around me. One thought that all those in the ward were her dead relatives, and she would address them by name. She believed a fellow patient to be her deceased sweetheart. During lucid intervals she was conscious of her delusion, and laughed at herself as heartily as any.*

Mary ——, a patient from Carlisle, who was admired for her self-possession, smiling face, and quiet demeanor, took up a chair, one morning, and attacked an attendant with it. The latter eluded her, and the chair went against the wall with so much force as to break the plaster. She was tired of life, and thought that if she killed some one she would be hanged for it. One woman, a German, insisted on calling me Madame Lind, and wanted me to sing.

A victim like myself was a Mrs. Z——, who, with her baby, was in the hospital. I knew her well and was certain that she was not insane. Her husband was thriftless, she sued him for support, and he, out of revenge, put her in the asylum. Her friends

* Another had an invariable answer for all the iniquities she heard of—"The fiery furnace is waiting for them;" and, as she said it, the glittering expression of her black eyes was extremely wicked, and gave her auditors a sense of unrest.

soon applied to the court and she was liberated. A patient had to be tied to her bed to prevent her from hanging her feet out of the window. Mrs. B——, an inmate, while every one was at supper, got a match, set fire to herself, and was burned to death. That was her mania.

I do not think the nurses behaved with propriety in removing the remains of dead patients. They made a frolic of the occasion. The poor, half-witted wards of the State remarked upon the disrespect with which the clay of their dead comrades was treated. It was in much the same manner that patients were moved from one ward to another.

My observing powers were concentrated during my stay on such persons as these: One man who had cut his throat; a murderess of her own child; a woman who had been a nurse and who killed an infant under her care; a woman who had severed her child's jugular vein; another who had killed her husband; one who became insane through accidentally killing her child, and any number of patients with suicidal mania.

Some lunatics seem to live in a world of their own. An old lady once astonished and amused us by exclaiming, without any warning or provocation, "Two cats and the bird of paradise are waiting to convey you to your heavenly home, and you are to sit for nine days between the cats and the bird of paradise." Then she stopped, and forgot that she had said anything. It was like an alarm clock suddenly going off, startling every one by its unexpected meddling with what is going on, and ceasing just as quietly and surprisingly. A patient lived in the bath-room, and made friends with the rats (they were numerous), for whom she had a great affection. They would actually do what they were told. Some one else thought she was the wife of President Buchanan, and had the hallucination that her husband frequently ran a locomotive through Washington Avenue, Philadelphia, with a big bonnet in front of it, to remind her of the annoying fact that in her young days she had been a milliner.

There was a Mrs. W——, in one of the back wards, who was injured for life by a patient. One of her delusions was that she had enjoyed herself in previous years riding on the back of a dolphin at Cape May.

I am happy to certify that during the entire period of my incarceration I personally received mild and courteous treatment

from the superior officers of the institution, as well as from the attendants. Possibly it was the conviction on their part that I was not insane which induced the attendants especially to avoid imposing upon me. Altercations with patients are, of course, frequent from the very nature of their maladies, and the position of a nurse or attendant in an insane asylum is a very trying one. It requires great patience and force of character, accompanied by a high order of intelligence. No two cases are alike. I have seen those who were insane every other day, others every other month, or every other year. Some were apparently in full possession of their faculties, though sunk in deep melancholy; while others varied from periods of intense excitement to moments of sadness amounting almost to stupor.

In the fall of 1884 a notice, which the new law required, was posted up in our ward, telling us that if we had any grievances, we could write freely about them to the Committee on Lunacy of the Board of Public Charities. Before I had time to avail myself of that opportunity of getting a hearing, I was taken very ill and was too weak to do anything for some time. When I recovered I found that the patients had torn up and otherwise destroyed the printed law the committee had had posted up; and I did not remember the name of any gentleman upon it. Fortunately Miss Annie Drinker, a convalescent, recollected the name of the medical member of the committee, and wrote to him on September 27th, 1884. We waited for weeks, expecting a reply or a visit, but none came. It appears that the letter miscarried. We did nothing until December 31st, 1884, when we wrote again. That letter reached the committee, and my appeal for liberty was at once looked into. On March 16th, 1885, I sent a letter to Dr. A. J. Ourt, secretary of the committee, and shortly afterwards I was visited by him, Dr. Morton, and Mr. Philip C. Garrett, chairman of the committee. Soon after this the committee fully investigated my case and ordered my immediate release, and I was allowed to go free. As my means were limited (my board had been always paid out of funds left to me), and as I hardly knew what to do, I went to the Convalescents' Retreat, Glen Mills, Pennsylvania, where I now am.

I do not think my story can create in the mind of the reader any but the one impression—that I am a wronged woman, and that there has been something amiss in the system of dealing with those alleged to be insane.

No one, it appears, is now responsible for my incarceration. My counsel informs me that an action will not lie against the State or the hospital authorities, as my commitment was made in due form of law. Apart from this, all those who procured my incarceration have long since died. My release came about solely under the operation of the new lunacy law of Pennsylvania, and the zealous efforts of the gentlemen whose duty it is to carry the law (of May, 1883,) into effect.

Before the law was passed, appeals from inmates of an insane asylum generally fell upon dull and unheeding ears. The only method of release legally provided was an application to a court of law. In the absence of outside friends this was practically impossible.

The law requires the Committee on Lunacy to personally examine the complaint of every asylum inmate, and since the investment of its power and authority, others, who, like myself, seemed doomed to a living death, have been freed from their bonds, and have been once more established in the society from which they were so cruelly removed. At their knock, the door of every asylum, public or private, within the broad confines of this State, must open. At their command the shackles on every lunatic must be loosed, and the blackness of the dark cell has been made to give place to light and air. Handcuffs, straight-jackets, balls and chains, iron rings, and all other such relics of barbarism, are things of the past in Pennsylvania.

To the gentlemen of this committee I am, under a gracious Providence, forever indebted that, after more than a quarter of a century, and at the age of sixty years, I am once more free. Even for this much I thank *Him* in whose unfailing love, in the darkest hours of my trial, I never lost faith.

There are some who, while not responsible at all for my early incarceration, have assisted from time to time in restraining or opposing my efforts to be free. They are, unlike my poor parent, yet among the living. For them I have no unkind word here. Suffering has softened all feeling of hate. Twenty-eight cruel years of torture have swallowed up the natural resentment of a once proud spirit. I leave them to Him, who for some wise reason visited chastisement upon one of His humble creatures, and who now in His own good time has opened to her the gate of mercy.

ADRIANA P. BRINCKLÉ.

LITERARY BACKBITING.

La Harpe called Shakespeare a "coarse flatterer of the vulgar herd." About two hundred years earlier, Robert Greene, a fellow dramatist, described him as "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers"—meaning plumage borrowed from writers supposed to be his betters; and also as being, "in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country."

Familiar words! If we were to accept them for truth, we should have to set Shakespeare down as not only a base panderer to those from whom he expected to draw profit, but also a wretched impostor in literature. Even were his reputed authorship of the plays conclusively transferred to Bacon, the case would hardly be improved, so far as the charge of flattery is concerned. Hugo, commenting on these two efforts of detraction, says: "That everything should be perpetually re-examined, that everything should be contested, even the incontestible—what does it matter? . . . Genius, being truth and liberty, has a claim to persecution. . . . Anything admits of being written. Paper is very patient." But it is not genius alone which enjoys this right to be persecuted. The honest, workaday writers who toil hard, molest no one, and never pose as geniuses, are equally subject to the attacks of petty malice and incompetent disdain. And so—paper still retaining its quality of imperturbable patience—we are treated in these latter days to a vicious and unveracious assault upon a number of New York authors, who are characterized as an organized band of humbugs, leagued together for the purpose of mutual inflation, insincere praise, and the foisting of valueless books upon the public. We are told that they are "pinchbeck idols," "brummagem gods," "hucksters," "peddlers of spurious wares," "parasites." But we are not told who these objectionable and repulsive creatures or images are. The writer of the extraordinary outburst here referred to contents himself with apparently intimating that they

are persons who were mentioned in a magazine article published several months ago. With a vagueness even more Sibylline, he affirms that among us there are many good and true men—real authors—who remain in the background, and do not advertise themselves; but the privilege of hearing their names is also denied us. Why? Is it because the writer, as one of them, objects to advertising his own name? He declares that it is time for the good and true men to handle the impostors without gloves. It might be well to add that they should also make their attack without masks.

Whatever the reason may be, this individual prefers to deal in generalities. That is the safer position for him. It is much easier for one who maligns to be impressive, to fulminate awe-inspiringly, when he avoids particulars. He is thus enabled to make himself as terrifying as the wire and cloth dragon in *Siegfried*, with lashings of the tail, effected by jerks of a cord, breath of steam from veritable pipes, and a roar simulated by windy trumpets in the stage wings. The roar of loudest sound, in this instance, is directed against an imaginary institution, described as a "puffing club," which is supposed to have branches in New York and London. I think every genuine literary workman in New York, who perused the account of this institution, must have been struck with amazement—either at his own ignorance in not having hitherto known that such a club existed, or else at the ignorance of the essayist who could believe it existed. For my own part, it would seem hardly worth while to notice such a statement, except for the fact that the man who makes it offers a gross and wanton insult to the whole literary guild in New York. He proceeds to outline a theory which he puts forth as a summary of fact, to this purport, that the literary world of the town—so far as the town has one—is dominated by a clique of mediocre writers; men without merit in their profession, who have brought themselves into notice by resorting to the lowest devices of advertising. These men, he says, are writers of indifferent poems, of weak prose fiction, of histories that are not histories. Sometimes they are editors of magazines, sometimes newspaper critics. The critics praise certain works, expecting that the men who wrote them will, at the first opportunity, praise something which the critics themselves may publish. The contributors to magazines, and the

writers of books, flatter the editors and laud their compositions, in order to secure the acceptance of manuscripts which they themselves intend to offer for publication. In this way, he explains, the members of "the clique"—O, term of fearful fascination to the ears of the soured and the suspicious!—exchange compliment after compliment, and pile eulogy upon eulogy, until the credulous public is persuaded that these fraudulent scribblers are of some importance.

Any one who makes charges of this kind is, of course, mentally and morally opaque, impenetrable by the light of truth. If his charges be answered, he exclaims: "You see the excitement I have caused; therefore what I said must be true!" If his insinuations be decently interred in silence, he dances upon the grave, insists upon exhuming his own infamy, and declares that the neglect to which his calumnies were consigned is positive proof that he was right. Therefore such a person is unworthy, so far as he is concerned, of consideration or argument. But it is of some importance that, when false statements have been made, we should ask a few questions and review a few facts, in order to define the boundary between malicious perversion and sane perception.

How is it that the honest men of letters who do not belong to "the clique" fail to exert their power by destroying its influence? Is it possible that true merit is so weak, so colorless, that it cannot be recognized or remembered? Is the mass of intelligent readers really given over to the dictation of a few impotent mountebanks, who force them to buy and read that which they do not want? And, if readers really are such *fainéants*, how can they be intelligent? By what sorcery are commonplace books "floated into circulation" upon "a flood of panegyric?" Every publisher in the land will tell you that no amount of favorable notice in the magazines, the reviews, the journals, will make a book "go," unless the people decide for themselves that they want it. On the other hand, books which are neglected or maltreated by the critics—books which are not immoral or sensational, but are condemned merely as uninteresting, or as deficient in literary art—frequently secure an enormous popular success, and sometimes win esteem by fresh literary qualities which the critics had failed to appreciate. The power attributed to the imaginary confederation of literary *claqueurs* is not theirs to control, even if they

wanted to use it. They may be Jupiters to the skulking eye of the pseudonymous assailant; but they are Jupiters without the thunderbolts which he assigns to them.

Apparently, he has been led away by an impetuous ambition to rival Mr. Churton Collins's recent attack on Mr. Gosse and a supposed "ring" of authors and reviewers in England. What the condition of affairs may be as to "literary log-rolling" in England, I do not know. I am sorry to see that Mr. Andrew Lang has advanced a plea, as it appears, for favoritism, or at least for glossing over the faults or weaknesses of one's friends when they have written books. No one who maintains a high standard of duty or rectitude in fulfilling the functions of a critic, however humble, can subscribe to a rule which exempts his friends from candid and impartial treatment. A writer may be pardoned for speaking of what he has himself experienced, in connection with this topic; and I therefore feel at liberty to say that I have never heard this doctrine of leniency advocated by reputable men of letters in New York or Boston, although I have seen a good deal of literary people in both these places during the last sixteen years. Nor have I ever known it to be put in practice here by writers possessing influence or respectability. But the pseudonymous reviewer has read Mr. Collins's anonymous attack on Mr. Gosse and the London "ring"; and, feeling that it is not well for him to be behindhand with the fashion, he has imported Mr. Collins's idea into this country. If a ring exists in London, there is one in New York; or, if there isn't, there ought to be; and he proceeds to make one out of shreds and patches put together according to his fancy.

Unless I be completely in error, there is no literary or artistic club whatever with branches in England and this country, except a little social circle which I mentioned in "The Literary Movement in New York," published in *Harper's Monthly* for October, 1886. It looks to me very much as if the dragon who snorts at the clique of his own imagining had seized upon the allusion which I there made to the Kinsmen, and had at once constructed from it—in the steam-pipes and wire coils of his interior economy—the "puffing club," which he boldly projects as a reality. Now the Kinsmen form an association that grew up at hap-hazard. Half the members do not even know the other half, never have met them, have not exchanged letters, and take no personal

interest in them. When a few members are together, on either side of the Atlantic, they meet for a dinner or a breakfast, if it can be arranged. Generally it cannot be arranged, because the various men are too busy. All of them whom I know are entirely too busy to spend time in puffing either themselves or others. The meetings have occurred about once a year. So vanishes that particular jet of steam from the dragon's mouth.

We have not alone the testimony of magazine editors to the fact that they judge contributions on their merits. We have also the testimony of the magazines themselves. New writers, utterly unheard of before, constantly appear in the tables of contents, and sometimes they make a great success. If they do, they get to be in demand. A magazine is a business enterprise, and is governed by the laws of competition. The magazine must consult its own interest, and its interest is to please and hold the public. Everybody must go to the wall who cannot serve that interest. It may be that I, for example, am a brummagem god, in the opinion of somebody; but even that distinction does not secure me access to the magazines. About twice as many of my manuscripts were rejected, in the first nine years of my experience, as those which were accepted. Many trained writers of ability, after working for years, find that their manuscripts are now returned from magazines for which they have written before. The circumstance that they can sell them somewhere else proves no prejudice in the first instance. They simply did not find the right market at once. The needs of each magazine are constantly varying. As one who has been at sundry times editor, contributor, and critic, I may, perhaps, say, without offense, that I have never encountered the "ring" system, nor been able to see its effects. I have heard a great deal about it; and I was once informed, by two excellent friends of mine, that I stood in a very satisfactory position, because I was part of a certain "clique." To my surprise I learned that this clique was composed of persons who, as I supposed, from all indications, were indifferent and, perhaps, even hostile to me and to my writings; persons whom for several years I had not seen, and with whom I held little or no communication. From the extraordinary misapprehension of the two friends just mentioned, and from many other facts which have fallen under my observation, I conclude that rings and cliques are largely chimerical.

It is said that a writer—presumably one of the "good and true men"—who published an adverse review of a story in verse, by a magazine editor, found that he was never able, afterwards, to get any of his manuscripts printed in that magazine. It would be pertinent to inquire, whether the magazine had ever accepted anything of his before that time. It would also be apt, could we learn whether the manuscripts which he sent were of a kind adapted to that particular publication. It is easy to manufacture these imaginary grievances. I have seen a hundred opportunities for doing it myself; but, having learned something of the perplexities of editing periodicals, as well as the perplexities of contributing to them, I have found that arrant injustice is done by yielding to the temptation to theorize, and that he who does so follows a will-o'-the-wisp which leads him into the mire. An example of this is supplied by an individual who is enraged because the portraits of some literary laborers and journalists appeared in the frontispiece of *Harper's Monthly*, as parts of a group in an interior of the Authors Club. The frontispiece had no significance whatever, except as a representation of the club-rooms, and a few *habitués*, who were asked to sit for their portraits together, but had no idea that their names were to be printed under the engraving. Nevertheless, the enraged person constructs a theory that it was meant to be a sort of "Shakespeare and His Friends." Such a theory can emanate only from the mind of a natural vulgarian; a vulgarian who makes himself infinitely absurd and contemptible at the very moment when he fancies that he is making others so by mocking at them.

Editors and authors resemble human beings in other walks of life, by having their likes and dislikes. In two or three cases I have noticed that antipathies have broken off relations between contributors and editors; and there can be no doubt that injustice is occasionally done. But, in the main, I am persuaded that the effort to be impartial and conscientious far outweighs the occasional injustice or the unconscious prejudice. For the most part American authors and editors are not only fair and generous; they are also sensitive about acknowledging or even recognizing anything that resembles a bid for favors in return. I know an editor who refuses to give to a member of his own family, who conducts another periodical, news about the publication under his charge, although the same news is given to other periodicals. I

have known another editor whose wife offered manuscripts to the magazine on which he was employed; he declined even to look at her manuscripts until they had been passed upon and accepted, or rejected, by the other editors. I am intimately acquainted with a writer, B., who announced to another writer, C.—a friend of twelve years' standing—that their acquaintance was at an end, because B. had heard that this other writer, C., had accused him of reviewing C.'s work favorably, in order to obtain similar notices for himself.

It has chanced to me, many times, that I have had to write and publish my brief opinions upon the works of friends and enemies. I have been obliged to censure my friends, on occasion; and I have repeatedly praised and recommended in print the writings of my personal enemies—those with whom I was not on speaking terms. This being so, it may fairly be inferred that others, placed in a similar position, have acted in the same way. The author of the diatribe which furnishes me a text is, naturally, incapable of comprehending such a situation or of understanding upright motives. He reminds one of that distinguished comedian, William Warren's, impersonation of the country legislator, Jefferson Scattering Batkins, who was always talking of "these Boston *clinks*" in the legislature. But the general public, which our new Batkins supposes to be so easily befooled has, I think, good sense and fairness enough to grasp the real situation.

There is certainly no excuse for "literary log-rolling." It is a detestable offense. But the censor of that crime—who so freely attributes it to a body of writers whom he has condemned without trial, without a hearing, without even a summons—has omitted to mention another malefaction at least equal in magnitude, of which he himself is guilty. I mean the crime of literary backbiting. The man who assails authors with distorted, dishonorable, and untruthful aspersions, under cover of mask and cloak, convicts himself of a dastardly deed, far more despicable than the extremest complaisance of mutual admiration. A pseudonymuncule of this sort, who goes up and down concealing his identity, carries a corpse inside his coat. It is the corpse of his own dead self-respect.

There are too many of these lifeless effigies in our universe. There are too many of these shameless advertisers of their own

old particular brand of mental bitters. Although, after long search and much exploration in the thorny paths of authorship, I have been unable to discover the propitious ring which we are occasionally assured exists, I have encountered, in glimpses, a dark saturnine ring of telescopic detractors. It operates dimly and at a distance. You can see it if you employ a lens of sufficient power to bring its baleful insignificance into view. The best astronomers have decided that the dark ring of Saturn "consists of multitudes of small satellites, mixed with vaporous matter, and traveling in flat flights around the central orb." This description corresponds almost exactly to the dark ring of literary backbiters. They execute the most terrible vengeances—in the air. They assassinate, they garrote or chloroform those of whom they are needlessly and foolishly envious—at a distance. By a curious conversion of ideas, these saturnine particles fancy that they are destroying and murdering flesh and blood creatures, while they are merely obscuring and extinguishing themselves.

Still, it is well to know of this dark ring, in order to avoid being insensibly governed by it. If the standard set up by these particles is to be applied to literary men; namely, that no author is to speak well of another—be he friend or foe—without incurring suspicion of interested motives; the same standard must be applied in all other relations of human life. Then, if you have a friend, and you speak well of him to any one in conversation, it must be assumed that you do so because you expect your friend to speak well of you on a future occasion. Then, too, if you have an enemy, and you speak well of him, it will presumably be for the reason that you wish to placate and truckle to him. No room will be left for honesty, integrity, dignity, fairness. Everything you may say or do will be open to the interpretation of being actuated by a mean and selfish motive. Let us, therefore, refuse to be ruled or influenced by the dark ring of Saturn. Let us thoughtfully and considerately usher all literary backbiters to the pit, which they so industriously dig for themselves. Let us not hearken to what Tennyson calls the "vermin voices" of gossip, which clamor to make the most ignoble view of life and conduct prevail. If we take these precautions, there will be some chance for decency, faith, and honor to progress gradually, as they are now doing.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

ASSUMPTION AND PRETENSION.

MAN'S foremost object is, apparently, to make himself seem something else than he actually is. Throughout the world, the rill wants to be a river, and the goose-pond a sea. Adaptation to existing circumstances is wilfully subjected to the conjuring of that which is beyond grasp. No station, no position, seems congenial or satistactory, and there is a universal strife and rivalry in reaching out after the useless and the unattainable. The laborer wants to be tradesman, the tradesman wants to be knight, the knight wants to be king, and the king mourns and laments because there are no grades above him.

Birth, of course, is a matter of accident, and many a man fit to wear a crown is born in some wood-chopper's hut, just as many a hand which sways a sceptre could drive an awl better. Yet, in the main, the most of us come into life in the station to which we are best suited ; and, if chance orders it otherwise, the man who is worthy of a higher place can lift himself into it.

Every man has a right to make himself something better than he is, but no man has a right to claim honor and credit which are not due him. The time which a man wastes in trying to force the world to accept him for something which he is not, would, if properly used and economized, enable him to make himself something higher and better than that which he is trying to seem. But there is, instead, too often, a misuse of energy and a misapplication of endeavor. Teaching and training are somewhat at fault in this, because many parents have an unwholesome readiness toward assuring their children that there is no other sphere or department in life which is quite so lamentable as the one into which they are born. And so discontent is germinated and nurtured until it becomes the rankest weed in the garden of life.

With discontent comes tendencies toward imitation. But no man can be anything else than that which he is. The ox can never be a horse, nor the hawk an eagle—however much these humble creatures may strive to perform the vocations of those above them. Imitation, at best, is but a silly thing, and assumption is the degradation next to it ; and he who tries to seem a prince, when he is a boor, is about the only person in the world who does not see through the sham.

The ignorant get the most satisfaction out of pretense, because the ignorant man alone can make a thorough fool of himself, unconsciously. The wiser the man, the more fully he knows that deceit will not always stand him in stead ; and the *savant* who is worthy of the name had rather seem nine-tenths less, rather than one-tenth more, than he is. Very few, however, are great enough wholly to avoid assumption in some particular and in some degree.

No man who has never been a peasant can appreciate the feelings of peasants ; and no man who has never been king can understand a king's emotions, except

superficially and imperfectly. A vine-dresser and a chemist can scarcely regard grape-juice from the same point of view. One cannot become a wit by the appropriation of a jester's cap and bells. To know the duties of a prelate, one must be a prelate. Hypothetical knowledge and precept count for but little ; example is all that illuminates and disentangles. Assuming to feel that which one has never felt, and to know that which one has never known, is the most dangerous and reckless thing in the world ; and yet pretense is so common, so nearly general, that to criticise one's neighbor is to invite criticism upon one's self. The impossibility of doing a mechanic's work without first learning the mechanic's trade is a foregone conclusion ; and yet a boor dons a gentleman's habiliments, and tries, by the sheer force of insistance, to prove that he has the right to style himself gentleman.

Few, if any, ever make the most of their possibilities and opportunities. Chance throws something in a man's very hands, but instead of closing them over it, and holding fast to that which the fates have sent, he lets it go, and contents himself with pretense rather than possession. Professional men, who in this respect have the advantage over individuals in private life, receive praise and adulation for acquirements of which they are wholly innocent. But the worst of the weakness is not in this direction; men do not assume so much concerning their own sphere as they do concerning some other department of life which is considered higher and more honorable.

This, of course, is truest of babblers and the purely mediocre. A person of rare attainments seldom cares what estimate the world places on him. It may, as it pleases, call him great, or slight ; he is wholly content in either case. Conscious of his power and capacity, the verdict of the world falls on him lightly. This is a kind of self-consciousness which is commendable. It is not vanity, for it has no outward expression—except in the case of some artist, and then only through legitimate channels. Not to know one's self is like walking with the prisoner's clog at one's ankle ; there is a drag on everything, freedom in nothing. The greatest poets, painters, and players know their exact brain-capacity, and use it. Victor Hugo, and Ivan Turgienieff were masters of themselves before they were masters of their art. They are masters of life and of reason. There is philosophy, religion, poetry, in every line they write. All is genuine, all is immortal which they propound, and both will yet be accepted as great leaders and great teachers. There is no pretense in them, because there is nothing for them to pretend, even if their's had been, as they were not, base natures. To them, the eternal and the internal is all that life holds. The external is nothing. This makes substance of all, shadow of nothing. In such living, one speaks to the world and of the world —not with the world ; like a sphinx, propounding truths which no man can answer. It is the voice of a prophet, speaking to the hearing, and yet the speechless.

GEORGE SAND.

II.

SCIENTIFIC TAXATION.

THE great injustice, not to say utter rottenness, of the whole system of American taxation, is leading, just now, to much discussion, and to a demand for reform. The discussion is very superficial. But no other question before the people, or that can be put before them, is of such immediate practical importance. Stupid and inequitable taxation, direct and indirect, may be charged with most of the ills, and most of the crimes that curse modern civilization. By taking "from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned," to use the words of Jefferson, such taxation has defeated what he declared necessary to make Americans "a happy and prosperous people." Our country is full of tax thimbleriggers on the one hand,

and tax dodgers on the other ; and these are the two most "dangerous classes" that now threaten the United States with dry-rot or revolution.

Thimblerig taxation is indirect, and the masses of mankind are only just beginning to open their patient ox-eyes wide enough to see it at all. American thimblerig taxation results chiefly from monopolies of the currency, the tariff, and of transportation—the watered stock of the latter, for instance, costing the people such an impost, more or less, as the "railway kings" are permitted by law to levy on their four thousand millions of dollars in fictitious capital.

But direct taxation, of the right kind, would do much, if not all, to kill indirect taxation, and to extinguish our worst monopolies.

We talk much of "science" in this "advanced age." While we are exclaiming for tax reform, suppose we stop a moment and *think*. The moment may be used up, to be sure, without getting out a newspaper, or making a cent in cash down. But, among the sciences, is there not somewhere the science of taxation ?

The very question will, of course, make a ward politician thirsty for something "practical," and cause a sneer to bloom on the nose of an average "statesman." But shall we ever get on much farther with American welfare until we consider it ?

Recent political economy, supplemented by patient research into the property systems of ancient times, has put a new face on the whole subject of taxation. Our theory in the United States has been that taxation should be as light as possible, and should defray nothing beyond the necessary expenses of government—a theory derived mainly from the rich, aristocratic land-owners of England, who have always shaped British legislation just as closely to their own exclusive money-bags as could be done. But this whole theory is now found to be simply a gross imposition upon society, resulting in the one fundamental monopoly of the world. For, in ancient times, the capital of nations (which was chiefly land) was regarded as the common stock of citizens, and was either held and worked by government, as under Egyptian despotism, or was periodically redistributed, according to population, as under Hebrew democracy. European feudalism gave the domains of the various states to military chieftains, from whom was exacted, in return, the maintenance of government and the support of the common people. But democracy arose, and broke, not only the bonds which held the common people to the lands they had tilled, but broke also the support that had been guaranteed with their toil. The barons took the lands, and the serfs were left out in the cold of naked freedom. Then, as the emancipated serfs built up modern industry, the barons went into the business of legislation. They legislated away the people's old, recognized right in the natural wealth of each generation. Next they legislated off their own former duties and taxes, as far as possible, and put on rising industry all the government expenses they could make it bear.

"The learned" understand all this now, and the unlearned are fast getting hold of it. The true value of Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" is the unanswerable demand it makes that the people's ancient natural right in the earth's common capital be revived and satisfied. Thus the new school of political economists, both in Europe and America, have shown, more or less explicitly, that the true purpose of taxation is a double one. The main purpose, indeed, is to collect from a nation's wealth the people's common right in it. Complemental to this purpose is the payment of public expenses out of the people's fund.

Science now asks, with other questions: What *is* a people's common right in the property of a country they maintain ? I think the question has been answered.

But one thing is certain : Whatever the amount of any tax should be, all taxation should bear equally upon all property. It is impossible to move the common

sense of mankind from this pivot, however selfishly and dishonestly the rich have always dodged around it. Adam Smith said: "The subjects of every State ought to contribute toward the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities." Then he almost spoiled that bit of unalloyed wisdom by adding: "that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." Here is the income tax; but if he had left off his addendum, his principle would have been understood to demand a direct tax on assets in proportion to holdings.

There is no other tax really worth consideration. A tax on incomes always includes a fine imposed upon persons who handle property to the best advantage. In seasons of close competition, or in "hard times," it puts a premium on the stoppage of industry, and leads to "slow, sure investments," thus injuring the whole community in all directions. But a tax on assets pushes them into active use, that their value may not diminish, in spite of the deduction for the public.

Scientific taxation will consist of ascertaining a people's exact right and share in the wealth of any country, collecting it rigidly, paying all legitimate public expenses out of it, and then redistributing the surplus for the production of new wealth, through the employment of idle labor.

But one point will have to be emphasized with unmistakable force. The man who dodges his lawful tax should be punished, if necessary, to the extent of confiscating his whole property, and confining him in the State prison. There is no offense against property that ought to be met with more severe penalties.

EDWARD GORDON CLARK.

III.

SHOULD WOMEN BE HANGED?

THIS purely sentimental question has recently come before the public with a good deal of prominence, by reason of various homicides by women and the death-sentences following the crimes. Wendell Phillips used to insist that, as women in the United States could be sent to jail and choked on the gallows, they should have a voice in making the laws by which they are imprisoned and hanged. Execution without representation is not exactly in accordance with modern democracy and its general course of legislation. This objection against the hanging of women may not be considered weighty enough to save their necks, particularly as the majority of women give conclusive evidence, so far, that they prefer indirect representation, through their masculine subordinates, to a direct vote themselves, at the saloons and barber-shops where the right of suffrage is commonly exercised. Still, the objection of the women's-rights people appears to be the only one resting on sense, not sentiment. If the distinction of sex is to save women from legal responsibility for their acts, men will then be apt to commit their most deliberate crimes by representation, and, as society is now organized, will readily find enough female agents for their purposes. No; there must be the same general laws for men and women, or there may as well be no laws at all.

So the question of hanging women is really the question of hanging anybody, either man or woman. Is capital punishment a right thing at all? And, if it is right, is there any need of using so coarse, ostentatious, and sickening a tool as the gallows to send any human being out of a material condition, always precarious, at best, and easily ended in hundreds of quiet, decorous ways? The present Governor of New York has certainly done an excellent thing in asking the *savants* and the legislators whether it is wise to continue the erection of gibbets in the Empire State.

I, for one, do not doubt the perfect right of society to protect the whole body politic against its individual members, in any necessary way. Doubtless, too, the fear of death does often restrain people from committing capital offenses. Suppose that imprisonment for life at hard labor should be substituted for the death penalty, and then criminals should attempt to kill their fellow-prisoners or legal guardians. It would seem that the line saving such malefactors from death, at the risk of other lives, ought to be drawn somewhere. Life is not so utterly "sacred" that good lives must be sacrificed to bad ones.

The common sense of mankind has so far decided that the death penalty should be modified to the progress of civilization, rather than abolished altogether; and this decision may be found correct in ultimate principle, as well as temporary policy. But one point of the discussion is clear: No calm and decent community in the world now demands that revenge and torture be mixed with legal inflictions, though the feeling that disgrace should attend execution, as an additional preventive to crime, may have something to do with the retention, by the various civilized nations, of their legal implements of death.

America has inherited the gallows. It is a British incentive to virtue, though Austria still preserves it, in common with England, Ireland, and Scotland. France, always demanding briskness and good taste, but always bloody enough, uses the guillotine. This powerful knife, rigged on the principle of a spile-driver, simply reduces to the certainty and expedition of mechanics the old practice of beheadal, still followed in most European states. The soldier, being a man of war and of honor, is usually shot for grave dereliction or disobedience, as he is apt to be, also, for doing his whole duty. But the soldier, too, sometimes goes to the gallows, when special disgrace is intended for him.

In the days of Blackstone—only a little more than a century ago—there were a hundred and sixty capital offenses in England. Treason and murder now constitute the list. In the United States seven other crimes may, in certain instances, be expiated by the death-penalty. These are piracy, arson, rape, the rescue of a prisoner on the way to execution, and the burning or destroying of vessels.

The modern study of physical and mental phenomena has led to the conclusion that criminals are merely the victims of birth or circumstance; and even bad blood is usually overcome by favorable surroundings. But the fact of criminality, however it may arise, necessitates restraint or extinguishment. And that is all. It does not necessitate unseemly terrors or tortures.

Let all considerate, humane, and even artistic people encourage the abolition of the gallows. It is a hideous and clumsy structure, when a little morphine or chloroform, a few drops of laudanum, or even the fumes from a quart of charcoal will perform the easy task of banishing a poor human soul from its frail tenement of clay.

HELEN MAR WILKS.

CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.

By far the most important of recent contributions to American historical literature is the posthumous narrative,* in which Gen. McClellan recounts his experience in the war of the rebellion. The materials relating to the Peninsula and Maryland campaigns had, it seems, been collected and discussed by the author without any view to their immediate publication, and the consequently needful work of selection has been judiciously performed by Dr. W. C. Prime, to whom we are also indebted for a prefatory sketch, which is an admirable example of a brief biography. One of the main objects of this book is to set forth the evidence for the conviction, firmly held by Gen. McClellan, that his army was deliberately sacrificed in the Peninsula by politicians possessed of great influence at Washington, who preferred to see the Civil War prolonged rather than the Union re-established at a date and under conditions fatal to such changes of the Federal Constitution as would insure the abolition of slavery. It cannot be denied that much documentary proof is here forthcoming to sustain this accusation, which is particularly leveled at Secretaries Chase and Stanton. Thus, according to the editor of his diary (Warden), Mr. Chase, on July 2, 1862, urged Mr. Lincoln to remove McClellan on the ground "that I did not regard Gen. McClellan as *loyal to the administration*, although I did not question *his general loyalty to the country*." From this avowal, Mr. Prime, the editor of this volume, not unreasonably infers that "the controlling consideration of such leaders as Mr. Chase in the use of the blood and the treasure of the people, was the supremacy of party, and not the success of the country." Still more significant are the extracts from Mr. Chase's private diary under date of the appeal to McClellan to defend the capital after Pope's defeat. "I remarked," writes Mr. Chase, "that this [the defense of Washington] could be done equally well by the engineers who constructed the forts." And again, "I remarked that I could not but feel that giving command to him [McClellan] was equivalent to giving Washington to the rebels. This, and more, I said." Additional light is cast on the attitude of Chase and Stanton at this time by Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, in his book, "Lincoln and Seward." He records that at the cabinet meeting on Tuesday, September 2d, 1862, "Stanton entered the council-room a few moments in advance of Mr. Lincoln, and said, with great excitement, he had just learned from Gen. Halleck that the President had placed McClellan in command of the forces in Washington. The President soon came in, and, in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Chase, confirmed what Stanton had stated. General regret was expressed, and Stanton, with some feeling, remarked that no order to that effect had issued from the War Department. The President calmly, but with some emphasis, said the order was his, and he would be responsible for it to the country. Before separating, the Secretary of the Treasury [Chase] expressed his apprehen-

* McClellan's Own Story. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

sion that the reinstatement of McClellan would prove a national calamity." Further and equally definite testimony to the same effect, given by Postmaster-General Blair, is now in the hands of Mr. Prime, and bears the date of April 22d, 1870: "The bitterness of Stanton on the reinstatement of McClellan you can scarcely conceive. He preferred to see the capital fall. McClellan was bound to go when the emergency was passed, and Halleck and Stanton furnished a pretense." This statement is reiterated by Mr. Blair in a subsequent letter dated April 3d, 1879: "The folly and disregard of public interests thus exhibited would be incredible, but that the authors of this intrigue, Messrs. Stanton and Chase, when the result of it came, and I proposed the restoration of McClellan to command, and to prevent the completion of ruin by the fall of this capital, *actually declared that they would prefer the loss of the capital to the restoration of McClellan to command.* Yet these are the men who have been accounted by a large portion of our countrymen as the civil heroes of the war, while McClellan, who saved the capital [at Antietam] was dismissed." In view of this cumulative evidence, it will not be easy for unprejudiced readers to resist the conclusion that, however these machinations may have inured to the public good through that ultimate abolition of slavery, which as yet had not been officially proposed, McClellan was a victim of political purposes, with which, as a soldier, he could not be conversant, and of men whom he supposed to mean what they had said. Another point on which the editor of this narrative lays stress, and which well deserves to be remembered, is the fact that under the order of September 2d, 1862, which was never modified, McClellan was not authorized to direct forces in the field, but was distinctly restricted to the "command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defense of the capital." In other words, McClellan led the Army of the Potomac to the swiftest and most brilliant campaign in its history, to the momentous victories of South Mountain and Antietam, without any written warrant from the authorities at Washington, or, to use his own expression, "with the halter around his neck." Had he failed, he might have been court-martialled. He won, and was dismissed. The effect of this and many another revelation, now for the first time backed with conclusive proof, is to fully justify the assertion of McClellan and of his friend, the editor, that the history of the Civil War could not be accurately written until McClellan's story had been told. We should add that the General's letters to his wife, many extracts from which are printed in this volume, exhibit the writer's character in a singularly amiable and interesting light.

A book which should be read in connection with McClellan's narrative is General F. A. Walker's History of the Second Army Corps.* Although the specific aim of this work is rather biographical than critical, the author does not refrain from expressing his personal opinions regarding some of the controversies raised by the conduct of the Peninsula and Antietam campaigns. The general effect of his testimony to the value of McClellan's services, and to the confidence reposed in that commander by the officers and soldiers who served under him, is not materially lessened by some qualifications in relation to McClellan's course on particular occasions. For example, writing of the battle of Fair Oaks, Gen. Walker submits that there were grounds for complaint as to the way in which the functions of the Commander of the Union Army were exercised. "With troops," he says, "to many of whom it was to be their first battle, under corps-commanders picked from the colonels of the regular army, and staff-officers almost absolutely war and

* History of the Second Army Corps, by Francis A. Walker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

uninstructed, it will always seem strange that Gen. McClellan did not feel that his place was with the half of his army that was to fight, rather than with that half which was not to fight." Again, after describing the situation in the Peninsula on the eve of the battle of Mechanicsville (which took place June 26th, 1862), Gen. Walker concurs with those military critics who opine that "McClellan, in this instance, as elsewhere, overestimated his adversary's strength. This is the point to which the hostile criticism of his military career must chiefly be directed. This was the prime cause of his defeat on the Peninsula, and of his comparative failure (?) in Maryland. The Comte de Paris, then his Staff-Officer, assures us that on the occasion we have described, McClellan believed that Jackson's arrival would swell Lee's army to 160,000 men. It was in this mistaken view of his adversary's numbers that McClellan decided not to fight for his communications, but to retreat to the James River." We observe further, that on page 98, when discussing the battle of Antietam, Gen. Walker joins issue with the Comte de Paris, who asserts that the slow movements of the Union forces, by which that engagement was delayed, should be ascribed to their antecedent demoralization in Pope's campaign. According to the Comte de Paris, "two weeks only had elapsed since McClellan had taken command of this army, or rather this disorganized mob. He had not been able to transform it sufficiently to secure that regularity and perseverance in the march which, even more than steadiness under fire, constitutes the superiority of old troops." This averment is pronounced by Gen. Walker "altogether erroneous." He declares that the Potomac Army, excepting possibly the First and Twelfth Corps, was "in better condition on the 15th of September, 1862 [the eve of Antietam], than on the 30th of June, 1863 [the eve of Gettysburg]." In Walker's judgment, the superiority of 1863 over 1862 was in "the spirit that animated general headquarters, and in the organization of the staff." Notwithstanding these allusions to what the historian of the Second Army Corps considers McClellan's limitations, Gen. Walker acknowledges that it was absolutely inexcusable to supersede him by Burnside. "The first Commander of the Army of the Potomac had not one fault or deficiency which was not found greatly exaggerated in his successor, while of McClellan's many high qualifications, Burnside had hardly a trace. Those who selected Burnside for a fearful responsibility, against his own will, can only be excused from criminality by the plea that they were not judges of character ; that they could not interpret acts, or even read the plainest indications of physiognomy." But Gen. Walker does not confine himself to such faint praise of McClellan as is implied in this comparison with Burnside. He goes much further and admits that, "even had the administration been prepared to replace Gen. McClellan by an officer of equal ability, it would still have been fairly a matter of hesitation, for it is a serious thing to strike at a sentiment like that with which the army regarded their first chief. Such a degree of affection and confidence itself constitutes a powerful re enforcement to that military strength which can be at any time called out and used without regard to the personality of the commander." Though not, as we have seen, a partial critic, Gen. Walker adds his testimony to the unanimous affirmance of McClellan's military comrades that, "No other commander ever aroused the same enthusiasm in the troops, whether in degree, or in kind. The soldiers fairly loved to look upon him ; the sight of him brought cheers spontaneously from every lip ; his voice was music to every ear. Let military critics or political enemies say what they will, he who could move the hearts of a great army, as the wind sways long rows of standing corn, was no ordinary man ; nor was he who took such heavy toll of Joseph E. Johnston and Robert E. Lee an ordinary soldier."

Since Washington Irving was sent as Minister to Madrid, few American diplomatists have turned their opportunities to better account than has Mr. Benjamin, lately Minister to Teheran. He has given us* the observations of an accomplished traveler, rather than the discoveries of an archæologist, and his work is all the better done because he did not try to do too much. It is the Persia of to-day which he endeavors to make known to us, not the Persia of Abbasid, Sassanid, Parthian, Seleucid, and Achæmenid times. Not that there are not extant architectural vestiges of all those epochs, but each of them requires the careful study of a specialist for right interpretation. But, by giving minute delineation of Iran under the present dynasty, in what is probably the latest period of its independent existence, Mr. Benjamin has produced in a definite and lasting form an important chapter in that exhaustive history of Persia which may ultimately be written. Nor will he who follows the author's discussion of the arts of Persia fail to recognize at all events such a familiarity with the long annals of the country as is needed for an elucidation of the present by the past. We observe that Mr. Benjamin inclines to regard the actual state of Persian art as one of transition, rather than of decay, though he omits to suggest how native methods and ideals can be adjusted to the strange conditions of Russian ascendency, to which they seem destined to be presently subjected. The Persian assimilated Greek culture, and imposed his own civilization on the Caliphate of Bagdad, but it is hard to see how anything analogous to either result can follow his impending absorption in the Russian Empire. It is, however, we repeat, just because the existence of Persia as an independent nationality, tolerably faithful to its social and artistic traditions, seems drawing to a close, that this vivid and appreciative picture of its actual condition will have a permanent value for the sociologist and ethnologist.

The method followed in Green's "Making of England" has been happily adapted by Mr. Drake† to the first half century of New England history. Nothing better indicates the author's competence than the simple fact that a quarter of his volume is devoted to the work done by explorers before the landing of the Pilgrims. They who imagine that the history of New England begins with the settlement of Plymouth, assume that the Mayflower emigrants came to an unknown country, while the fact is that the entire sea coast, from the St. Lawrence to the Delaware, had been traced, its bays and rivers surveyed and described with considerable accuracy, the abodes and customs of the native tribes made known, and the resources of the country explained and exemplified. The route had been made familiar by the log-books of a thousand sailors, and the little band that left their refuge in Holland for Massachusetts Bay had more information about the land at which they aimed than was accessible to American settlers on the Pacific Coast as late as 1840. Another feature of the book, which shows how well the author understands the limitations of his subject, is his recognition that the making of New England was virtually complete with the Confederacy of 1643 between the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was at least as proper for Mr. Drake to close his narrative at this point as it would be to consider the Making of Old England finished with the consolidation of Kent, Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, under Egbert.

* Persia and the Persians, by S. G. W. Benjamin. Boston : Ticknor & Co.

† The Making of New England, by S. A. Drake. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

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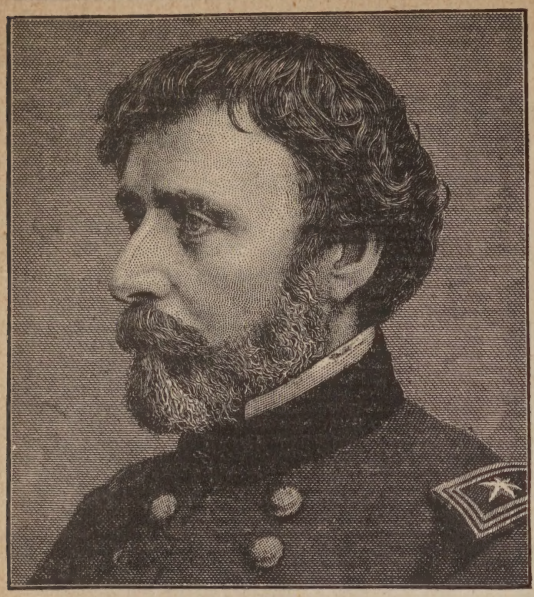

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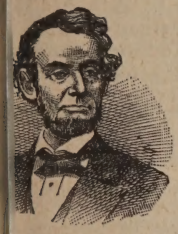

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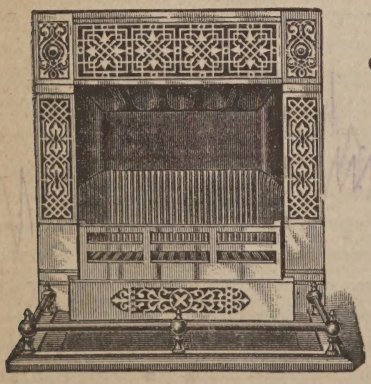

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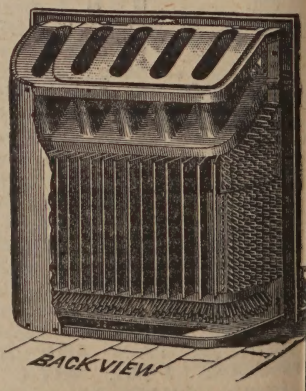

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SOME INTERROGATION POINTS.

A NEW party is struggling for recognition—a party with leaders who are not politicians, with followers who are not seekers after place. Some of those who suffer and some of those who sympathize, have combined. Those who feel that they are oppressed are organized for the purpose of redressing their wrongs. The workers for wages, and the seekers for work have uttered a protest. This party is an instrumentality for the accomplishment of certain things that are very near and very dear to the hearts of many millions.

The object to be attained is a fairer division of profits between employers and employed. There is a feeling that in some way the workers should not want—that the industrious should not be the indigent. There is a hope that men and women and children are not forever to be the victims of ignorance and want—that the tenement house is not always to be the home of the poor, nor the gutter the nursery of their babes.

As yet, the methods for the accomplishment of these aims have not been agreed upon. Many theories have been advanced and none has been adopted. The question is so vast, so complex, touching human interests in so many ways, that no one has yet been great enough to furnish a solution, or, if any one has furnished a solution, no one else has been wise enough to understand it.

The hope of the future is that this question will finally be understood. It must not be discussed in anger. If a broad and comprehensive view is to be taken, there is no place for hatred or for prejudice. Capital is not to blame. Labor is not to blame. Both have been caught in the net of circumstances. The rich are as generous as the poor would be if they should change places. Men acquire through the noblest and the tenderest instincts. They work and save not only for themselves, but for their wives and for their children. There is but little confidence in the charity of the world. The prudent man in his youth makes preparation for his age. The loving father, having struggled himself, hopes to save his children from drudgery and toil.

In every country there are classes—that is to say, the spirit of caste, and this spirit will exist until the world is truly civilized. Persons in most communities are judged not as individuals, but as members of a class. Nothing is more natural, and nothing more heartless. These lines that divide hearts on account of clothes or titles are growing more and more indistinct, and the philanthropists, the lovers of the human race, believe that the time is coming when they will be obliterated. We may do away with kings and peasants, and yet there may still be the rich and the poor, the intelligent and foolish, the beautiful and deformed, the industrious and idle, and it may be, the honest and vicious. These classifications are in the nature of things. They are produced for the most part by forces that are now beyond the control of man—but the old rule, that men are disreputable in the proportion that they are useful, will certainly be reversed. The idle lord was always held to be the superior of the industrious peasant, the devourer better than the producer, and the waster superior to the worker.

While in this country we have no titles of nobility, we have the rich and the poor—no princes, no peasants, but millionaires and mendicants. The individuals composing these classes are continually changing. The rich of to-day may be the poor of to-morrow, and the children of the poor may take their places. In this country the children of the poor are educated substantially in the same schools with those of the rich. All read the same papers, many of the same books, and all for many years hear the same questions discussed. They are continually being educated, not only at schools, but by the press, by political campaigns, by perpetual discussions on public questions, and the result is that

those who are rich in gold are often poor in thought, and many who have not whereon to lay their heads have within those heads a part of the intellectual wealth of the world.

Years ago the men of wealth were forced to contribute towards the education of the children of the poor. The support of schools by general taxation was defended on the ground that it was a means of providing for the public welfare, of perpetuating the institutions of a free country by making better men and women. This policy has been pursued until at last the school house is larger than the church, and the common people through education have become uncommon. They now know how little is really known by what are called the upper classes—how little after all is understood by kings, presidents, legislators, and men of culture. They are capable not only of understanding a few questions, but they have acquired the art of discussing those that no one understands. With the facility of politicians they can hide behind phrases, make barricades of statistics, and chevaux-de-frise of inferences and assertions. They understand the sophistries of those who have governed.

In some respects these common people are the superiors of the so-called aristocracy. While the educated have been turning their attention to the classics, to the dead languages, and the dead ideas and mistakes that they contain—while they have been giving their attention to ceramics, artistic decorations, and compulsory prayers, the common people have been compelled to learn the practical things—to become acquainted with facts—by doing the work of the world. The professor of a college is no longer a match for a master mechanic. The master mechanic not only understands principles, but their application. He knows things as they are. He has come in contact with the actual, with realities. He knows something of the adaptation of means to ends, and this is the highest and most valuable form of education. The men who make locomotives, who construct the vast engines that propel ships, necessarily know more than those who have spent their lives in conjugating Greek verbs, looking for Hebrew roots, and discussing the origin and destiny of the universe.

Intelligence increases wants. By education the necessities of the people become increased. The old wages will not supply the new wants. Man longs for a harmony between the thought within and the things without. When the soul lives in a palace

the body is not satisfied with rags and patches. The glaring inequalities among men, the differences in condition, the suffering and the poverty, have appealed to the good and great of every age, and there has been in the brain of the philanthropist a dream—a hope, a prophesy, of a better day.

It was believed that tyranny was the foundation and cause of the differences between men—that the rich were all robbers and the poor all victims, and that if a society or government could be founded on equal rights and privileges, the inequalities would disappear, that all would have food and clothes and reasonable work and reasonable leisure, and that content would be found by every hearth.

There was a reliance on nature—an idea that men had interfered with the harmonious action of great principles which if left to themselves would work out universal well-being for the human race. Others imagined that the inequalities between men were necessary—that they were part of a divine plan, and that all would be adjusted in some other world—that the poor here would be the rich there, and the rich here might be in torture there. Heaven became the reward of the poor, of the slave, and hell their revenge.

When our Government was established it was declared that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It was then believed that if all men had an equal opportunity, if they were allowed to make and execute their own laws, to levy their own taxes, the frightful inequalities seen in the despotisms and monarchies of the old world would entirely disappear. This was the dream of 1776. The founders of the Government knew how kings, and princes, and dukes, and lords, and barons had lived upon the labor of the peasants. They knew the history of those ages of want and crime, of luxury and suffering. But in spite of our Declaration, in spite of our Constitution, in spite of universal suffrage, the inequalities still exist. We have the kings and princes, the lords and peasants, in fact, if not in name. Monopolists, corporations, capitalists, workers for wages, have taken their places, and we are forced to admit that even universal suffrage cannot clothe and feed the world.

For thousands of years men have been talking and writing about the great law of supply and demand—and insisting that in

some way this mysterious law has governed and will continue to govern the activities of the human race. It is admitted that this law is merciless—that when the demand fails the producer, the laborer must suffer, must perish—that the law feels neither pity nor malice—it simply acts, regardless of consequences. Under this law, capital will employ the cheapest. The single man can work for less than the married. Wife and children are luxuries not to be enjoyed under this law. The ignorant have fewer wants than the educated, and for this reason can afford to work for less. The great law will give employment to the single and to the ignorant in preference to the married and intelligent. The great law has nothing to do with food or clothes, with filth or crime. It cares nothing for homes, for penitentiaries, or asylums. It simply acts—and some men triumph, some succeed, some fail, and some perish.

Others insist that the curse of the world is monopoly. And yet, as long as some men are stronger than others, as long as some are more intelligent than others, they must be, to the extent of such advantage, monopolists. Every man of genius is a monopolist.

We are told that the great remedy against monopoly—that is to say, against extortion, is free and unrestricted competition. But after all, the history of this world shows that the brutalities of competition are equaled only by those of monopoly. The successful competitor becomes a monopolist, and if competitors fail to destroy each other, the instinct of self-preservation suggests a combination. In other words, competition is a struggle between two or more persons or corporations for the purpose of determining which shall have the uninterrupted privilege of extortion.

In this country the people have had the greatest reliance on competition. If a railway company charged too much a rival road was built. As a matter of fact, we are indebted for half the railroads of the United States to the extortion of the other half, and the same may truthfully be said of telegraph lines. As a rule, while the exactions of monopoly constructed new roads and new lines, competition has either destroyed the weaker, or produced the pool which is a means of keeping both monopolies alive, or of producing a new monopoly with greater needs, supplied by methods more heartless than the old. When a rival road is built the people support the rival because the fares and freights are some-

what less. Then the old and richer monopoly inaugurates war, and the people, glorying in the benefits of competition, are absurd enough to support the old. In a little while the new company, unable to maintain the contest, left by the people at the mercy of the stronger, goes to the wall, and the triumphant monopoly proceeds to make the intelligent people pay not only the old price, but enough in addition to make up for the expenses of the contest.

Is there any remedy for this? None, except with the people themselves. When the people become intelligent enough to support the rival at a reasonable price; when they know enough to allow both roads to live; when they are intelligent enough to recognize a friend and to stand by that friend as against a known enemy, this question will be at least on the edge of a solution.

So far as I know this course has never been pursued except in one instance, and that is in the present war between the Gould and Mackay cables. The Gould system had been charging from sixty to eighty cents a word, and the Mackay system charged forty. Then the old monopoly tried to induce the rival to put the prices back to sixty. The rival refused, and thereupon the Gould combination dropped to twelve and a half, for the purpose of destroying the rival. The Mackay cable fixed the tariff at twenty-five cents, saying to its customers, "You are intelligent enough to understand what this war means. If our cables are defeated, the Gould system will go back not only to the old price, but will add enough to reimburse itself for the cost of destroying us. If you really wish for competition, if you desire a reasonable service at a reasonable rate, you will support us." Fortunately an exceedingly intelligent class of people does business by the cables. They are merchants, bankers, and brokers, dealing with large amounts, with intricate, complicated, and international questions. Of necessity, they are used to thinking for themselves. They are not dazzled into blindness by the glare of the present. They see the future. They are not duped by the sunshine of a moment or the promise of an hour. They see beyond the horizon of a penny saved. These people had intelligence enough to say, "The rival who stands between us and extortion is our friend, and our friend shall not be allowed to die."

Does not this tend to show that people must depend upon themselves, and that some questions can be settled by the intelli-

gence of those who buy, of those who use, and that customers are not entirely helpless ?

Another thing should not be forgotten, and that is this : there is the same war between monopolies that there is between individuals, and the monopolies for many years have been trying to destroy each other. They have unconsciously been working for the extinction of monopolies. These monopolies differ as individuals do. You find among them the rich and the poor, the lucky and the unfortunate, millionaires and tramps. The great monopolies have been devouring the little ones.

Only a few years ago the railways in this country were controlled by local directors and local managers. The people along the lines were interested in the stock. As a consequence, whenever any legislation was threatened hostile to the interests of these railways, they had local friends who used their influence with legislators, governors, and juries. During this time they were protected, but when the hard times came many of these companies were unable to pay their interest. They suddenly became socialists. They cried out against their prosperous rivals. They felt like joining the Knights of Labor. They began to talk about rights and wrongs. But in spite of their cries, they have passed into the hands of the richer roads—they were seized by the great monopolies. Now the important railways are owned by persons living in large cities or in foreign countries. They have no local friends, and when the time comes, and it may come, for the general government to say how much these companies shall charge for passengers and freight, they will have no local friends. It may be that the great mass of the people will then be on the other side. So that after all the great corporations have been busy settling the question against themselves.

Possibly a majority of the American people believe to-day that in some way all these questions between capital and labor can be settled by constitutions, laws, and judicial decisions. Most people imagine that a statute is a sovereign specific for any evil. But while the theory has all been one way, the actual experience has been the other—just as the free-traders have all the arguments and the protectionists most of the facts.

The truth is, as Mr. Buckle says, that for five hundred years all real advance in legislation has been made by repealing laws. Of one thing we must be satisfied, and that is that real monopolies

have never been controlled by law, but the fact that such monopolies exist, is a demonstration that the law has been controlled. In our country, legislators are for the most part controlled by those who, by their wealth and influence, elect them. The few in reality cast the votes of the many, and the few influence the ones voted for by the many. Special interests, being active, secure special legislation, and the object of special legislation is to create a kind of monopoly—that is to say, to get some advantage. Chiefs, barons, priests, and kings ruled, robbed, destroyed, and duped, and their places have been taken by corporations, monopolists, and politicians. The large fish still live on the little ones, and the fine theories have as yet failed to change the condition of mankind.

Law in this country is effective only when it is the recorded will of a majority. When the zealous few get control of the Legislature, and laws are passed to prevent Sabbath-breaking, or wine-drinking, they succeed only in putting their opinions and provincial prejudices in legal phrase. There was a time when men worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. These hours have not been lessened, they have not been shortened by law. The law has followed and recorded, but the law is not a leader and not a prophet. It appears to be impossible to fix wages—just as impossible as to fix the values of all manufactured things, including works of art. The field is too great, the problem too complicated, for the human mind to grasp.

To fix the value of labor is to fix all values—labor being the foundation of all values. The value of labor cannot be fixed unless we understand the relations that all things bear to each other and to man. If labor were a legal tender—if a judgment for so many dollars could be discharged by so many days of labor,—and the law was that twelve hours of work should be reckoned as one day, then the law could change the hours to ten or eight, and the judgments could be paid in the shortened days. But it is easy to see that in all contracts made after the passage of such a law, the difference in hours would be taken into consideration.

We must remember that law is not a creative force. It produces nothing. It raises neither corn nor wine. The legitimate object of law is to protect the weak, to prevent violence and fraud, and to enforce honest contracts, to the end that each person may be free to do as he desires, provided only that he does

not interfere with the rights of others. Our fathers tried to make people religious by law. They failed. Thousands are now trying to make people temperate in the same manner. Such efforts always have been and probably always will be failures. People who believe that an infinite God gave to the Hebrews a perfect code of laws, must admit that even this code failed to civilize the inhabitants of Palestine.

It seems impossible to make people just, or charitable, or industrious, or agreeable, or successful, by law, any more than you can make them physically perfect or mentally sound. Of course we admit that good people intend to make good laws, and that good laws, faithfully and honestly executed, tend to the preservation of human rights and to the elevation of the race, but the enactment of a law not in accordance with a sentiment already existing in the minds and hearts of the people—the very people who are depended upon to enforce this law—is not a help, but a hindrance. A real law is but the expression in an authoritative and accurate form of the judgment and desire of the majority. As we become intelligent and kind, this intelligence and kindness find expression in law.

But how is it possible to fix the wages of every man? To fix wages is to fix prices, and a Government, to do this intelligently, would necessarily have to have the wisdom generally attributed to an infinite being. It would have to supervise and fix the conditions of every exchange of commodities and the value of every conceivable thing. Many things can be accomplished by law. Employers may be held responsible for injuries to the employed. The mines can be ventilated. Children can be rescued from the deformities of toil—burdens taken from the backs of wives and mothers—houses made wholesome, food healthful—that is to say, the weak can be protected from the strong, the honest from the vicious, honest contracts can be enforced, and many rights protected.

The men who have simply strength, muscle, endurance, compete not only with other men of strength, but with the inventions of genius. What would doctors say if physicians of iron could be invented with curious cogs and wheels, so that when a certain button was touched the proper prescription would be written? How would lawyers feel if a lawyer could be invented in such a way that questions of law, being put in a kind of hopper and a

crank being turned, decisions of the highest Court could be prophesied without failure? And how would the ministers feel if somebody should invent a clergyman of wood that would to all intents and purposes answer the purpose?

Invention has filled the world with the competitors not only of laborers, but of mechanics—mechanics of the highest skill. To-day the ordinary laborer is for the most part a cog in a wheel. He works with the tireless—he feeds the insatiable. When the monster stops the man is out of employment, out of bread. He has not saved anything. The machine that he fed was not feeding him, was not working for him—the invention was not for his benefit. The other day I heard a man say that it was almost impossible for thousands of good mechanics to get employment, and that in his judgment the Government ought to furnish work for the people. A few minutes after, I heard another say that he was selling a patent for cutting out clothes, that one of his machines could do the work of twenty tailors, and that only the week before he had sold two to a great house in New York, and that over forty cutters had been discharged.

On every side men are being discharged and machines are being invented to take their places. When the great factory shuts down, the workers who inhabited it and gave it life, as thoughts do the brain, go away and it stands there like an empty skull. A few workmen, by the force of habit, gather about the closed doors and broken windows and talk about distress, the price of food, and the coming winter. They are convinced that they have not had their share of what their labor created. They feel certain that the machines inside were not their friends. They look at the mansion of the employer and think of the places where they live. They have saved nothing—nothing but themselves. The employer seems to have enough. Even when employers fail, when they become bankrupt, they are far better off than the laborers ever were. Their worst is better than the toilers' best.

The capitalist comes forward with his specific. He tells the workingman that he must be economical—and yet, under the present system, economy would only lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand every saving, frugal, self-denying workingman is unconsciously doing what little he can to reduce the compensation of himself and his fellows. The slaves who did not wish to run away helped fasten chains on those who did.

So the saving mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day, that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that and death?

Capital has always claimed and still claims the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine upon prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, the club-house, or parlor. Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and the navy, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments. When the rich combine, it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine, it is a "conspiracy." If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a "mob." If they defend themselves, it is "treason." How is it that the rich control the departments of Government? In this country the political power is equally divided among the men. There are certainly more poor than there are rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, legislative, and judicial departments? Will they ever find how powerful they are?

In every country there is a satisfied class—too satisfied to care. They are like the angels in Heaven, who are never disturbed by the miseries of earth. They are too happy to be generous. This satisfied class asks no questions and answers none. They believe the world is as it should be. All reformers are simply disturbers of the peace. When they talk low, they should not be listened to; when they talk loud, they should be suppressed.

The truth is to-day what it always has been—what it always will be—those who feel are the only ones who think. A cry comes from the oppressed, from the hungry, from the down-trodden, from the unfortunate, from men who despair and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner, under which the noblest and bravest battle for the right.

How are we to settle the unequal contest between men and machines? Will the machine finally go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature be controlled for the benefit

of her suffering children? Will extravagance keep pace with ingenuity? Will the workers become intelligent enough and strong enough to be the owners of the machines? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Will they give leisure to the industrious, or will they make the rich richer, and the poor poorer?

Is man involved in the "general scheme of things?" Is there no pity, no mercy? Can man become intelligent enough to be generous, to be just; or does the same law or fact control him that controls the animal and vegetable world? The great oak steals the sunlight from the smaller trees. The strong animals devour the weak—everything eating something else—everything at the mercy of beak, and claw, and hoof, and tooth—of hand and club, of brain and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere.

The poor horse standing in the street with his dray overworked, over-whipped, and under-fed, when he sees other horses groomed to mirrors, glittering with gold and silver, scorning with proud feet the very earth, probably indulges in the usual socialistic reflections, and this same horse, worn out and old, deserted by his master, turned into the dusty road, leans his head on the topmost rail, looks at donkeys in a field of clover, and feels like a Nihilist.

In the days of savagery the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advance in science, literature and art, the strong, the cunning, the heartless still live on the weak, the unfortunate, and foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh, they do not drink their blood, but they live on their labor, on their self-denial, their weariness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for wife and child through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having had one luxury—has been the food of others. He has been devoured by his fellow-men. The poor woman living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless and fireless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from a child, is slowly being eaten by her fellow-men. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the number of failures, the poverty, the anxiety, the tears, the withered hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man has ever lived upon his fellow-man.

Some of the best and purest of our race have advocated what is known as Socialism. They have not only taught, but, what is much more to the purpose, have believed that a nation should be a family; that the government should take care of all its children; that it should provide work, and food, and clothes, and education for all, and that it should divide the results of all labor equitably with all.

Seeing the inequalities among men, knowing of the destitution and crime, these men were willing to sacrifice, not only their own liberties, but the liberties of all.

Socialism seems to be one of the worst possible forms of slavery. Nothing in my judgment would so utterly paralyze all the forces, all the splendid ambitions and aspirations that now tend to the civilization of man. In ordinary systems of slavery there are some masters, a few are supposed to be free; but in a socialistic state all would be slaves.

If the government is to provide work it must decide for the worker what he must do. It must say who shall chisel statues, who shall paint pictures, who shall compose music, and who shall practice the professions. Is any government, or can any government, be capable of intelligently performing these countless duties? It must not only control work, it must not only decide what each shall do, but it must control expenses, because expenses bear a direct relation to products. Therefore the government must decide what the worker shall eat and wherewithal he shall be clothed; the kind of house in which he shall live; the manner in which it shall be furnished, and, if this government furnishes the work, it must decide on the days or the hours of leisure. More than this, it must fix values; it must decide not only who shall sell, but who shall buy, and the price that must be paid—and it must fix this value not simply upon the labor, but on everything that can be produced, that can be exchanged or sold.

Is it possible to conceive of a despotism beyond this? The present condition of the world is bad enough, with its poverty and ignorance, but it is far better than it could by any possibility be under any government like the one described. There would be less hunger of the body, but not of the mind. Each man would simply be a citizen of a large penitentiary, and, as in every well regulated prison, somebody would decide what each should do. The inmates of a prison retire early; they rise with the sun;

they have something to eat; they are not dissipated; they have clothes; they attend divine service; they have but little to say about their neighbors; they do not suffer from cold; their habits are excellent, and yet, no one envies their condition. Socialism destroys the family. The children belong to the State. Certain officers take the places of parents. Individuality is lost.

The human race cannot afford to exchange its liberty for any possible comfort. You remember the old fable of the fat dog that met the lean wolf in the forest. The wolf, astonished to see so prosperous an animal, inquired of the dog where he got his food, and the dog told him that there was a man who took care of him, gave him his breakfast, his dinner, and his supper with the utmost regularity, and that he had all that he could eat and very little to do. The wolf said, "Do you think this man would treat me as he does you?" The dog replied, "Yes, come along with me." So they jogged on together toward the dog's home. On the way the wolf happened to notice that some hair was worn off the dog's neck, and he said, "How did the hair become worn?" "That is," said the dog, "the mark of the collar—my master ties me at night." "Oh," said the wolf, "Are you chained? Are you deprived of your liberty? I believe I will go back. I prefer hunger."

It is impossible for any man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it now is. No one can truly enjoy even what he earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellow-men are in misery and want. When we think of the famished we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.

In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, where one man can raise the food for hundreds, millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?

Is there to be no change? Are "the law of supply and demand," invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation always to be the enemies of those who toil?

Will the workers always be ignorant enough and stupid enough to give their earnings for the useless? Will they support millions

of soldiers to kill the sons of other workingmen? Will they always build temples for ghosts and phantoms, and live in huts and dens themselves? Will they forever allow parasites with crowns, and vampires with mitres, to live upon their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? How long will they be controlled by friends who seek favors, and by reformers who want office? Will they always prefer famine in the city to a feast in the fields? Will they ever feel and know that they have no right to bring children into this world that they cannot support? Will they use their intelligence for themselves, or for others? Will they become wise enough to know that they cannot obtain their own liberty by destroying that of others? Will they finally see that every man has a right to choose his trade, his profession, his employment, and has the right to work when, and for whom, and for what he will? Will they finally say that the man who has had equal privileges with all others has no right to complain, or will they follow the example that has been set by their oppressors? Will they learn that force, to succeed, must have a thought behind it, and that anything done, in order that it may endure, must rest upon the corner-stone of justice?

Will they, at the command of priests, forever extinguish the spark that sheds a little light in every brain? Will they ever recognize the fact that labor, above all things, is honorable—that it is the foundation of virtue? Will they understand that beggars cannot be generous, and that every healthy man must earn the right to live? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful fraud? Will industry, in the presence of crowned idleness, forever fall upon its knees, and will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robed impostor's hand?

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

WHY AM I A BAPTIST?

THE primary ideal of Baptists is not to build up an ecclesiastical system, but to create high and manly Christian character. In other words, it is to create in each individual soul and life a legitimate independency of all men, in matters of faith and practice Godward. The more Christlike each man becomes in his estimates and standards of character, the more he will prize his individual rights as one of Christ's freemen, and the more sacredly he will guard the rights of others. As Baptists have no formulated and authoritative creeds or decretals to which all their members must subscribe, few outside of their own ranks have made their tenets and practices a special study, or are capable of giving such an account of these as their churches would pronounce either fair or correct. Possibly none of the other large Christian bodies commonly known as "Evangelical" suffer so much from misconception and misrepresentation; hence, a candid reader will be grateful for an honest answer to the question: "Why am I a Baptist?"

The Baptist Year Book for 1886 reports 28,953 Baptist churches in the United States, with 2,572,238 communicants. These do not form one united church under an enforced standard of doctrine and a prescribed order of government, from which no congregation may vary. The aggregated sect is denominated by itself as the "Baptist Denomination," and not the Baptist Church, because each separate congregation is held to be a complete New Testament church in itself. These thousands of churches, therefore, are entirely distinct from each other, and are independent in the management of their several internal affairs, much after the pattern of private families in social life. Their only visible element of unity is the Bible and the common faith and practice which they severally gather from its teachings. In the United States there are 1,305 Baptist associations, but these organizations hold no analogy to the synods, presbyteries, conferences, or convocations of other Christian bodies. Voluntary associations are

formed by the churches of any given vicinity simply for fraternal purposes. In these they confer with each other about the scriptural application of their common principles, the subject of missions, the best methods of church work, the establishment and support of educational interests, and, if any church seeks advice in the management of its own affairs, the association will give it counsel. Its suggestions, however, in all cases, are merely advisory, and can in no wise bind the church which seeks its advice. All the churches hold that Christ has reserved to Himself, as the Head of the churches, the absolute right of legislation for their government, and that He has laid down His changeless statutes in the sacred Scriptures; consequently no Baptist body claims legislative prerogatives. Then all executive and judicial rights are lodged by Him in the churches themselves. From the decisions of the individual church, in all that concerns its own affairs, there can be no appeal, so that within its own jurisdiction its application of New Testament laws is final. It pretends to no infallibility in its interpretation of those laws, and hence it may seek the counsel of other churches in difficult cases, but it reserves final action to itself, because it is quite as infallible as those sister churches, who necessarily know less of its affairs, after the fullest explanation, than it knows itself. They can neither instruct it nor hold it under any authority whatever when it declines to follow their advice, and so each church is as absolute a spiritual democracy for all the purposes of self government as if it were the only church organization on earth.

In the exercise of these democratic rights, it forms itself into a church in the first place, without the assistance of any outside body. Its only officers are a pastor and deacons; it directs in the administration of the ordinances which Christ has appointed; it receives its own members generally by a majority vote given in its business meetings; it enforces its own discipline by the exercise of its popular suffrage, and is self-governing in all respects. Each member stands on an exact equality in all that relates to the exercise of his voice and vote in the management of its affairs, from the pastor down to its obscurest member, and everything necessary to its well-being is done in open assembly, much after the form of the primary town-meeting in the body politic. The pastor is a member of the body which he serves, and not of a separate clerical order outside of the church. He is responsible

only to his own church, being answerable to it for all his conduct, private and official. His settlement, dismission, or punishment for wrong-doing are entirely in the hands of his own congregation. Necessarily, his moral influence is larger than that of other members of his flock, provided that he maintains a high grade of pastoral consistency and Christ-like character; but his office invests him with no ecclesiastical authority above that of any other member. This democratic parity is maintained on our Lord's decision: "All ye are brethren." His pastoral duty consists in feeding and tending the flock of Christ, under the direction of the Great Shepherd, so that he is the servant of the church for Christ's sake, while Christ is his only Master and theirs. Thus, the organic character of a Baptist church brings every member thereof back to his individual responsibility, on the broad basis of liberty and equality, removing membership therein as far as possible from all savor of officialism. The natural tendency of this liberal system is the cultivation of a proper respect for his own enlarged manhood. Of course, a self-willed man, or a supine and ignorant man, who has little regard for his better nature, will act unworthily of this highly honorable order of church life and of the sacred trusts which it imposes, just as the same class of men disgrace their own citizenship in the State. But as free citizenship is adapted to lift the freeman above mere residence in the State, so in this case, freedom from every yoke which would bind a Baptist to the unquestioning obedience of church superiors lifts him far above the membership of a mere conventionalism in the church of Christ. Such religious democracy cannot be true to itself, unless it conserves the rights of others, on principle. But where this is guarded, the personal Christian must love Christ more than ecclesiasticism, must be a better disciple of Christ than a churchman, and must give freer scope to his individual thought and action than he can command where his voice in church management is denied. He is bone of the bone which frames the church of his choice, and, being free from all outside domination, he stands as the peer of his brethren in the discharge of equal duties and the exercise of equal rights. Such a democracy is educative and every way calculated to make an entire brotherhood relatively strong in Christian manliness, robust in a self-reliance which these stout principles must inspire when they are held and used intelligently.

Manly characteristics are fostered and developed in Baptist churches by their radical requirements concerning the material of which they are composed. Many foolishly suppose that the chief difference between them and other churches is found in the questions growing out of baptism. A greater caricature could scarcely be drawn than that which is couched in this mistake. Possibly, it grows in part out of the name "Baptists," for, unhappily, the names of Christian denominations generally are sad misnomers in this age. Judging from these alone, it is natural to suppose that baptism draws the line of demarkation between Baptists and others; but for the same reason it might be supposed that the only difference between Presbyterians and others is found in that they have a Presbytery; or in the case of Methodists, that they follow the lines of method; or in that of Episcopalians, that they hold to an Episcopacy in government. Yet, none of these regard their name as characterizing their chief differences with their brethren. All of them, under their several definitions, claim to have a valid baptism, an efficient Presbytery, an order of bishops, and a methodical rule of life. Wherever these honorable bodies may locate their distinguishing differences, the Baptists place theirs in the demand for a positive moral change wrought in the soul of the convert, by the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, as an indispensable qualification for membership in their churches. The New Testament, in describing this change, uses the several phrases, "born from above," "born of God," "born again;" a state commonly known in Evangelical parlance, as regeneration by the Holy Spirit. This condition peremptorily forbids all membership in the churches secured by civil law, as in State Churches; all birthright membership secured by infant baptism; and all place in the churches secured by a merely intellectual subscription to a set of tenets or to an ecclesiastical creed. The very essence of the Baptist position is found in the fact that an intelligent personal trust in Christ for salvation forms the basis of Gospel church life. The rejection of infant baptism and submission to immersion according to the New Testament are pure corollaries of this vital requirement. Neither the rejection of infant baptism nor submission to immersion, nor both together, make a Baptist. The first qualification is found in thorough soul regeneration, and these considerations touching baptism are purely secondary thereto. Neither can baptism be put in the place of

regeneration, nor be so associated with the new birth that the one does not exist without the other. Baptists never administer baptism to the firmest believer until he has satisfied the church that he is regenerate already ; then, because he is regenerate, his regeneration entitles him to baptism. Having satisfied the church that a divine work has been wrought on his moral nature, this is attested by his "burial with Christ in baptism." Christ has nowhere empowered his church to violate the free choice of any human being, by forcing baptism upon him without his personal knowledge of Christ as his Saviour ; and when he has voluntarily taken upon him the service of Christ, the church has no right to deny him this privilege of discipleship ; hence, he is baptized, not to regenerate him, but because he is entitled to baptism as one who is already regenerated by the Holy Spirit.

In keeping with this view, Baptists hold that no church has the right to add to its membership those for whom Christ did not appoint specific terms of membership. He bestowed on every man the absolute right to examine and embrace Christianity for himself, and by the end of the first century, every precept and practice which he enjoined were embodied in the New Testament. That book, therefore, informs every person what order of obedience the Christian Scriptures require at his hands, and of what material the Apostolic Churches were composed, so that under these circumstances, no church of after times has the right to tamper with, much less to alter or deviate from, the Apostolic model. For this and other reasons, the Baptists protest against making any tradition, patristic or catholic, any creed, canon, law, or decree, no matter how old it may be or by whom constructed, the fountain of doctrines, ordinances, or government. They appeal to the Scriptures alone, and will stand or fall on their teachings. Herbert Spencer in his "Data of Ethics" (p. 257), expresses the hope that the ethical principles laid down by Christ will eventually be acted upon in the practice of the world. But Baptists insist that for all religious purposes the New Testament shall be appealed to now, as well as for all moral ends, and that in such an appeal duty to himself links every man to the divine right of interpreting for himself what those Scriptures teach. He is bound by every consideration which is worthy of his nature to shake off all false deference for other authority, to use all the powers of his mind in an independent investigation of the New Testament, with the

pure-hearted purpose to be governed by its facts and truths. But in consideration that he is not infallible, he must divest himself of all conceit, and come to the investigation as an honest and reverential seeker of the truth, for the truth's sake. The right of privately interpreting the Scriptures, as the gift of God to every man, does not carry with it the right of any man to follow his own fancies, predilections or whims in choosing what he will obey and what he will throw aside, nor does it allow him to diverge from or add to its teachings, as his convenience may dictate. This, at the best, would be mere trifling with the truth, which must finally convert the doctrine of liberty into rebellion against its Author. No church can step in between the Scriptures and the personal convictions of the man who searches the Scriptures for the purpose of honestly obeying them, nor can it enforce any teaching upon him by sheer authority, though that teaching itself be purely Scriptural. Church authority is nothing here against personal conviction, nor has the civil magistrate the power to prescribe a religion for his fellow-man, neither has he the right to punish them for rejecting the religion which the State prescribes.

This broad doctrine of soul-liberty the Baptists have maintained for century after century, against the rack, the dungeon and the stake in Europe; and against fine, imprisonment, scourging, and banishment in America during its early history. This is abundantly clear from the writings of Locke, Milton, Roger Williams, Jeremy Taylor, Motley and Bancroft. In regard to their sufferings in this country, a most frank and reliable account of their struggles for religious liberty has just been given by Brooks Adams, son of the late Charles Francis Adams (Chap. IV.), in his "Emancipation of Massachusetts." Baptists sincerely regret that all men are not Christians, and would rejoice if all Christians held their principles; but they resist the assumed right of all churches to connect themselves with the State, and they resist all governments which arrogate to themselves the prerogative to establish a church, or even to maintain religion itself by law,—to support the conformists to any church, to punish the nonconformists,—or to interfere in any way with the free exercise of any man's religion. They would not submit to have their own doctrines or practices enforced either upon themselves or others by any human government or statute. The laws of Massachusetts

banished them for about half a century; as early as 1656 the laws of New Netherland fined, imprisoned, and banished them; and in Virginia they were hounded by the same cruelties till after the Revolutionary war. Virginia law proscribed them until their right to worship God "according to the dictates of conscience" was secured to them by the 20th section of its "Bill of Rights." Even the Constitution of the United States did not fully protect them at first, as its VI. Article left Congress at liberty to impose religious tests in other cases than those of "office or public trust under the United States." The entire Baptist body, without a known exception, supported the Revolution, and, as free Americans, they demanded a guarantee of religious liberty ingrafted into the organic law of the land. Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and others, stood by them, and on the 8th of August, 1789, they laid their claim to full religious liberty before Gen. Washington, then President of the Union. He also espoused their cause, recommended to Congress, and on September 23d, 1789, by his influence, caused the amendment found in the I. Article to be passed, which says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Baptists reject the doctrine of toleration in religion, and demand absolute religious freedom as the inalienable right of all men, because, by implication, the power which claims the right to tolerate others also claims the right to crush them when it chooses to tolerate them no longer. They maintain that so far as the civil law is concerned, a man may be a Jew, a Mohammedan, a Christian of any sect, a Pagan, or an infidel, with impunity.

As far back as 1527, the Swiss Baptists, in their confession of Schleitheim, drew the distinction between the right of the civil power to enforce civil law and order, and its power to punish for religion. In 1614, Leonard Buscher, a Baptist of London, wrote to King James, in his Plea for Liberty of Conscience: "May it please your majesty and Parliament to understand that, by fire and sword, to constrain princes and peoples to receive that one religion of the Gospel, is wholly against the mind and merciful law of Christ, dangerous both to king and state." Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, said, in 1644, that "it was the will and command of God that permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or anti-Christian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations and counties. That

civil states with their officers of justice are not governors or defenders of the spiritual and Christian state and worship." All Baptists agree with these, their great ancestors, that every form of disability or persecution for religion is radically wrong, and should a Baptist rob any man of his religious liberty by statute, penalty, or sword, in that act and for that reason he would cease to be a Baptist. Everywhere they have been put to death for this doctrine of religious freedom. On the plains of the Netherlands and in higher Germany, in the Alpine valleys and crags of Switzerland, and in the cities of England, the ashes of their martyrs have been the sport of fitful winds and brutal men, for their fidelity to this principle. Indeed, the true history of the Dutch, German, and Swiss States, of Great Britain and the United States of America, cannot be written apart from the philosophical positions of this peculiar and ancient Republic of churches on the subject of civil and religious liberty. According to Bancroft, the most pronounced and best defined rights of man, which fifty millions of American freeman boast to-day, find historic recognition in the chronicles of their struggles and progress. The germinal idea of all Baptist life is, and ever has been, that the eternal law of God lays the axe at the root of all class, condition, or caste in religious life, and that the religion of Christ is an elevating democracy for every soul of man.

Again, Baptists utterly reject the effete system of sacramentarianism, as unworthy of human belief and contradictory of Christ's efficacious mediation. Neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper were ordained by Him for the purposes of human salvation. The ample and even infinite provisions which He made to that end are found in the sacrifice of Himself and the work of the Comforter. Therefore, Baptists insist that His ordinances shall be left in the places which He gave to them, and shall not be made to usurp His saving office and honor. His body was buried first in the waves of the Jordan, then in the tomb of Joseph, and baptism preaches like burial with Him. The religious use of all the waters on the globe has never removed one stain of sin from man's conscience or heart, neither can bread and wine, taken at the supper, impart the grace of God or prove its existence in the soul of the communicant. The only design of the supper is to "proclaim His death till He come." So far from exerting a saving influence, in part or whole, upon the souls of those who receive

these ordinances, He enjoined them simply as acts of personal obedience to Himself. They are monuments of the great work which He wrought for us, but neither of them can be moral renovators of the soul. Baptists believe that there is no more dangerous heresy than that which invests baptism with any moral power or magical energy in purifying the heart, or that which makes it in any sense the channel through which the saving grace of God is conveyed to man. They also hold that it is quite as dangerous a heresy to make the supper a test of Christian fellowship, a proof of Christian character, or a visible bond of Christian love. From Judas Iscariot down, thousands have sat with Christ's disciples at one common table, who were entirely destitute of Christian character, affection, or fellowship. The act of partaking at the same supper table, neither Christianizes those who gather there nor un-Christianizes those who do not. The New Testament is a stranger to all such arrogant ecclesiastical assumptions. Christians celebrate two symbolical acts in observing the ordinances, nothing more, for Christ Himself is their Saviour, not his ordinances. His mediation saves men, not their baptism; and their souls feed, not on the loaf of the supper, but on Him, the True Bread from heaven. The Apostle James finds the true test of Christian love, fellowship, and character, in feeding and clothing a destitute brother. The Apostle Paul finds it in distributing to the necessities of the saints, in their bearing each others' burdens, in forbearing with each other and forgiving each other, and in doing good of every sort to those who are of the household of faith. The Apostle John lodges it in a willingness to lay down their lives for each other, if need be. Yet the Master of all these Apostles puts it on a higher plane than any of them, when he locates true love in the golden rule: "Whatsoever ye will that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This test is worth something, because it costs something, having cost him his own life. That sacramentarian standard which tests and proves Christian love and character by the act of eating bread together and drinking of the same cup, is of too cheap an order to meet the requirements of Christ and His Apostles. Strangers who never met before, who have never passed a word or exchanged a kind act with each other, are ever and anon receiving a morsel of bread and taking a sip of wine in common at the Supper, but what special love do they show to each other in that act more than they

had previously shown before such a meeting? When the divine tests of love established by the New Testament are pushed aside, and one Christian comes to measure his love to another by a circumstantial act in which any hypocrite or profane person may share, if he pleases to do so, it is time to ask the question: "Whether or not ecclesiasticism is erecting its own standard or Christ's?"

For reasons equally cogent and scriptural Baptists reject that sacramentarian doctrine commonly known as infant baptism. No well defined ground has yet been taken in justification of this practice but that chosen by Augustine and adopted by the Roman Catholic communion, namely, that if an infant dies unchristened it is excluded from Heaven. This position is consistent with itself, because it holds that baptism is regeneration *de facto*, and as the babe is defiled by original sin, that, therefore, baptism secures its salvation. Those who christen children outside of the Catholic fold have never yet been able to define what practical moral relation the christened babe holds either to God or man, the church on earth or the church in Heaven, which he did not hold before his christening. Some of the Protestant state churches of Europe give this verbal definition, and all of them give it in substance, namely, that baptism makes him "A child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." Thus the nominal membership of these churches is made up of those who are christened according to the law of the land, and its inhabitants are brought into the state church without their knowledge or consent. Other churches than those which are established by law, both in Europe and in America, are strangely perplexed as to the relation which a christened infant sustains to their church organizations. They hold that before his baptism the unconscious babe is as much regenerated as after. They further hold that, before his christening, he is not a member of their churches, and yet, that, after his baptism, he is not so united with the church as to discharge the proper duties which devolve upon the recognized members of that body. He is not expected to meet its responsibilities, to contribute to its support, to attend its worship, to honor its brotherhood, to share its privileges, not even in receiving the Lord's Supper, nor to answer to its watchful discipline for his bad conduct. Then, if his infant brother or sister dies unchristened, these churches understand the Gospel

too well, and love it too much, to suppose for a moment that the gate of Heaven is shut in his face for that reason,—a conclusion which all who are Christ-like in Heaven and earth must approve.

From the teachings of the New Testament, Baptists are compelled to believe that the helpless infant who is taken from the bosom of his parents on earth, whether those parents be Christians or heathen, Jews or Mohammedans, religionists of any sort or infidels, is, by virtue of our Lord's mediation, eternally sheltered and beatified in the bosom of the Lamb of God in Heaven. Further, Baptists are deterred from the christening of their infant offspring by that God-fearing, parental love which will not pervert a Gospel ordinance by submitting a babe thereto, and so leave him in a nondescript relation which he is a stranger to in the Gospel. In their apprehension of a pure New Testament church, to christen him would leave him stamped neither with the distinctive mark of the regenerate nor of the unregenerate. To christen him, would assume that he is not exactly fit for heaven if he should die unbaptized, nor entirely fit for full fellowship in the church on earth if he lives and is baptized. For this and many other reasons, Baptists say with Lange, of Jena, who is far enough from being of their communion : "Would the Protestant Church fulfill and attain to its final destiny, the baptism of infants must of necessity be abolished." As it has already been said, the primary thought with Baptists is to make men stalwart Christians, who know what they believe, and why they hold their faith. They make baptism so subordinate in the Christian system, that instead of enforcing it as a fundamental act in the religious life of a human being, they do reverence to that new immortal life by first teaching it the knowledge of sin, the need of a Saviour, and the precious act of loving Him. As they attribute no merit nor virtue to baptism, they first consecrate him to Christ as a being endowed with reason and responsibility. They dedicate him to God in the holiness of parental prayer, watchful love, and holy training; then, as soon as he is able to discern the Lord's death, they labor to win him to Christ's cross that he may take Christ's yoke upon himself by personal choice. No amount of ecclesiastical blame, misrepresentation, or even contempt, can make a Baptist of brain and manly honesty see the consistency of baptizing his infant when out of the church, and then leaving him there until by his personal conversion he is allowed to come in, because that con-

version has made him fit for the church both below and above. Nor can he as a parent, responsible to God, impose upon his child the injurious notion, that because he has been christened as a babe, he has somehow entered into covenant with God, to which covenant he was not himself a party. This would delude the child with the notion that he is not to be saved precisely as unchristened children are. If his baptism did not engraft him into Christ and His church, it will greatly perplex him to know what it meant; and if it did so engraft him, he must conclude that some moral relation exists between Christ and himself which unbaptized children do not sustain; and hence, that he needs no such spiritual regeneration as they need. Baptists cannot put their children under the deleterious spell of such a contradiction and superstition. They must be led to Christ first, to be saved by actual trust in His redeeming merits without the use of baptism, and then they must be baptized in obedience to His command, because they love Him and voluntarily obey Him. These are some of the reasons, and but some, "Why I am a Baptist." Regeneration and not baptism is the soul of a Baptist church. These democratic bodies agree with Dr. Jacob, of the Church of England, who says, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament" (p. 270): "Notwithstanding all that has been written by learned men upon this subject, it remains indisputable that infant baptism is not mentioned in the New Testament. No instance of it is recorded there; no allusion is made to its effects; no directions are given for its administration. However reasonably we may be convinced that we find in the Christian Scriptures 'the fundamental idea from which infant baptism was afterward developed' and by which it may now be justified; it ought to be distinctly acknowledged that it is not an apostolic ordinance."

THOMAS ARMITAGE.

DRURY'S BLUFF AND PETERSBURG.

MAY AND JUNE, 1864.

I.

In the early spring of 1864, General Grant was appointed Commander in Chief of all the Federal armies in the field. The attention and hopes of the North were centred upon him. He was believed to be the one Federal General who could eventually succeed in crushing the "rebellion." Other military leaders, of high repute, had been intrusted with the task now devolving upon him and had failed. But, though "he saw how terrible was the crisis, not only for himself, but far more for the country,"* he accepted none the less the weight of this new responsibility.

From that time to the close of the war, the State of Virginia became once more the main theatre of the great struggle which had lasted upwards of three years between the two sections of the country. The cry of "On to Richmond" again re-echoed throughout the North, and caused almost superhuman efforts to be made, both in Washington and in the field, to accomplish the destruction of the "rebel" capital, and thus break, once for all, the backbone of the Confederacy.

The outline of the coming federal campaign was that General Sherman should make immediate preparations for an advance against General Johnston's army, at or near Dalton, Georgia; that General Meade, still nominally in command of the Army of the Potomac, should at the same time, and from his base north of the Rapidan, start upon the resolute, but hazardous, march projected against General Lee; and that General Butler, with the Tenth Corps under General Gillmore, lately summoned from the neighborhood of Charleston, should operate simultaneously on the southern bank of the James, and threaten both Petersburg and Richmond; the two latter armies so to combine their respective

* "Military History of U. S. Grant," by General Badeau, Vol. II., Chap. xv., p. 5.

movements, as, in case of need, to become "a unit on the James." *

When General Grant finally took the field in person, with headquarters at Culpeper, some fourteen or fifteen miles from the Rapidan, the federal forces with General Meade amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men of all arms, reinforced not long afterwards by the arrival of the Ninth Corps, numbering some twenty thousand more. Just about that time the army of Northern Virginia consisted of very nearly sixty-four thousand effectives. The only reinforcements received later on by General Lee amounted to a little over fourteen thousand men ; thus swelling his forces "to seventy-eight thousand four hundred as the aggregate of all troops engaged under him from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor." †

With so great a disparity in the strength of these two opposing hosts, it was easy to perceive that even the army of Northern Virginia, inured as it was to victory, would be unequal to the task now before it, which required unremitting vigilance at two separate and distant points. In order, therefore, to allow General Lee to give his full attention to the large and thoroughly equipped army persistently moving upon him, it became necessary to obtain other troops from other quarters of the Confederacy, to resist the threatened incursions of General Butler's forces.

It was in part execution of such a course that, after some preliminary correspondence between the War Department and myself, the following order was issued :

RICHMOND, *April 15th*, 1864.

GENERAL G. T. BEAUREGARD:

Repair with least delay practicable to Weldon, N. C., where instructions will be sent to you.

S. COOPER,
Adjt. and Insp. Gen'l.

My successor in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida was Major-Gen. Sam Jones. He arrived in Charleston on the 19th. I gave him all the information I deemed necessary, under the circumstances, and left the next day, reaching Weldon on the 22d, at 5:30 o'clock A. M.

Charleston was quiet at that time. The enemy had been ordered to discontinue his exhaustive and fruitless effort to reduce

* "Military History of Ulysses S. Grant," by General Badeau, Vol., II. Chap. xv., p. 34.

† "Four Years with General Lee," by Col. W. H. Taylor, p. 137.

it. General Gillmore and his forces were about to be sent to increase the strength of General Butler on the line selected for his operations on the James. In fact, the attention of the entire country, North and South, was now riveted upon the advance of the Army of the Potomac, with General Grant to guide it, against the Army of Northern Virginia, led by General Lee. The instructions promised me from Richmond were received on the 23d. On that day I assumed command of what was termed the Department of North Carolina and Southern Virginia. It included "Virginia, south of the James and Appomatox, and all that portion of North Carolina east of the mountains." *

The War Department was closely engaged at that time with certain operations against Plymouth and Newbern, from which great results were expected at Richmond, but about which the enemy was not much concerned, as the main object of his campaign could, in no wise, be affected or seriously disturbed by such a diversion. I did not consider this move judicious on the part of the Government, because, irrespective of other considerations, it occasioned an untimely division of some of the most available troops in my new command, rendering their immediate concentration at any threatened point very difficult, if not impossible. The destination of General Burnside's corps was not, as yet, well defined. The opinion was entertained by many that it would march upon Richmond *via* Petersburg. Others thought its aim was Weldon. In either hypothesis we should have been prepared to meet the assault in time, and, clearly, we were not. In telegrams sent by me, on the 25th of April, to General Bragg, then acting as Chief of Staff of the Confederate armies, I said: "Are we prepared to resist General Burnside? Can the forces of this department be concentrated in time? These are questions worthy of immediate attention." I added that, in my opinion, it was not prudent to allow the forces of the Department to be "so scattered;" and that the object in view (the Plymouth and Newbern raid) "was hardly worth the risk incurred."†

As a matter of fact, when the Ninth Corps, under General Burnside, came from East Tennessee, it simply went to increase the strength of the Army of the Potomac. General Grant, it

* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II., Chap. xxxv., p. 195.

† See telegrams referred to in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II., Chap. xxxv., p. 196.

appears, never intended to move it separately against Richmond, nor to order it "to lead an expedition in North Carolina." But the forces under General Butler, with the addition of the corps commanded by General Gillmore and by General Smith, amounted to about 30,000 men, and were evidently being prepared for a determined advance upon Petersburg. Thus was the projected co-operation of Mead's and Butler's armies to be inaugurated. This gave the clue of the situation to the immediate advisers of President Davis. They realized, at last, the uselessness of the Plymouth and Newbern expedition; and orders came, one hurriedly following the other, instructing me to withdraw General Hoke and his forces from the outworks of Newbern, which they had already taken, and to rush them on to protect Richmond. "There is not an hour to lose," said Mr. Davis in one of his telegrams to me. "Had the expedition not started, I would say it should not go."*

Other troops were also being ordered from other directions, and notably from South Carolina, to assist in the defense of the Confederate Capital. First, Hagood's brigade; next, Wise's; and soon afterwards, Colquitt's. So great was the anxiety of the administration at this juncture that Hagood's brigade, which General Picket, then in command of Petersburg, desired to halt on its passage through that city, was ordered to be pushed on to Richmond without an instant's delay.† I succeeded, however, in having that order rescinded, and General Hagood was thus enabled to baffle General Butler's forces, May 6 and 7, in their assault upon the Richmond Railroad above Petersburg. General Bushrod Johnson, who had hurried from Drury's Bluff to take part in this action, was of material assistance, although, from the position he occupied with his troops, his services were less conspicuous. Petersburg would have inevitably fallen into the hands of the enemy had not General Hagood been halted there at that most opportune hour. The Federal loss was computed at about one thousand men. Ours was quite insignificant. General Hagood and his command became the heroes of the day, and were justly looked upon as the saviors of Petersburg on that occasion. They had nobly inaugurated their first appearance on the soil of Virginia.

* Telegram from Mr. Davis to General Beauregard, May 4th, 1864.
† Telegram from General Bragg to General Beauregard, May 5th, 1864.

The enemy, after this repulse, appeared to have relinquished all idea of striking another immediate blow at Petersburg, and seemed now to be aiming more directly at Richmond. I was pressingly urged to leave Weldon and repair to Petersburg, where all my available forces were being concentrated, with a view to to-operate with General Ransom for the defense of the Capital. But, rapid as were the movements of our troops, withdrawn from North Carolina and other points, their celerity failed to satisfy or reassure the War Department, whose trepidation grew hourly more intense, and whose orders, telegrams, and suggestions became as harassing as they were numerous.

The incursion of the enemy's cavalry at Jarratt's, and the burning of Stony Creek bridge, prevented me from reaching Petersburg before the 10th of May. General Hoke also arrived on that day. He was placed by me at the head of our advancing column, consisting of six brigades of infantry and eight batteries of artillery, and began an immediate march towards Drury's Bluff, with orders to form there, or thereabouts, as early a junction as practicable with Major-General Ransom's forces.

As other troops were still coming in from Weldon and elsewhere, whose organization and assignment to duty I thought best to personally supervise, I concluded not to follow on with the forces under General Hoke and to await the arrival of General Whiting, then on his way from Wilmington. He had been ordered to Petersburg to take charge of the troops in that city and its vicinity, and to relieve General Pickett, who had reported himself ill, and was unable, for the time being, to perform any duty in the field.

Drury's Bluff was in imminent peril; so were the avenues leading from it to Richmond. General Butler, as already stated, had some thirty thousand men with him, and, with him, also, were two efficient and highly-esteemed officers—General Gillmore and General Smith—superior in every respect, save, perhaps, in dates of commission, to their commanding general. The main, if not the only, chance in our favor, at that critical juncture, lay in the probability—almost an accomplished fact already—that General Butler would not seek the advice of his subordinates, and would thus lose sight of and neglect the opportunities that stared him in the face and weighed so heavily against us. That he did evince hesitancy, timidity, and inefficiency on that occasion is un-

deniable, and is testified to by General Halleck, who, in one of his dispatches to General Grant, with regard to Butler's operations at that time, expressed himself as follows: "Butler is falling back. Don't rely on him." *

General Whiting reached Petersburg on the 13th. After briefly explaining to him what my intentions were, and what I expected him to do, should I assume command at Drury's Bluff, and give the enemy battle there, I left for the front, taking with me some twelve hundred men of Colquitt's Brigade and Baker's regiment of cavalry.

The road was beset with difficulties; and it was by mere chance that I succeeded in passing safely between the enemy's extreme left and the river. Our exterior lines had already been attacked and partially carried by some of Butler's forces. It was three o'clock in the morning when I arrived at Drury's Bluff. Without a moment's delay, I held a consultation with Colonel Harris and Colonel Stevens. The former was my Chief Engineer, a tried and most efficient officer, who served on my staff from the first Manassas up to the time of his death, which took place on the 10th of October, 1864. The second was also an able engineer on duty in and around Richmond. They acquainted me with the exact state of affairs in our immediate front, and described the encounter of the previous evening between part of Butler's forces and ours. The outlook was not encouraging, although the damage incurred might have been more serious, and even General Butler, I thought, could, under the circumstances, have done better. Colonel Stevens had also given me, that morning, a succinct account of the last engagements between General Lee and General Grant, up to the 12th, and of the relative position of their two armies. Nor, in enumerating the strength then available for the protection of Richmond, had he omitted to mention a reserve force of some five thousand men stationed in and near the Capital, and acting, at that time, as a separate command. I was thus made conversant with many a fact which greatly assisted me in forming a more correct opinion of the situation before us. Colonel Stevens had likewise furnished me with a topographical map of that portion of Virginia covered by the Confederate forces. Upon carefully examining it I saw that, as

* "Military History of U. S. Grant," by General Badeau, Vol. II., Chap. xvii., p. 200.

General Lee's army and my forces were "on nearly" a right line passing through Richmond, with General Grant's army on the left, and Butler's on the right, we still held the interior lines; and that it were possible, by prompt and decisive action, and a combined movement on our part, first, to attack and defeat Butler, and next, to turn our entire forces against General Grant. I hurriedly formed a plan to that effect, and sent Colonel Stevens to Richmond for the purpose of submitting it to Mr. Davis, and of asking his consent to carry it out.

Mr. Davis could not be seen; but Colonel Stevens saw General Bragg, who thought the plan a good one, and came at once to Drury's Bluff to confer with me.

I proposed that General Lee, who was said to be, at that time, near Guinea Station, should at once move back "to the defensive lines of the Chickahominy, or even to the intermediate lines of Richmond;"* that a force of ten thousand men be detached from his army and sent to me without the loss of an hour, if possible; that the five thousand men kept near Richmond, under Major-General Ransom, be also ordered to report promptly to me. I stated that these forces, added to mine, would give me an effective of some twenty-five thousand men with whom, on the very next day, or as soon thereafter as practicable, I would attack Butler's right flank, with the almost certainty of separating him from his base at Bermuda Hundred, and of thus obtaining an easy victory over him. I proposed also, as an essential feature to the entire success of my plan, that, while this movement would be in progress, General Whiting, with all his available forces at Petersburg, amounting to about four thousand men, should march from Port Walthal Junction and fall upon Butler's right rear, forcing him to the very banks of James River, somewhat abreast of Drury's Bluff, and, by this manœuvre, insure his unconditional surrender. And I proposed, furthermore, that, with my own forces, added to those temporarily taken from the Army of Northern Virginia and the environs of Richmond, I should cross the James, after disposing of Butler, and, "by a concerted movement, strike General Grant on his left flank, while General Lee should attack him in front."*

General Bragg, who certainly knew where and at what distance from Drury's Bluff was General Lee's army at that moment, gave

* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II., Chap. xxxv., p. 201.

his unreserved approval to the plan thus submitted to him. He never said, nor did he intimate in any way, that the reinforcements I desired from the Army of Northern Virginia would not be able to reach Drury's Bluff in time. He simply stated that, while concurring with me as to the feasibility of the movement, he could not command its execution without first consulting the President, and he hurried back to Richmond for the purpose of seeing him and of urging a favorable decision of the measure.

Mr. Davis arrived in person between eight and nine o'clock that morning. He found me in the Drury House, not at my "headquarters in the field," as he was pleased to say in his book; for I had as yet established no headquarters in the field or elsewhere. As a matter of fact, I had not even assumed command of the forces, nor had I seen General Hoke, who, expecting another attack from General Butler, was just then busily engaged along his lines. The President was all bespattered with mud, which indicated how rapidly he had ridden from Richmond to Drury's Bluff. I was in hopes that such great haste on his part would prove of good omen for my plan, but I was not long before realizing my error.

He listened to me with grave attention, and I did all in my power to convince him, not only of the advisability of my plan, but of its absolute necessity at that juncture. The substance of his reply was, that he could not be reconciled to the idea of ordering the Army of Virginia to fall back before the Army of the Potomac. That such a manœuvre would destroy the prestige of those heroic troops, and create a feeling of distrust among the people which no after-event could mitigate or redeem. I remarked to him that, however painful the fact might be, it was evident that the Army of Virginia, though still a barrier to the Army of the Potomac, and resolutely facing it wherever it moved, was none the less forcibly losing ground before it, and that the latter was gradually and surely approaching its objective point—Richmond. That in my opinion, it were better for General Lee to take a voluntary step rearward through motives of strategy, and with a view to foil the designs of his adversary, as I proposed he should do, than to maintain the passive defensive, and to merely follow the movements of the enemy, without making any possible headway against him. I added that the confidence of the people, far from being impaired by the carrying out

of such a plan, would, on the contrary, be enhanced by it, as its plain result would be concentration, not retreat; and that concentration was, for us at this crisis, the surest—if not the only—assurance of victory. But I argued in vain. Mr. Davis adhered to his former determination, and would only agree to send me the five thousand men under Ransom, of whom mention has already been made. They joined my forces on the evening of the 15th.

In the meantime, my command had been extended "so as to include Drury's Bluff and its defenses," * which it did not before my conference with Mr. Davis. I was also expected to protect Richmond, and "to meet any sudden move against the city on the north side." †

But Mr. Davis had also objected to the co-operation of General Whiting, which formed a salient feature of my plan, because, as alleged in his book "of the hazard during a battle of attempting to make a junction of troops moving from opposite sides of the enemy." ‡ How often do those whose official position permits the rejection of sagacious, if perilous, tactics, lose sight of the fact that "war is essentially a contest of chances, and he who fears to encounter any risk seldom accomplishes great results!" I reluctantly yielded to the "*distinct objection*" of the President and Commander-in-Chief of our armies, and, at his request, changed General Whiting's order of march from Petersburg. But, when realizing that Ransom's forces would only join me on the evening of the 15th, and that the enemy was already "erecting batteries and rifle-pits" around Drury's Bluff, I saw how important it was to attack Butler the very next morning; and, in pursuance of my original plan, after informing the President of the fact,§ on the 15th, at 10:45 A. M., I sent the following telegram to General Whiting:

"I shall attack enemy to-morrow at daylight by river road, to cut him off from his Bermuda base. You will take up your position to-night on Swift Creek, with Wise's, Martin's, Dearing's, and two regiments of Colquitt's brigades, with about twenty pieces under Colonel Jones. At daybreak you will march to Port Walthal Junction; and when you hear an engagement in your front you will advance boldly and rapidly, by the shortest road, in direction of heaviest firing, to attack enemy in rear or flank. You will protect your advance and flanks with

* Telegram from Richmond, dated May 14th, 1864, from T. Rowland, A. A. G.

† General Bragg's telegram of same date.

‡ "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," Vol. II., p. 512.

§ "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II., Chap. xxxv., p. 218.

Dearing's cavalry, taking necessary precautions to distinguish friends from foes. Please communicate this to General Hill. This revokes all former orders of movements."

"P. S. I have just received a telegram from General Bragg, informing me that he has sent you orders to join me at this place; you need not do so, but follow to the letter the above instructions."

This was sufficiently clear. But, to avoid all possible misconstruction of the real import of the telegram, I intrusted it to General (then Colonel) Logan, of the "Hampton Legion," temporarily on duty with me as one of my staff. I also gave him, for General Whiting, a rough copy of my order of battle for the next day. He delivered these papers during the night of the 15th, as he testifies to in a letter to me bearing on this point, where he adds that "General Whiting read the dispatches, expressed himself as understanding them entirely, and gave orders for the advance of his entire force by daylight the next morning." *

My object was to separate Butler from his base and capture his whole army, if possible. The active co-operation of Whiting was, I thought, indispensable to attain such an end.

I organized my forces into three divisions, under Hoke, Ransom, and Colquitt, and called these officers to my headquarters to explain to them the part I expected each and all to play in the impending attack. General Ransom was ordered to attack the Federal right flank at daybreak, to drive back the skirmishers in his front, and, following almost simultaneously with his entire force, to pivot at the proper time, and strike the enemy's flank and rear. His formation was to be in two distinct lines, supported by artillery and by Colonel Dunnovant's regiment of cavalry.

General Hoke, who occupied the trenches on the right of Ransom, was also to engage the enemy at daybreak with a strong line of skirmishers, and, upon causing him to fall back or waver, was to push on the whole of his command, and clear his entire front with rapidity and vigor. His orders were, likewise, to form in two lines, at an interval of four hundred yards, and abreast of the trenches, but in such a way as not to impede any of his after movements. The use to be made of the artillery attached to his division and of Boyken's regiment of cavalry, was left to his own judgment.

* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II., Chap. xxxv., p. 558.

General Colquitt's command constituted the reserve. It was composed of the only troops which I personally knew, and which had already served under me. They were ordered to form rearward of General Hoke's forces, "with the centre of each brigade resting on the turnpike." Their first line was to be some five hundred yards distant from Hoke's second line. The artillery attached to that division was "to follow along the turnpike about three hundred yards in rear of the last brigade."

General Whiting, with Wise's, Martin's and Dearing's commands, with two regiments of Colquitt's brigade, and twenty pieces of artillery under Colonel Jones, was to move from Petersburg, along the Petersburg and Richmond turnpike, and to strike the enemy's flank and rear, as already explained.

The substance of the above, thus orally given to the three Division Commanders then with me at Drury's Bluff, was also contained in a written circular delivered to each of them—as it had been previously outlined to General Whiting—so that none could be taken by surprise, no matter what movements might be executed the next day on the different parts of the field.

General Ransom began his advance at a quarter to five o'clock A. M., but was much retarded by a dense fog of several hours' duration. He had with him Gracie's brigade, Kemper's, under Colonel Ferry, Burton's, under Colonel Fry, and Hoke's old brigade, commanded by Colonel Lewis.

At six o'clock A. M., he had carried the enemy's breastworks in his front, taking, it was claimed—but this was afterwards seriously contested—several stands of colors and some five hundred prisoners. His troops had behaved with acknowledged gallantry; Gracie's and Kemper's commands being mostly engaged, and the former turning the enemy's right flank. But, for the purpose, it is alleged, of re-establishing his line and procuring a fresh supply of ammunition, Ransom now came to a halt, and, reporting "his loss heavy and his troops scattered by the fog," called for immediate assistance. At 6:30, Colquitt's brigade, or such portion of it as was then present,* went to reinforce Ransom, with orders to resume its former position as soon as no longer needed. Just at that time General Ransom, upon being informed, as he alleged, that the enemy was driving Hoke's left, sent forward the right

* Two regiments of that command were still at or near Petersburg with General Whiting.

regiment of Lewis's brigade, which effectually checked the Federal advance until the reserve brigade came up and drove it back from our left centre to the turnpike, over and beyond our works. General Ransom was wrong in believing Hoke's left in danger. His error lay in the fact that one of Hagood's advanced regiments, having unexpectedly come across the enemy, had been ordered back so as to give Ransom time to bring around his own left, in conformity with the order of battle already explained.

The relative confusion and lull which followed these ill-timed evolutions necessitated a slight change in the original movement, in order, as stated in my report, "to relieve Hoke, on whose front the enemy had been allowed to mass his forces by the inaction of the left." Ransom was ordered to change the front of his right brigade and support it by another, to be drawn in *échelon;* then to push forward a third brigade towards Proctor's Creek and to keep a fourth one in reserve. This was to be temporary only, and the plan, as originally adopted, was to be executed as soon as we had taken possession of the river and of Proctor's Creek crossing. But the reserve brigade was already engaged with the enemy, and Ransom's own forces were advancing towards the firing of the centre. He could not, therefore, carry out the order given to him, and sent back Barton's instead of Colquitt's brigade; reporting, meanwhile, the necessity of straightening the lines he had stormed, and expressing the belief that the safety of his command would be compromised by a further advance. Here ended the services of General Ransom and of his infantry on that day; for, upon receiving the disappointing and unexpected report of the alleged situation in his front, I had ordered him to halt where he then was "until further arrangements should be made" to relieve him. His cavalry, however, and his artillery, also, continued to do their full share of the work before them. The cavalry, under Dunnovant, being dismounted, was deployed as skirmishers against a force occupying the ridge of Gregory's woods, the only hostile force—as afterwards ascertained—which threatened the left of our line at that time. The right was seriously engaged; and there, early in the morning, Hoke had pushed on his skirmishers and freely used his artillery. The fog was an impediment for him, as it had been for Ransom, but he had none the less handled his command with that resolution and judgment for which he was so conspicuous.

I now quote from my official report of the battle :

" Hagood and Johnson were thrown forward with a section of Eschelman's Washington Artillery, and found a heavy force of the enemy, with six or eight pieces of artillery, occupying the salient of the outer line of works on the turnpike and his own defensive lines.

" Our artillery engaged at very short range, disabling some of the enemy's guns and blowing up two limbers. Another section of the same command opened from the right of the turnpike. They both held their positions, though with heavy loss, until their ammunition was spent, when they were relieved by an equal number of pieces from the reserve artillery, under Major Owen.

" Hagood, with great vigor and dash, drove the enemy from the outer lines in his front, capturing a number of prisoners, and, in conjunction* with Johnson, five pieces of artillery—three 20-pounder Parrotts, and two fine Napoleons. He then took position in the works, his left regiment being thrown forward by Hoke to connect with Ransom's right. In advancing, his regiment encountered the enemy behind a second line of works in the woods, with abatis, interlaced with wire. Attack at that point not being contemplated, it was ordered back to the line of battle, but not before its intrepid advance had brought on it considerable loss. This circumstance has been referred to before, as the occasion of a mistake by Ransom.

" Johnson, meanwhile, had been heavily engaged. The line of the enemy bent around his right flank, subjecting his brigade, for a time, to fire in flank and front. With admirable firmness he repulsed frequent assaults of the enemy, moving in masses against his right and rear. Leader, officers, and men alike, displayed their fitness for the trial to which they were subjected. I cannot forbear to mention that Lieutenant Waggoner, of the 17th Tennessee Regiment, went alone through a storm of fire and pulled down a white flag which a small, isolated body of our men had raised, receiving a wound in the act. The brigade, holding its ground nobly, lost more than a fourth of its entire number."

I hurried two regiments of the reserve to its support, but they were not properly posted by the officer leading them, and afforded but little assistance. Two regiments of Clingman's brigade were likewise sent by General Hoke to reinforce Johnson's left. They, also, failed to accomplish the object for which they were pressed forward. Seeing which, I now ordered Hoke to relieve his right centre with his right ; and, Clingman's remaining regiments and Corse's whole brigade being used by him for that purpose, the enemy was soon forced to give way before them. A gap intervening between the troops on the left of Clingman and his own command, led him to fall back to prevent a flank movement, thus isolating Corse, who, believing his right flank seriously menaced, retreated almost simultaneously, but not as far back as he was

* It was afterwards claimed—and General Hoke confirmed the claim—that Hagood's brigade alone—with the assistance of no other command—captured these five pieces of artillery ; the only ones taken by our troops from the enemy on that day.—G. T. B.

when first ordered to move forward. These two commands participated but little in the succeeding events of the day, though both were afterwards marched again to the front, and gave evidence of their readiness to perform any duty that might be required of them. The enemy, however, did not reoccupy the ground from which Corse and Clingman had compelled him to retire, but held his own, none the less, with much stubbornness in Hagood's and Johnson's front; and, though giving way to Johnson's right, succeeded in securing a good position abreast of Proctor's Creek, near the turnpike, and also at the "Charles Friend" House. But General Johnson, with the timely assistance of the Washington Artillery, finally drove back the opposing forces from his right flank, and was thus enabled to clear his entire front. One of the pieces captured was now used against the enemy, who gave way beyond the Proctor Creek ridge, leaving but a skirmish line to keep up the appearance of a continuous contest. I took advantage of this somewhat unexpected lull in the movements of the enemy. 1, To inquire into the whereabouts of General Whiting, the sound of whose guns was said to have been heard at 1:45 P. M., but who had given no further sign of an early junction with our forces; and 2d, To reorganize our lines, in order to present a more united front, were the enemy to show a desire to resume the offensive. No news came of Whiting. The only portion of his force which communicated with me on the 16th was a detachment of Dearing's command, acting as an escort to General Logan, one of the bearers the day previous of my instructions to General Whiting, who had come, with the utmost celerity and through great danger, to inform me "that I need not rely on any advance being made that day by General Whiting." From him I also learned that Dearing, impatient at his commander's tardiness to obey my orders, and desirous of accelerating General Logan's return to me, had encountered the enemy's pickets near Chester, and had gallantly driven them in, forcing them back "as far as the Half-way Station" and capturing a large number of stragglers; that there was great demoralization among the Federal troops; that nothing would have prevented Whiting from capturing "the entire force of General Butler," had he followed my instructions, for he would have met with but slight resistance, if any, while endeavoring to do so.

I already knew that all hope of Whiting's junction with me

that day was to be abandoned. But the assurance of General Logan as to the facility with which my orders could have been successfully carried out, had they been partially obeyed, caused me the keenest regret, and compelled me to give up "so much of my plan as contemplated more than a vigorous pursuit of Butler, and driving him to his fortified base."*

I ordered the original formation of our lines to be resumed, and General Hoke was directed to send two regiments along the "Court-House Road" to flank the enemy at that point, if possible, and erect enfilading batteries west of the railroad. A heavy storm of rain now came on, which very much retarded the movement. The enemy had opened a telling fire upon us just at that moment, but it took us very little time to silence it. Darkness prevented a further advance that evening. Butler's entrenched camp was too near and too many obstacles might have been met with to justify any unguarded move on my part. I therefore halted the troops for the night, and sent word to General Whiting that I expected his co-operation, early the next morning, at the railroad, on the right of our line.

We had defeated Butler and forced him to take refuge within his fortified lines. The communications south and west of Richmond were restored. We had achieved the main object for which our forces had encountered the enemy. But, though unable, for the present, to do us any harm; though hemmed in, or "*bottled up*," as was said of him at that time, he was none the less there, scarcely beyond cannon shot of us; not much weakened in number, for, during the progress of the fight, we had only taken some fourteen hundred prisoners, five pieces of artillery, and five stand of colors. We could, and should have, done more. We could, and should have, captured Butler's entire army.

In General Hagood's sober and accurate account of the battle of Drury's Bluff, contained in what I take to be his unedited memoirs of that period of the war, a copy of which I have before me, is found the following passage:

"After the war, the Federal General Ames told General Hagood, that during the evening and night when Butler's routed and disorganized column was defiling within a mile of Whiting's five thousand men of all arms, but a thin skirmish line intervened between them and destruction."

Incomplete, however, as was the result of the Confederate vic-

* From my official report of the battle of Drury's Bluff.

tory at Drury's Bluff, it had thwarted and annulled the main object of Butler's presence at Bermuda Hundred, and his expected co-operation, later on, with General Grant. It had destroyed the effectiveness of his whole army, and, as General Badeau correctly asserts in his "Military History of U. S. Grant," it had "absolutely put an end to Butler's campaign."

It is useless to speculate on what might have taken place had the ten thousand men from General Lee's army been sent to Drury's Bluff, and had they taken part in the battle of the 16th. With such a conjunction of our forces, the result would not have been doubtful. But my only endeavor is to show here what actually happened. General Whiting joined me on the 17th near mid-day. He was thoroughly downcast. No word was spoken by him, and no attempt made to throw off the responsibility of his failure to unite his forces to mine the day previous. He admitted the error of which he had been guilty, and expressed most heartfelt regret. At his own request he was relieved from duty in the field, and returned to the command of his department. His after conduct during the closing scenes of the war, and his heroic death at Fort Fisher, contributed largely to reinstate him in the good opinion of his comrades-in-arms and of the entire South.

The forces just arrived from Petersburg had scarcely been put in position, when, by order of the War Department, and against my protest, the whole of Ransom's division was withdrawn from Drury's Bluff, and marched back to Richmond. I was then pursuing the enemy, and still driving him nearer and nearer to his base. Fortunately for us, his rout of the 16th had been such as to preclude, on his part, all thought of any determined resistance. He was clearly demoralized, if not destroyed, and his main object seemed to be to reach a secure position, and shield himself from all further pursuit. He was successful in that, if in no other feature of his plan. General Grant, who fully understood Butler's actual position with respect to mine, took immediate advantage of the fact, and caused Smith's entire corps, numbering some sixteen thousand men, to be transferred from the Army of the James to the Army of the Potomac. Butler winced under the order, but obeyed. This reduced his force at Bermuda Hundred to about thirteen thousand. To oppose it I could command not more than twelve thousand men. The difference was insignificant; but it must be remembered that the Federal commander possessed many

an advantage which I had not, and that, notwithstanding his defeat and the drain made upon him, he could, and eventually did continue to threaten General Lee's communications with his main sources of supply through Richmond and Petersburg, thereby constantly endangering both of these cities. For that reason I considered it unwise to send reinforcements to the Army of Northern Virginia, as the War Department was already pressing me to do so. Nor could I, later on, accept the proposition of General Lee to leave a sufficient guard for the purpose of watching Butler's movements, and, with the rest of my command, move to the north side of the James, to lead the right wing of his army.

But the War Department, in its great anxiety to increase the strength of the Army of Northern Virginia, readily yielded to the applications of its distinguished commander, and my force was thus materially weakened by the withdrawal "of most of the troops that had been directly engaged under me in the battle of Drury's Bluff."* So far, indeed—in spite of my numerous objections—had this process of injudicious reduction been carried, that I was finally left with a portion only of Bushrod Johnson's Division—say 3,200 men—and Wise's Brigade, with 2,200 more, including the local militia, making in all some 5,400 men, with whom I was expected to protect, not only the Bermuda Hundred line, but also the City of Petersburg, and, to a certain extent, even Richmond itself! Nor should I omit to mention here, that fully one-third of that force had to be kept unremittingly on picket duty.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

OUR KING IN DRESS COAT.

II.

THE philosophical basis of Democracy is the comparative incorruptibility of the larger number. The lone wayfarer by night may be alarmed at the approach of one or two men, but does not fear a multitude. The mass will be honest. And this mass is not a herd. For one thing, it can co-operate effectively for a mentally comprehended purpose, as a herd cannot. The huge boulder which supports the equestrian statue of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg lay for a long time on a plain some miles out of the city. When it was desired to get it on rollers and draw it to the city many horses were attached to the boulder, but they could not move it; the horses had not sufficient intelligence to obey a signal and combine their power perfectly at a given moment. For this men were required. A large number of serfs were hitched to the rock; a band of music was provided to inspire them with martial strains; the Czar moved before them, the priests at their side; at the sound of a gun their force was concentrated; the huge boulder was raised on the rollers, and by a series of marches drawn by the men into St. Petersburg. But if this illustration shows the strength of the masses, it also recalls their weakness. After all, it is a boulder lifted by serfs to sustain the effigy of their master on his prancing steed. Their combined force is under sway of the banners, the cymbals, the dazzling splendors of "the man on horseback;" their chain is the superstition that he is the visible representative of God. That procession of harnessed men moves through history: they grow more enlightened; they lift political and religious boulders; they lift the despot, the priest; but whatever be the boulder lifted it is sure in the end to support some mounted master. The English lifted the Stuart boulder for Cromwell to stand on and massacre the Irish. The French removed the power of Louis XVI. to make a pedestal for Robespierre; they lifted Robespierre to make

a throne for Bonaparte, whose little finger was heavier than the loins of Louis and Robespierre combined; later they lifted the Louis Philippe boulder and set up Louis Napoleon. In America, the people lifted the stony weight of British monarchy and set up a presidential imperialism. They have now lifted the crushing boulder of slavery. They have shown their power to combine and concentrate their strength enough to move the heaviest and most deeply set oppression. But it was still done by the forces of the militant age,—with drum and fife, under banners,—and their achievement was made into a higher pedestal for the presidential Commander-in-Chief. The "man on horseback" asked a third term; and if any equally strong and popular military president should insist upon it, he will find in some powers exercised for suppression of the rebellion and reconstruction of the Union precedents for his purpose. It is proposed to strip the presidency of some of its privileges and powers,—such as re-eligibility, and control of the civil and military service. But a President, unable to prolong his power legally, will have additional temptation to prolong it illegally. Like the pluralist in the "Mikado," he may feel himself compelled to do as Commander-in-Chief, what, as Chief Magistrate, he will deplore. Any popular disturbance may supply him with cause to prohibit the usual election, on Garfield's principle, that "we have a right to do our solemn duty, under God, to go beyond the Constitution to save the authors of the Constitution." If men like Cromwell, like Louis Napoleon and others have so done in the Old World, why may it not be done in the New? Things as illegal have been done here, sometimes for good, sometimes for evil purposes; the extra-constitutional measures of Lincoln for the country supplied Johnson with his weapons against the country. These weapons remain in the executive armory; a fanatic, with the popularity and pluck of Jackson, might re-elect himself without ballots. To abolish presidential re-eligibility were to invite the *coup d'état*. To prolong the presidential term were to invite revolution by a fixedness of administrative policy which, if discredited and dangerous, might do in seven years what could not be undone in a hundred. And as for the Civil Service reformers, what would their complete success do for the executive? For every office removed from his control a responsibility is taken from his shoulders. Cut off his civilian fingers, then his arms, finally his legs; supply other arms

and legs from the senatorial manufactory, and you drive him either to depend on his military arms or to aggrandize his social magnificence. More probably it would be both, and the White House become the grand *salon* of snobs and decorated courtiers. When this period arrives our securest plan would be to import the Prince of Wales and offer him our presidency in perpetuity; for his training under the constitutional reign of his mother, amid domestic peace, has been healthier than that of presidential aspirants trained under the flags of a long array of military presidents, and our worst danger would be from the army of professional beauties, and the cost of masquerade uniforms supplied by the costumer. I am serious in this. And I here cite the opinion of the ripest student and representative of the republican principle who ever lived—Louis Blanc. I translate from an article by him in the *Nouveau Monde*, 1849, "De la Présidence dans une République:"

"Presidency is an institution which can become more baleful than royalty itself. Monarchy baffles ambitions; Presidency prevails by setting them in motion and exasperating them. He whom birth calls to a throne does not have to open a road for himself across an agitated people. His need of tools costs neither factious attempt nor bloody effort. The lot which releases him from the need to merit power by virtues, also releases him from the need of acquiring it by intrigues. Without having to disquiet himself, without need of devices, he sees approaching a crowd eager to obey. Why seize by ruse or violence what he possesses without even extending his hand? Fortune has undertaken to supply him partisans in advance; he finds them pressing around his cradle; he has begun to reign in his mother's womb. Fantastic conventionalism, certainly! A conventionalism humilitating to the human species, but which at least cannot trouble the society it debases. In the canvass for presidency there is nothing of that kind. Here success can be the prize only of prodigious efforts. In the midst of a society where interests are very diverse, and relations complex, distinguished merit, unquestionable services, a well-founded popularity, will not always constitute sufficient chances. It is then necessary to eke them out by force of skill and audacity; it will be necessary to calumniate rivals, to make ignominous advances to former enemies, to sacrifice friends to partisans, the sacred rights of justice to the violence of majorities; it will be

necessary to add to the echo of his name the noise of a thousand venal clamors, to accept fraudulent engagements ; to open for all parties, fawned on in turn, deceitful prospects, to create a train of subordinate ambitions, an environment of false leaders ; to lose self-respect for the suffrage of others, and stoop to become the master ; *omnia serviliter pro dominatione.* When the heir of a monarch reaches the crown, no one finds himself humiliated. The event was foreseen ; this is not the victory of one man over another ; it is the triumph of an insolent abstraction at which the philosopher is indignant, which the publicist condemns, but which does not wound the ambitious. It may, perhaps, be a misfortune for all ; for no one is it an offense. Even the mediocrity of a prince, if it is recognized, pleases the statesmen ; they are consoled for having a chief ; involuntarily placed under one elected by accident, their high-spirited minds indemnify with disdain the necessity of submission. When it comes to be one elected by a people, what a difference ! Superiority of rank, able to establish that of merit, in this case establishes between the most distinguished men a strife in which self-love is naturally called to play an implacable part. The passions of the chiefs traverse society. I am not among those who excuse, or even comprehend, monarchical superstitions. But it is only just to recognize that what, under the constitutional régime, royalists honor in their king, is an idea rather than an individual. Well ! human dignity has less to lose by worship of a principle than by worship of a man, however false the principle and however grand the man."

I have a letter, received from Louis Blanc fifteen years ago, in which he says : "At the time when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was coming forward as a candidate for the Presidential office, I thought it my duty to point out the direful consequences likely to flow from the election of a President. The solemn warning I then gave to my countrymen was expressed as follows : 'Whenever a man and an Assembly stand face to face, that Assembly brings with it a 10 Août, and that man has behind him an 18 Brumaire.' But as you have rightly observed, there are political as well as religious superstitions, nor are the former more easily uprooted than the latter. At the time alluded to, it seemed next to impossible that there should be a Republic without a President. A strange aberration this—more especially on the part of the French, as they had been taught by experience

how readily a President or Consul is turned into an Emperor. However, the warning was disregarded, and on the 2d of December we had to undergo the unspeakable humiliation of another 18 Brumaire. My prediction was thus fulfilled even sooner than I expected." August 10, when the revolutionary assembly began its Reign of Terror, and the 18 Brumaire (November 9th, 1799), when Napoleon overthrew the Directory, have here been represented by the long years in which both Senate and President were reduced to be right and left hands of an Emperor superior to them both—Slavery. That supreme power having reached its Waterloo and its grave, the Man and the Assembly stand face to face with each other. For the moment, the President's struggle is not with the Assembly representing the people, but that conflict may at any time occur. One can only find satisfaction in the prospect because of the "new departure" beyond. "I envy you Americans," said Carlyle once, "you and we are trains dashing on to the same precipice, and you'll get smashed first." The timid President, who, raised from the Vice-Presidency, or doubtfully elected, does not feel the pluck of his position; the patriotic President; the moderate man of the world, representing its business and wealth which are injured by political agitations; these may make the current appear peaceful for a time. But the sluggish stream undermines its own banks, and the wise engineer will build levees not for the low water, but for the flood. The Jacksonian or Johnsonian freshet is sure to be repeated. Or another congressional *coup d'état*, like that which took from President Johnson his constitutional control of the army, may evoke a presidential *coup d'état* under some chief combining Johnson's recklessness with Grant's ability and following. We hear of "checks" on this or that branch of the government; but why create a power requiring checks? Why create a giant to do a man s work and then bind him down artificially to a man's strength? Were it not more sensible to begin by creating the man so that the giant need not be feared, being impossible? The President is a giant to be kept, not always successfully, with one hand in a sling; Universal Suffrage is another. Should the masses fail to elect a President the task is thrown into the House of Representatives. But for this purpose the popular House is deprived of its representative character; all the delegates of New York have one vote and those of Rhode Island one. What if this

extemporized oligarchy should, under cover of the ballot, choose the candidate who stands third in the suffrage of the people? Here were a premium on anarchy. Instead of with one hand giving the masses a power which must be taken from them with the other, were it not wiser to give them a legitimate strength which could require no check?

Under an executive headship, irremovable by the people or their representatives, universal suffrage is liable at any time to be placed in contradiction with itself. Should an executive elected to represent a certain principle of vital and urgent importance turn around, on reaching power, and represent the opposite principle, the nation is legally ruled by a man it never elected. If the individual is shrewd enough to confine himself to his constitutional weapons—and even the impeachment of Johnson did not declare his outrages unconstitutional—the people are thrown on the horns of a dilemma: they must submit to a despotism which may ruin the country, or they must revolutionize. As a matter of fact, our quadrennial election is a revolution. Under a personal supremacy unamenable to changes in the popular need it cannot be otherwise. It may be without bloodshed, but it is apt to be without the few advantages of armed revolution. It is likely to come after the mischief is done. The ancient Cretans legalized insurrection against magisterial usurpation; under Valerius Publicola a Roman law gave permission to any one to kill a magistrate for an attempt against the liberty of the Republic. The United States has gone so far as to place beside every President a Vice-President with strong inducement to put his superior out of the way, but, just now, the experience of the country is against both rebellion and regicide. Insurrection on our side, however, is condoned. The insurrection of Kansas Free-State men against the authority of Pierce, and that of secessionists against Lincoln, are distinguished from each other by private preference. It is conceivable that regicide might stand differently with us if instead of being illustrated by Wilkes Booth and Guiteau some enthusiast had killed President Buchanan when he was disposing the forces of the country—quite constitutionally—in the interest of a secession against which there was no law. If that administration could have been removed at once it is probable that slavery would have surrendered without war. In England the change would have been made in an hour by the representatives of the people.

The comparative dignity lent to our politics by a great moral issue having passed away with the extinction of slavery, the presidential contest reveals its meanness in the midst of an industrial civilization. Every four years the nation forms its ring, the candidates enter, and the pugilism begins. If one seems worsted, his backers throw mud. There is a grand exchange of calumnies and insults. When the successful pugilist enters the palace he is regarded by nearly half his subjects as the arch-scoundrel of the country. The Senate has not the slightest doubt that Mr. Cleveland will evade the law about appointments if he is not watched; a majority of States, that is, either regard their President as capable of perjury, or else suspect that their restraints on him would be proved unconstitutional if put to the test. For this war of bitter personalities, involving private character, fifty millions of people are thrown into convulsions every four years! For this the whole official service of the country is to be quadriennially revolutionized!

Inter arma silent—rationes. The parties on each side being drawn up in the order of battle, under their respective chiefs, victory becomes the one thing important. The armies are organized under political generals, colonels, drill-sergeants; deserters are warned that they will be politically shot; every question of sentiment, honesty, fairness, is met with the finality *le Boss le veut.* How comical appears the ancient provision by our fathers of an Electoral College, through which the passionate popular suffrage was to be filtered and interpreted before being represented in an Executive! In a recent instance, when the vote of one elector transferred from his party might have defeated the determination of that party to enthrone its candidate, though not elected, some looked to a certain eminent elector to show independence of party in the interest of justice. Vain hope! A humorous English gentleman traveling in Germany, received much attention by the simple process of registering himself in hotels as "Elector of Middlesex." The old dignity of the title might revive in America should a college of electors show any independence; but how can one desire it while our Presidential election is a battle, in which "bolting" is treated as desertion in the face of the enemy? It is to be feared that recognition of the independence of the Electoral College would simply mean the blackmailing of candidates. And if a President were chosen by

one or two electors transferred from his opponent's ticket, it is pretty certain that the disappointed majority would not submit. In fact, a republic with an emperor is like Hawthorne's man with a serpent in his bosom. Whatever he eats goes to feed that foreign life; his own tissues are steadily enfeebled. The Electoral College is in atrophy; the free town-meeting, influenced by the ablest citizens, is supplanted by the caucus controlled by the boss; the high-road to Presidency is servility to party. So the imperial parasite grows strong; the secret Cabinet at the White House corresponds to a star chamber in the Senate; occult relations are established where the Constitution has forbidden open ones. We are living under a different Constitution from that framed a hundred years ago, yet it is one structurally developed out of that by its all-absorbing imperialist feature, with its power of reducing to nullity all organs not congenial to itself. While Louis Napoleon reigned, all the unpurchasable thinkers of France lived in exile; but are not the thinkers of America also exiled from political life? The reasoning powers of the country are so little turned to political affairs that the most important crisis hardly elicits their counsel or criticism. Not long ago, for example, it became necessary to provide further for the succession to a deceased Vice-President. When the office of Vice-President was suggested it met with strong opposition in the Convention (1787) on grounds now amply justified by its history. Having elected a President, nothing can be more fatuous than to allow any man or party to reap any advantage from his death. Here was an occasion when the solecism could have been removed by providing that, on a President's death, his chosen constitutional advisers should act as an Executive Commission to continue the administration. If England is regularly governed in this way, why might not the United States be so administered for a time? The suggestion was not even made; and we have now set behind the President a train of possible presidents, each with an inducement to get rid of the president-elect, and then with the next above him in the ministerial succession! Where was the American brain when this ingenious absurdity was made into law? In exile. The legislative functions of the country are plainly in the hands of men whom imperialism has made over into its own image. To them a government without an individual man at its head were no government at all.

No superstition could be more unscientific, no scheme more

unrepublican. In a republic a Head detached from the shoulders of the People is no head at all. Even if it be a head they made themselves and set on their own shoulders, it is not their head unless it is in vital relation to their whole Body at every instant. The Head of a People must therefore be chosen by the permanent organization of their life, which, in a Republic, is represented in the assembly to which their political powers are delegated; and on this power which created it the Head must depend from day to day for its functional existence, because there is no reason whatever for its existence except for the sake of the whole Body. A Head with personal interests of its own is inconsistent with any form of self-government. A corollary of this is that the Head of a Republic cannot be an individual man. The political organism exists only to protect and develop the social organism. This consists of a complex variety of interests which may be practically classed and represented in corresponding departments of legislation and administration. The judicial, financial, industrial, military, foreign, postal, or other interests of the nation, assign tasks to the several masters in such departments. These functionaries represent the cerebral organs of the State. But what organ does a president represent? The Premier of England must have a portfolio; Gladstone at one time held two; a man is conceivable who should be master of all departments; but our President has no such function. How then can he be the head of the political organism? In nature there is no presidency in the head of any organism. Beyond the cerebral organs, with their definite functions, representative of every part of the body, there is no supernumerary head. If it be said that the presidential function is to oversee the organs and hold them to their work, that would imply that an individual man may be superior to each of the heads of departments in that minister's own line. No one, of course, would object to the presidency of omniscience, but by what expediency is a finite man set to superintend ministers of finance or war who is inferior to the ministers in such specialties? The only possible superintendence of those organs which collectively make the Head of civil society must be the general wisdom and knowledge of the country, between which and its executive organs reflex influences pass through representative nerves. The representative legislature is the thinking power of a sound social organism; the Executive is its Hand; the legislative thought directs the execu-

tive hand through re-representative organs, administrative controllers, who are severally the special knowledge of the nation in some department projected in specialized function. These specialized organs naturally unite in a Head, because they can only act by co-operation ; the war functionary must consult the treasurer, and both the internal condition or the foreign relations of the nation. But in all this series no place has ever been pointed out by political science for a minister without a portfolio, a supreme organ without any function except to be supreme.

All this, true of civil government, is changed under military government. In war all functions become subservient to one, and individual chieftainship is in its right place. So long as the barbarous régime of war underlies civilization, every nation will naturally preserve the means of transforming itself into a military despotism. But even in that case the individual head cannot be a civilian. There is no case, therefore, in which a president can be useful, unless by some accident. Even President Lincoln, our happiest accident, by his ignorance of war, by ill-advised appointments, like that of Burnside, cost the country much blood and treasure. Presidency is unquestionably a "survival" of military chieftainship, and in civil government it is out of its place. The "survival" of ancient chieftainship in the occupant of the English throne serves an indirect defensive purpose. Were the throne there abolished it would still be claimed as the right of some family, and there is a powerful class, owning the soil, who could be utilized by German despotism to set up a King Stork in place of the present King Log. To some extent presidency in France is also excusable, because it occupies the place where imperialist and royalist conspirators long to set a throne. But in America there is no such excuse. The presidency is here a "survival" which has been and can be only mischievous if active ; which preserves the passions and perils of military ages, making our progress convulsive, lowering politics which, in normal society, would be the highest vocation. Stripped of imperial powers, presidency in a Republic were at once revealed as no Head at all, but a cap of painted plumes borrowed from the savage. Presidency, at best, is but monarchy in masquerade. Even then it is mischievous ; for it gives social pre-eminence to the occupant of an office normally secured by servility instead of by service. "If any will be great among you let him serve." In a true Republic there

could be no lustre not flowing from eminent services. It is a degradation when official position, obtained by partisanship, can raise above all the thinkers, scholars, philanthropists of a nation, an inferior person. It is an instruction of youth in the worship of success irrespective of merit; it is a cult of snobbery more vulgar than that which surrounds the rank attained by birth. The forces of heredity are real, the values of high-breeding are great, albeit unsuited for governmental requirements; but "aristocracy" has never descended lower than in subjecting the Republic of the New World to a Peerage of "Bosses," with power to enthrone an Arch-boss as the fountain of honor for a people consecrated by their history to human equality, and by their genius to respect only for superiorities of character and intelligence. We reverence to-day the men who declared our independence of Old World royalty; our posterity will honor still more those who shall secure independence from New World imperialism.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

A LETTER ON PRAYER FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

THOSE whom he teaches have a right to demand that the scientist shall be reverent. Further than this, it is but just to claim that he shall possess the religious spirit. Dealing with conclusions drawn from discoveries of laws extending throughout the whole range of material existence, he should not deny to the intellect which leans on his the least hint of the evidence of God and eternal life. It is with joy that the devout student of science finds this need fully recognized by the Duke of Argyll. The same thing may be said of our distinguished American, John Fiske, whose writings constantly suggest lines of thought parallel to those of Argyll. Superficial thinkers have ignorantly permitted themselves to call any scientist who admits that all things are a process governed by natural law, which is an observed order of facts, instead of a special creation governed by an arbitrary and supernatural will, "materialists," "infidels," and even "atheists." Such designations are absolutely undeserved by these two writers. Religion, pure and simple, the recognizing of a Source of Righteousness, and the worshiping attitude toward that Infinite, are the very root and base, as well as the pinnacle, of all their arguments. But wide as the range of their erudition may be, each approaches the Absolute from almost precisely opposite points. Each reaches an Alpha and Omega, but by paths by no means parallel, and often most radically diverging. Following the Darwinian theory of Evolution from its earliest conclusions of primeval history, ages before the earth became habitable by man, up to the laws of evolution in society, which are proven with the same painstaking care and illustration, Mr. Fiske presents the whole scheme of existence in a clear and ever-deepening and broadening stream of logic, until it flows with majestic current and irresistible force into the ocean of the invisible.

On the other hand, the Duke of Argyll, ever endeavoring to square his reasoning to the lines of Revelation, admits intuition, inspiration, and supernatural influence to be large factors in the development of human character; takes into consideration spiritual phenomena, and, permeated with the theologic spirit, suggests a science of the invisible, where his contemporary stops on its shores. Mr. Fiske claims to know nothing of that Beyond, in which science loses herself for lack of data. Argyll at least virtually admits his belief that such data can be obtained, and that the depths of the waters of the Unknown can eventually be sounded.

These relative positions, more or less constantly maintained by writers so diverse, yet seem to lead to one end in common, viz., the idea that conscious being must continue to remain conscious being even beyond the time when it shall cease to be connected with a physical organization; that moral and intellectual superiority will be advantageous hereafter as well as here; and that righteousness is the only harmonious relationship man can hold with the Author of his being.

Such teaching must inevitably popularize and make gracious and inviting those themes which hitherto have seemed to the general public too abstruse and too unpractical. Whatever leads away from Deity must eventually lose its interest. Chance is neither attractive nor useful. The mind demands sequence, and rejects that which does not appeal to reason. The inherent dignity of human nature denies the theory that a man is but an atom amidst a universe of atoms, without purpose, object, or excuse for being, and without hope, aspiration, or future. By entertaining writers whose exact deductions are still poetic, and whose justice both ways toward the psychical and the physical do not interrupt, but rather emphasize, the rhythmic harmony of their interaction, the reader who understands the grand theme at all must necessarily fall into the swing and flow of their intellectual current, and be borne easily and strongly on to a satisfactory result. Mr. Fiske, proving conclusively that religion is the acme of human superiority by his clear-cut analysis of every phase of conscious or unconscious existence; and the Duke, enlightening, with sun-like vividness, our conception of the true meaning of terms, words, and definitions, and of all the error and misjudgment occasioned by stupid or malicious misinterpretations, bring us, both

by intuition and reason, to conceive that we are at last on the right road.

After reading the works of the Duke of Argyll, I was puzzled by the positions he took regarding "Grace" and prayer. I ventured to send him a letter. He kindly replied, and in a vein, as I am bound to suppose, which will bear publication. Since the queries which arose in my mind may have occurred to others, I do not hesitate to give the substance of my communication.

"In speaking of prayer," I wrote, "you say, 'The compromise now offered by some philosophers is this: that although the course of external nature is unalterable, yet possibly the phenomena of mind and character may be changed by the Divine agency.' But you instantly question this, and assert that 'the mind is as much under the dominion of law as the body.' How, then, are we to judge of the effects of 'Grace?' I believe the meaning of 'Grace' may be indicated as follows: If a soul supplicate its Creator to improve its condition, in reply to that supplication, if made 'in spirit and in truth,' there comes into that soul a new righteousness; a righteousness which it did not before possess, and which is outside or beyond any physical law acting in the brain. It may be regarded as an *influx* from the invisible, and is supposed to be bestowed in answer to the prayer.

"In other words, this advantage drops on the soul as rain drops on the body. It is not worked out in our own beings. If this is a clear idea of 'Grace,' I cannot comprehend how it can be compatible with law, which, acting on the brain, produces effects limited by its own conditions. Or does the very act of supplication change the law acting in the attributes of intellect, so as to *produce* righteousness? If so, one might as well pray to one's self. Yet experience proves that prayer for spiritual improvement does in marked cases produce, gain, or advance righteousness with surprising rapidity. You do not definitely state your opinion as to the results of prayer, save as it affects the conduct of men. Other superstitions affect men to their moral advantage. I cannot see that you definitely assert your belief that if we make a reasonable appeal to God, one which is in harmony with natural laws but which may be an *especial adjustment* of them in our favor, that it is in His power to alter the regular course of things for our benefit. If we happen to ask for something in natural sequence to previous events we shall probably receive it; but shall we receive it should

it vary by a hair from the Creator's original or present intention? Will anything different occur than would have occurred before we asked? Can, will, or does God adjust matter and spirit for the benefit of one who prays, when, had one not prayed, no adjustment would have taken place? Is there any scientific evidence of reciprocity between God and His creature, by which the unchangeable can be changed, as a child may persuade and alter the intention of his father? If so, is there a definable limit to this adjustment? Is it bounded by law? I ask because I recognize the great significance of the question of mutual relationship between my Heavenly Father and myself. If there is no reciprocity of feeling, sympathy, and understanding, where is the link which connects me with Him? I have noted favorable changes in conditions and in people after having prayed for such. Was this the granting of my wish by God as an outside and adjusting factor, or was it the product of a natural law—the sequence of a concentrated will? If I cannot expect from God any adjustment save that which He made in the beginning of creation, but am without consultation of my desire placed among forces visible and invisible, to which I must adjust myself and which I must manipulate or fail and perish, I feel myself no better than the pen wherewith I write, and my conscious being a delusion and a mockery."

To these questions and comments, the Duke of Argyll courteously replied with the following letter:

LONDON, *November*, 22.

MADAM: I have received your letter of the 8th, in which you ask *some* questions which are beyond the reach of human intellect. But one question you put, respecting my own meaning in certain passages of "The Reign of Law," which you seem to think are incompatible with the belief in the efficacy of prayer in any case. My reply is direct, that you have misunderstood me. The proposition that the mind is subject to "law" does not mean that it is subject to *material* and *physical* law. It only means that the spiritual world has laws of its own, quite as definite and quite as supreme as the laws of the physical world. But this does not in the least affect our belief in prayer, because *one* of the laws of the spiritual world may be (and as Christians believe, must be) that the human soul is in relations and in correspondence with the Divine Spirit, so as *to be acted on thereby.* The bare intellectual difficulty of understanding *how* events can ever be changed by supplication, consistently with our notions of the Divine fore-knowledge and decrees, is, and must ever remain, an insoluble difficulty to us. But it has always appeared to me that this difficulty equally applies to the case of changes brought about by appeals to the will and voluntary action of our fellow men. We know as a matter of fact that these appeals *do* change purpose, and through purpose do change events. Yet theoretically we don't quite see how this familiar experience

is to be reconciled with the proposition that all events are fore-ordained by the Almighty Will. Probably the solution lies in the profound ignorance in which we live as to the real conditions about which we talk when we frame propositions about "Foreknowledge" and "Decrees." We are probably in a great measure *thinking nonsense* when we frame words and sentences to express the relations between the Divine Mind, or the Supreme Will, and the events which (to us) take place in time. We may well be content to "know," that "by marked cases as examples, this supplication for spiritual improvement will gain or produce or advance the graces of human character with surprising rapidity." We also know by a perfect consciousness that this effect is not produced by "*praying to ourselves*," and could not be produced if we thought we had no one else to pray to. I must beg you to excuse a very hasty letter, dealing, of course, very inadequately with one of the most difficult and profound of all subjects. I am much gratified by the kind expressions you employ in reference to the value of my books to those who are troubled on such questions. My book called "The Unity of Nature," is a further development of the same subject (as "The Reign of Law"), and approaches more nearly the main end: "Law in Theology."

Your Obedient Servant,
ARGYLL.

MRS. CORA LINN DANIELS,
FRANKLIN, Mass.

Mr. Fiske's method of stating that the mind is not subject to physical law is expressed thus:

"Modern discovery, so far from bridging over the chasm between Mind and Matter, tends rather to exhibit the distinction between them as absolute."

Starting with the questions, "What is matter? What is mind?" one can hardly bring together two instructors who can give better, more concise, more erudite, more diverse, or more satisfactory answers. The climax of Argyll's thinking, so far as is published in "The Unity of Nature," is reached thus:

"We come to understand that the processes of development or of creation, whatever they may have been, which culminated in such a being as Man, are processes wholly governed and directed by a Law of adjustment between the higher truths it concerns him to know and the evolution of faculties by which alone he could be enabled to apprehend them. There is no difficulty in conceiving these processes carried to *the most perfect consummation.*"

With equal reverence, and after his usual profound course of reasoning, the American serenely ends "The Idea of God" thus:

"The events of the universe are not the work of chance, neither are they the outcome of blind necessity. Practically, there is a purpose in the world, whereof it is our highest duty to learn the lesson. When from the dawn of life we see all things working together toward the evolution of the highest spiritual attributes of Man, we know, however the words may stumble in which we try to say it, that God is in the deepest sense a moral Being. The everlasting source of phenomena is none other than the Infinite Power which makes for righteousness."

CORA LINN DANIELS.

MODERN FEUDALISM.

It is an old truth that commerce, founded on the basis of distributing the staples of life at the least cost, is the highest practical benevolence; while devices to rule commerce by the suspension of competition, and to exact arbitrary profits from the masses, are the extreme of selfishness and oppression. The universal nature of this truth was perceived when the world emerged from the mediæval system of economics, but it seems in danger of being forgotten. This is illustrated by the criticism of Mr. E. P. Alexander, the most recent writer on the railway question, that those who hold competition to be the only just measure of profits in any industry are "years behind the age in comprehension of the science of the railway question." But the very question at issue is whether they are not more in accord with the essential principles of nineteenth century democracy than those who are turning commerce back to the era of prices fixed by combinations and the suspension of competition.

Besides the anthracite coal pool, which, from the public attention recently attracted to it, and its direct action upon the interests of the masses, furnishes a particularly striking example of the combination policy, other signal instances can be found of monopolizing great industries, and enhancing the cost of the necessaries of life. The history of the Standard Oil monopoly has been told in such a variety of forms that it is only necessary to estimate the magnitude of its effect upon the consumers of petroleum. The claim that its rule has cheapened the cost of petroleum is reported to have nonplussed even so independent a thinker as Mr. Henry George, when presented to him at Cleveland last summer. But those familiar with the operations of that remarkable monopoly know that it can sell petroleum cheaper than other refiners, only because of the advantages given to it in transportation by the railways; that it does sell cheaper only

at points where it desires to crush out sporadic attempts at competition; and that on the vast aggregate of its traffic it enjoys the full benefit of the impregnable barrier which it has erected between the thousands of producers of crude petroleum on the one hand and the millions of consumers of refined on the other. It is true that there has been a decline of 50 to 60 per cent. in the retail price of refined petroleum since the ante-Standard period; but those who regard that as a mitigation of the monopoly forget that there has been a decline of 70 to 80 per cent. in the price of crude. The marked difference between the decline which might have taken place with free competition and that which has actually occurred is shown in the United States census report on the "Necessaries of Life." Among thirty-five places from which the retail price of petroleum is reported, at the few points which could be reached by what little competition existed at the time of the report, the retail price of petroleum was 12½ to 15 cents per gallon, and at all other points the price ranged from 20 to 25 cents. Of late years, the price fixed by the Standard Oil Company in Texas was 35 cents when it was undisturbed in that territory. When a competing company succeeded in shipping petroleum to Texas the price was reduced to 21 cents. Place the extra cost established by monopoly at 5 cents in adjacent territory, with a variation to 14 cents at remote points, and the tax thus imposed on the 380,000,000 gallons of domestic consumption can be appreciated.

A startling measure of the value of this monopoly to those who share in it, is the statement that its wealth, represented at its inception by a capital of $1,000,000, is now placed by the quotations of shares in the various corporations and trusts which are comprised within its vast entity, at the enormous sum of $400,000,000. This does not represent the profits realized from the favor of the railways; for the actual gains, while counted by tens of millions, do not exceed one quarter of that vast sum. Nor does it stand for the real investment in property, which might, perhaps, be replaced for one-tenth the amount. It simply represents the earning power of the monopoly itself. In other words, after deducting a generous estimate for the value of its actual property, the monopoly which this combination has been permitted to usurp, is estimated by its own members to yield dividends upon the enormous total of $350,000,000. Compare that estimate with

the increase of the retail price caused by the monopoly, which controls the trade from the mouth of the wells to the sale of oil from tank wagons at the doors of grocers, and it will be found that the statement of a tax of 10 cents per gallon for the benefit of the capital enjoying that monopoly errs, if at all, on the side of moderation.

An interesting relation can be traced between the success of the Standard and the rise of a highly similar combination to control the coke industry of Southwestern Pennsylvania. In 1876, forty-one firms were engaged in manufacturing coke from the Connellsville vein of coal, and the aggregate of the plant employed was 3,300 ovens. The value of that coal for coking purposes caused a rapid expansion of the industry in the years 1879–80–81. But concurrently with that expansion the evidence afforded by the Standard Oil Company, of the ability to monopolize an entire industry, was too tempting for an opportunity of copying it to escape notice. While the industry has grown from 3,300 ovens in 1876 to a total of 10,796 ovens at the close of last year, the process of combination has been urged with such vigor that 8,300 ovens are under the control of a single syndicate, 1,646 are owned by manufacturers who consume their own product, while the competitive factor is reduced to three small firms who still manage to find a market for the product of 850 ovens, or about one-tenth the capacity controlled by the syndicate. The composition of this organization is somewhat unique in its details. It is made up of three great firms, whose union rules the industry. About one-third of the capacity under syndicate control is owned by various smaller firms, who run their works as directed by the syndicate, and turn over their entire product to it at a very liberal commission, reported to be 25c. per ton, or one-fifth the average price for the past two years. With this advantage over the ordinary producer, the syndicate enjoys an impregnable prosperity, both in fat years and in lean. It directs the proportion of the trade which shall run or stand idle; decides the rate of wages for the entire industry, as well as for its own labor, and fixes the price of the product by such surprising feats as its recent advance of 50 cents per ton, or one-third of the former price—much to the discomfort of iron-founders, who thus find the cost of their raw material suddenly increased to the extent of an extra dollar per ton on their own products.

It has been rather stunning to the agricultural interests of the South to discover, during the past fifteen months, that the cotton-seed crushing mills had passed under the control of a single combination. The presence of some leading Standard Oil capitalists, and the faithful adoption of its favorite method of consolidation by means of a "Trust," leaves little doubt as to the paternity of the scheme, which now manages 98 per cent. of the capacity of the cotton-seed oil mills, fixes the price of the oil in the markets of the country, and ordains exactly the price which the planters shall get for their seed at the mills. The effect of this monopoly has not yet been felt by the consumers of alleged olive oil, oleomargarine, and oil cake; but the producers have experienced a very tangible result of the removal of competition in the purchase of seed by a reduction from the price before realized, averaging $5 per ton. On the total amount of seed crushed last year this reduction amounts to $3,000,000; which gain may perhaps explain the fact that the price of certificates in the "Trust," capitalized at two or three times the actual cost of the mills, is at a large premium. Naturally there is a great outcry among the planters of the South at this sudden transfer from their pockets to those of an irresponsible combination of the sum of $3,000,000 a year, with capabilities of indefinite expansion.

Beyond the instances already noted of the effects of combination on the price of fuel, there is a very striking example of what the combined control of railway transportation can do with regard to food. It has been one of the social phenomena of the times that, after an era of general reduction in prices, and with an almost infinite expansion of the field of production, the one great staple that has nearly maintained the old level of values, is beef. Some light is thrown on this exceptional firmness by allegations that improved stock-cars, which bring the cattle to market in so much better condition as to equal a gain of $3 per head, are burdened with heavy charges, because their use would ruin the business of the stock-yards, where double prices for shelter and forage yield a rich revenue on the railway capital invested. This is an *ex parte* statement, but it finds strong corroboration in other quarters. For another form of transportation which effects economy by shipping only the dressed beef and saving the cost of carrying the hide and offal, is neutralized by the authority of the trunk line pool, with the principle that the consumer must be

made to pay as much freight on a pound of dressed as he would have had to pay had it been shipped on the hoof. The discrimination in this case is about the same as against improved live-stock cars, being 30 cents per hundred pounds between Chicago and New York. Heretofore the assertion has been made only by the critics of the railways, that improvements and economies in the transportation of meats were obstructed for the purpose of making the traffic pay tribute to the investments in stock yards; but now we have the admission of that unquestioned railroad authority, Mr. E. P. Alexander, that the objection lies in the fact that the "investments in stock-yards and abbatoirs are threatened with destruction;" and this gentleman turns an extraordinary light on the railway view of the question, by the declaration that "there is no abstract principle of right or wrong, or honesty or dishonesty, to which such questions can be referred." This is a remarkable assertion to come from one of the most enlightened railway men of the day. If there is no principle of right or wrong involved in the question whether devices to cheapen the cost of transporting meat or improve its quality shall be allowed full play; if there is no honesty or dishonesty in the question whether the combined control of the highways of commerce can forbid such improvements in order to maintain the profits of stock-yard syndicates and live-stock "eveners" rings, then let us be thankful that the nation is "years behind the age in comprehension of the science of the railway question." A half cent per pound, which is about the extra burden thus placed on the beef that comes from the West to the seaboard, does not seem a very great imposition. But a half cent added to the primary wholesale cost grows to a cent per pound in the retail price. On the receipts of live stock and dressed beef at New York and New England points last year, that increase amounts to $11,000,000. As the cost of Western beef fixes the retail price of all the beef sold in the Eastern market, the aggregate of this additional tax on food for the benefit of favored capital may be estimated at a gigantic total.

The results effected by the obstruction of competition in the five great staples, anthracite coal, coke, petroleum, beef, and cotton-seed oil, are of such magnitude that, in comparison with the effect of that historical three-cent tax on tea, they might be expected to produce a social cataclysm. When the units of a dollar a ton on anthracite, ten cents per gallon on petroleum, twenty-five cents

per ton on coke, one cent per pound on beef, and $5 per ton on cotton-seed, are multiplied into the aggregates of consumption, it can be seen that the burdens imposed on the masses for the benefit of the interested capital are counted by the tens of millions annually; and it no longer appears strange that the valuation of these monopolies is expressed by the hundreds of millions. If such results can be effected in the first and experimental decade of the combination, what may not be done in a quarter of a century? If the monopoly of five industries of varying magnitude has created fortunes, held to aggregate somewhere between five hundred and a thousand millions, what vast prizes may not be gained by those who perfect and extend the policy to all branches of manufacture, and to the supply of every article of food? And when every industrial process is under the combination rule, the obnoxious influence of competition wholly abolished, and the people at large left no option but to pay just such prices, and accept just such wages as the combinations may dictate, what an ideal state of society will be established—for the favored capitalists!

What is the cause of all this? At the foundation, of course, the trouble is the same as with Bunyan's "Man with the Muck-rake." Men are so busy at the universal work of raking together wealth, that they have no time to look up to the higher qualities of justice and public welfare in the operation of our commercial system. But since the desire for wealth, as a motive of life, is beyond the reach of laws or public agitation, the question must be directed to the defects or abuses which allow the general acquisitiveness to be so successfully exerted in the case of the few, so much to the detriment of the many.

Mr. Henry George, in his recent review of the industrial condition of Pennsylvania, seems inclined to divide the responsibility between land monopoly and the protective tariff; and many newspaper writers, who utterly reject his views on the former topic, agree with him, to the extent, at least, of charging the anthracite coal combination to protection. Pennsylvania, beyond dispute, affords a fruitful field for the study of industrial monopoly. It has the anthracite coal combination in the northeast; the petroleum monopoly in the northwest; the coke syndicate in the southwest; several bituminous and gas coal pools fill in the intervals; and if there is no corresponding combination in the

southeastern portion of the State, the omission must be excused on the ground that there is nothing there worth monopolizing. The position of Pennsylvania, as the State of the greatest protected industries, leads many to the conclusion that these phenomena are the offspring of protection. But whatever long-standing differences may exist as to the policy of stimulating home industries by a tariff to raise the price of imported products, that is entirely separate from the question whether those, or other domestic industries, shall be open to the free competition of all who wish to engage in them. The sole object of the protective tariff is to increase and encourage domestic competition in the protected industries; the sole object of the combination policy is to prevent that competition in the industries which it controls. This appears even more plainly in the facts. If protection were the cause of monopoly, the monopolies should be the strongest in the most directly protected industries. Yet in the bituminous coal trade, which is directly protected, combination has only succeeded in controlling remote districts and limited markets; while in the anthracite interest, which is only protected indirectly through the tariff on bituminous, the rule of combination has been practically continuous for fifteen years. Iron, steel, glass, and wool are directly protected industries; and, except for the partially successful combination in the Bessemer steel industry, those interests are completely ruled by the free action of demand and supply. On the other hand, petroleum is not protected at all, and presents the most complete example of unmitigated monopoly. It is not designed to discuss Mr. George's land theory; but it is surely a salient fact that in but one of these combinations does the ownership of land bear any part, while the abolition of property in land would not loosen the grasp of any of them on the means of preventing competition. It may also be pertinent to note in this connection that this very State, where the combinations are most rife, approaches most nearly to the application of Mr. George's remedy, by levying, as the last message of its Governor shows, practically all of its taxation on real estate.

What, then, is the source of the power over competition which gives these combinations existence and security? The answer to that question is found in the ability to exclude competition by control of the routes of transportation. The railway pool,

although its career as the conqueror of competition in transportation has been chequered with failure, is the parent of this promising brood of combinations, each of which has attained absolutism in its especial sphere. The old fiction that the Standard's monopoly was the growth of competition among the railroads having been lately reviewed, it is necessary to repeat the fact that the first scheme to monopolize the petroleum traffic, when the Standard Oil Company had but a local importance, possessed the pooling features of apportionment of traffic between the railways by arbitrary percentages, which were to be guaranteed by the corporation—the South Improvement Company—in whose hands the railways placed the monopoly of the business, by rebates on the part of the railways, that were avowedly "a guarantee against competition." The railways were to guarantee the monopoly of the petroleum traffic for the sake of escaping from competition among themselves; and this scheme being ruined by premature exposure, the Standard Oil Company fell heir to the monopolistic estate. Whenever, during the contest that resulted in the triumph of monopoly, there was any approach to competition among the railroads, the independent refiners received a new lease of life; when the league and covenant against free competition was established between the railways and the Standard in 1877, as a part of the first trunk line pool, the doom of the independent industry was sealed. Within the last twelve months renewed examples have been given, how competition in transportation gives birth to new attempts at competition in the refining industry, and how the re-establishment of the pooling policy among the railroads renews the sway of the Standard. The same foundation is found in every other case where an entire industry has been monopolized. The coke syndicate holds its control of eight-tenths the production by discriminations which are privately reported on long hauls to exceed the entire cost of production at the ovens. Coal pools wherever they exist are held in place by railway pools behind them. The obstruction of new methods in the marketing of beef is a direct application of the power of railway preference; and when railway competition has burst the bonds of pooling combinations, the freight rates on dressed beef have approached an equality with those on live stock. The Southern people do not seem to have a clear idea of how the cotton-seed oil monopoly was established, beyond the pathetic opinion of one planter, who writes to

the papers that "the railroads are somehow mixed up in it;" but the fact that the average freight on a ton of cotton-seed is half its value at the mills, together with the presence, at the head of the combination, of the petroleum monopolists, who order the Southern railways to "give the screw another turn" when an independent shipper of petroleum finds his way to their territory, makes it as plain as a guide-board to those who know the history of the Standard, that its new conquest is built upon the same foundation of railway discriminations.

The striking article by Mr. Lloyd, in a former number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, on the almost universal tendency toward combination, showed the effort to extend far beyond the instances I have given. But his numerous examples illustrate the presence of this law as a check upon such combinations,—that unless there is some external influence to forbid new competition, such combinations only serve to attract fresh capital into the business. In the case of the match combination, the barbed wire pool, the Bessemer Steel Association, and a score of minor combinations, the monopoly is simply that granted for a limited time by our patent laws. Beyond that, no combination has ever succeeded in excluding competition from the production of any staple, unless the favor of the railways was secured to forbid new competitors the benefit of as cheap transportation as the pools can command. Iron, nails, glass, and iron pipe associations fix the list prices of their wares; but the prices of the two former products fluctuate freely,—sometimes as much as forty per cent. below the card,—while the market prices of glass and iron pipes are shown by discounts of 60, 70, and 80 per cent. from the lists. The whisky pool cannot maintain the price of alcohol above the cost of manufacture with the government tax added; and the wall paper pool, although a remarkable example of private combination, has neutralized itself by calling into active operation a considerable list of anti-pool manufacturers. The production of any staple has never been monopolized, except by advantages in the rates of transportation; and the fact also appears in the history of all these combinations, that not only railway discriminations, but railway pooling is essential to their success. A single railway may impose discriminations on its local traffic; but to maintain the discriminations which control an entire industry, the union of all the railways performing transportation for that industry is a fun-

damental necessity. This enables us to estimate briefly the actual effect of the most gigantic effort of combination—the railway pool. The attempt of this form of combination to impose arbitrary freight rates on commerce has so far met with very limited success. Upon the traffic of the country at large its efforts to advance railway charges have not been more than temporarily successful. But the vital fact appears in the history of railway pooling that those combinations which maintained such monopolies as the Standard Oil Company, the anthracite combination, the Chicago live stock "eveners," and the coke syndicate have been the most enduring; while trunk line pools and Western freight associations have accomplished little more than a succession of fierce rate-wars, and the still more ruinous result of the creation of parallel lines. But suppose that the purpose of the great railway pools could also be accomplished, and competition so suspended that dividends on the $3,700,000,000 of fictitious capitalization, asserted by Mr. H. V. Poor to be injected into the railway system, could be imposed on the commerce of the country, what a stupendous tax would thus be levied on labor for the benefit of wholly fiat capital.

It is the almost universal plea in mitigation for this infraction of economic law, that the capital engaged in combination cannot earn fair profits if competition is allowed free play. But what constitutes the just measure of reward for capital? What are the fair profits for capital seeking investment in bonds, mortgages, or loans on commercial paper? The rate of interest that is fixed by free competition. What is the just measure of returns on capital invested in houses, stores, farms, small manufactures, or a thousand other forms of ordinary enterprise? Free competition. What indeed is the force which fixes the rate of wages, despite efforts of Labor organizations to oppose combination to the action of that force, and notwithstanding the violence provoked where these organizations are brought into conflict with the great combinations of capital? The competition of labor for wages. But the result of combination is to establish, for a favored class of capital, by means of the control of the highways of commerce, an exemption from the force which fixes the just reward of all other human effort, so that excessive profits can be exacted from the masses, to be counted by the tens of millions annually; and if the ideal of railway pooling could be attained, this policy would im-

pose upon the nation a burden of fictitious capital three times the amount of the national debt!

The failure of the Labor leaders to perceive that this is the real foundation for the troubles of the working classes, can only be accounted for by their habit of regarding the workingman solely as a wage-earner, and ignoring his interest as a consumer. Mr. Powderly has inveighed against "the national sin of cheapness" and given his assent to the principle of combination to raise prices, on the assumption that such combinations involve an advance in wages. Let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that the abolition of competition will return a certain proportion of the enhanced profits to the workingman in the shape of increased wages. If the anthracite coal pool raises the price of coal 50 cents per ton, and gives the miners 10 cents of the advance, a gain of $3,000,000 is secured in the annual wages of the miners; but a burden of $15,000,000 is imposed on the labor that consumes the coal. If the coke syndicate raises its price 50 cents per ton, and gives its workingman 10 cents advance, the advantage to labor at the coke ovens is $400,000 in a year; but a loss of many times the amount is inflicted on labor in the various forms in which that product finally reaches the consumer. If the same operation were repeated by combinations controlling every industry and every staple of consumption, what would be the result? An addition would be made to the cost of life, of which one-fifth would be given back to labor in the form of increased wages, and four-fifths would be drawn from labor to swell the profits of capital. Change the proportion to whatever form you like; the fact remains that all these combinations are organized to increase the profits of the capital engaged in them; and the increase must either be drawn from the pockets of consumers or extracted from the wages of laborers.

For it is by no means the rule that these combinations increase the wages of their employés. The anthracite coal trade is a shining example of the opposite result; and no better example of the different results of combination and competition on wages is needed than the bituminous coal industry. That interest is scattered over too vast a territory and enjoys too many routes of transportation to be brought under the control of a single combination. But certain districts are ruled by pools, and the significant fact appears, that in proportion as each district is open to competition,

the miner receives a larger share of the returns from the sale of the coal. From a comparison of statistics, based on official returns for 1883, it appears that in Allegheny County, where combination among the operators has always proved impracticable, the average rate of wages for all labor in the production of coal was $2.34 for each day's work. In Fayette and Westmoreland counties, where the industry was largely under the sway of the coke combination and the gas coal pools, the daily rate of wages was $1.79 and $1.75 respectively. In Clearfield County the control was secured by a monopoly of transportation, and the wages of the miners averaged $1.50 per day. The anthracite coal field in the same year yielded miners an average of $1.74 for each day's work. These figures are based on the number of days actually worked. When the average earnings of the whole year are taken into consideration, we find that while causes beyond the control of the operators in the Pittsburgh district afforded only 188 working days, the average pay of the miners for the year was $439, or more than in any other mining district of the State; while in the coke and anthracite districts, where the alleged policy of raising wages by arbitrary stoppages of work was in greater or less vogue, the total earned by miners in the year was from $20 to $50 less for from forty to sixty more days work. Another illustration shows the working of the same principle. The anthracite coal combination put up the price of coal fifty cents per ton last fall, and nothing has yet been heard of an advance in wages. The coke pool has advanced the price of coke sixty-five cents since there was an advance in wages, and the dispute is now pending whether their men shall get any of the benefit of the last advance. On the other hand, a conference between the operators and miners of the bituminous districts has just been concluded, with the result of advancing wages five cents per ton after May 1st; and the asking price on coal contracts, deliverable after that date, has advanced just five cents. Under combinations the laborers are lucky if they can get a fraction of the advance in prices; under competition the employers are satisfied if they get back the increase in wages by just the same enhancement in price. Take, as another illustration of the same principle, the freight-handlers' strike at Galveston last year. As long as the transcontinental pool lasted the Huntington lines were protected by the pool percentages against loss from the strike. When the pool was ruptured, the

first thing done was to settle with the strikers, and get the freight moving again. These examples simply demonstrate the universal principle that competition between employers for the work of the laborer acts just as important a part in the just regulation of wages as competition for the sale of staples does in the prevention of arbitrary prices. There is no better protection for the laboring masses than the free competition of employers, transporters, and middlemen.

The artificial burdens imposed by combinations on the interchange and distribution of products constitute one of the chief causes of labor difficulties. When we hear of over-production, which simply means that because too much of everything is produced the masses are unable to get enough, it should not be difficult to recognize that the paradox of general want in the midst of universal abundance is only possible through the imposition of arbitrary burdens on the transportation and distribution of great staples. That any such burdens should exist is a wrong; that they should be used to increase the wealth of the few at the expense of laboring millions, is a still greater injustice; but that they should be made effective solely by the control of the highways of commerce founded for the public benefit by the most supreme act of sovereignty, is a monstrous perversion of economic law and governmental power. The conquest of all departments of industry by the power of combination has but just begun. But the mere beginning has imposed unwarrantable taxes on the fuel, light, and food of the masses. It has built up vast fortunes for the combining classes, drawn from the slender means of millions. It has added an immense stimulant to the process, already too active, of making the rich richer, and the poor poorer. The tendency in this direction is shown by the arguments with which the press has teemed for the past two months, that the process of combination is a necessary feature of industrial growth, and that the competition which fixes the profits of every ordinary trader, investor, or mechanic, must be abolished for the benefit of great corporations, while kept in full force against the masses of producers and consumers, between whom the barriers of these combinations are interposed.

This is the old question of privilege for a favored class, to the disadvantage of the people, presented in a new form. Its backward tendency is shown in the revival of commercial monopolies

like those of the Middle Ages; but our Modern Feudalism is most apparent in the erection of great and irresponsible rulers of industry, whose power, like that of the feudal barons, burdens the people, and even overshadows the government which gave it existence. The only important distinction is, that in the old days of force, the power of feudalism was measured by thousands of warriors; in the days of modern plutocracy, its power is measured by millions of money.

The law recently passed by Congress, for the regulation of railway traffic between the States, attempts to prohibit the abuses of discrimination and pooling by which these combinations are maintained. Whether a legislative prohibition can effect what the common law has failed to do; or whether these combinations have become so mighty as to be able to nullify national legislation, as well as the natural laws of trade, can only be decided by the experience of the future. But if the enormous character of the monopolies already created, and the still more threatening possibilities indicated by their example, are thoroughly understood, the public mind cannot fail to recognize the vital importance of a legislative declaration against the policy of combination on the thoroughfares of commerce, or to be aroused to the necessity of enforcing the principle that no monopolies are consistent with the spirit of popular institutions.

JAMES F. HUDSON.

SOME WAR LETTERS.

I.

THE following letter from Secretary Chase is the one referred to by me in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of November last:

"WASHINGTON, *October* 13, 1861.

"MY DEAR GENERAL: Your telegram asking an 'assurance that ample supply of money and aid be given,' etc., was received a few moments ago, and my answer, that 'to the extent of means in the Treasury all requisitions for your command will be promptly answered,' is already on its way to you.

"I wish I could have said absolutely that all requisitions for your troops will be immediately responded to. It will not be my fault if they are not. I know the great importance of the work confided to you, and want to render you every aid in my power. To a considerable extent I shall feel warranted in paying preference to requisitions from you.

"But there is a limit to possibilities. The country has responded nobly to my call for means; but after all experience shows that about a million a day is all that we can hope to realize from home resources, and it is vain to look abroad until some decisive success shall have satisfied European capitalists, small as well as great, that the cause of the Union will triumph, and that at no very distant day.

"For the last six weeks requisitions have largely exceeded even the great sum of *a million a day*—so largely that the unpaid requisitions for which no present funds are or can be provided exceed twenty millions.

"While these circumstances impose on me the disagreeable necessity of discrimination, they imperiously require of all commanding generals to observe closely the expenditures in their several departments; to scan the profits of contractors; to insist on durable articles for clothing and transportation, as well as suitable and healthful food, and to guard as far as practicable against waste as well as imposition. Quartermasters and commissaries, as well as contractors, will bear watching.

"It is my belief that had due economy and vigilance been exercised from the first, there would have been now no excess of requisitions beyond means, while the army would have been vastly better armed, clothed, and equipped than now.

"Pardon these suggestions and observations. They are, perhaps, idle so far as you are concerned. But, as even 'Homer sometimes nodded,' you, who have so much ability and so much honorable zeal for the purity, as well as efficiency, of the service, may sometimes relax your vigilance, or be tempted to extravagance. If, from what I have said, an effective caution against both is derived, you will not regret it.

"Believe me, with most earnest desires for your success, and for your distinction. Your friend, S. P. CHASE."

"P. S.—May I add, do not over-estimate your enemy's force so much as to delay greatly your aggressive movements. In my judgment, we have lost much in this way."

II.

Admiral Porter's pointed and graphic description of the capture of Fort Fisher, and the cutting up of his 1,500 sailors, is an illustration of what sailors and marines could do when put to it on land. When the war broke out, our naval tubs could hardly float. Before its close there were armored ships and naval heroes in every harbor of the Southern coast, and when fighting opportunities failed on the water, the sailors were ready to lend a hand on shore.

"NORTH ATLANTIC SQUADRON,
"Flagship 'Malvern,'
"Off FORT FISHER, *January* 17, 1865.

"DEAR GENERAL: I send you some information from General Palmer. I have sent to Newbern letters sent by the Secretary of War to obtain more information, and will send it down to you as fast as it comes. We have taken Fort Fisher and all the outworks. The assault lasted seven hours. I had 1,500 sailors in the assault; they got badly cut up. The enemy had 2,300 men in the works. We assaulted with 5,000, including sailors and marines. The sailors made the first assault on the sea front; the rebels mistook them for regulars, opposed them with their whole force; of course there was great slaughter; the rebels gave three cheers thinking they had whipped our army off, at which moment they received a volley in their backs from our soldiers who were coming over the parapet on the other side. The rebels then brought all the force to bear on them, but our troops had gained a pretty secure footing on the parapet between the traverses, which are tremendous bomb proofs; then the hardest fight took place for seven hours that you ever saw. The old frigate 'Ironsides,' laying close to, would clean out with her guns between the traverses. It began to get dark when we got in re-enforcements and spades. The men went to digging. The enemy tried to get re-enforcements in, and landed them on Federal point, but the fire of the ships was so heavy in that direction that they could not advance. Thus our troops fought from traverse to traverse all through the works, for about one mile, when the rebels all run for the point of land, and, not being able to escape, gave themselves up, amounting to 1,800 or 1,900 men and officers. Gen. Whiting, Col. Lamb, and Gen. Colgate were among the prisoners, and some navy men.

"Last night they blew up Fort Caswell, and all the outworks and batteries on Smith's Island are destroyed. Our gunboats are now in Cape Fear River, and Wilmington is hermetically sealed against blockade runners. I shall make them believe we are going to attack that place, and make them draw all the forces there they can. We haven't force enough here to do any more than that, and now this leaves me plenty of gunboats to communicate with you along the coast. I have made arrangements at Beaufort, N. C., to supply you with ammunition, and can give you plenty of 12 or 24 pdr. howitzer ammunition, or guns if you want them.

"If you will let me know by bearer, or any vessel coming up, what points you will touch at or about, I will be looking out for you. The best plan will be to send provisions in light-draft steamers, 10 feet, and let them rendezvous here in Cape Fear River, where I have a fine harbor.

"Now, good-bye, my dear General. I hope we will soon shake hands in Wilmington. The door through which the enemy was fed is closed on them, and all we have got to do is to watch them starve.

"Yours very truly and sincerely,

"DAVID D. PORTER, *Rear Admiral.*

"MAJ.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Com'dg, etc., Savannah."

III.

Here is a note from Grant just before the battle of Chattanooga. Telegrams from Washington had come urging haste, or Burnside at Knoxville would be lost. Two of Sherman's divisions, spite of hard marching and superhuman effort, were not quite up. The reply from Sherman is characteristic of the man. The move took place at midnight, almost at the minute set in the reply.

"HEADQUARTERS MIL. DIV. OF THE MISSISSIPPI,

"CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., *November* 22, 1863.

"MAJ.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Commanding Army of the Tenn.:

"GENERAL: Owing to the late hour when Ewing will get up, if he gets up at all to-night, and the entire impossibility of Woods reaching in time to participate to-morrow, I have directed Thomas that we will delay yet another day.

"Let me know to-morrow, at as early an hour as you can, if you will be entirely ready for Tuesday morning. I would prefer Woods should be up to cross with the balance of your command, but if he can be up in time to cross as soon as your pontoons are laid, I would prefer you should commence without him to delaying another day.

"Very respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT, *Maj.-Gen.*"

The Reply.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,

"CAMP OPPOSITE CHICKAMAUGA, *November* 23, 1863.

"MAJ.-GEN. U. S. GRANT, Chattanooga:

"DEAR GENERAL: I received your letter at the hands of Capt. Audenried, and immediately made the orders for the delay of 24 hours. I need not express how I felt, that my troops should cause delay, but I know Woods must have some cause else he would not delay. Whitaker's and Crafts's troops fill the road, doubtless, and it must be a ditch full of big rocks. But Ewing is up, and, if possible, Woods or Osterhaus (for I got an orderly in the night announcing that he had overtaken, and would resume command to-day) will be also. But in any event we will move at midnight, and I will try the Missionary Ridge to-morrow morning November 24th, in the manner prescribed in my memorandum order for to-day.

"I will use the 2d division, in place of the 1st, as guide, and Jeff. C. Davis's division will act as reserve, and bring me forward the artillery as soon as the bridge is put down. I will try and get out at least six guns in the first dash for the hills.

"As you ask for positive information, I answer, no cause on earth shall induce me to ask for longer delay, and to-night at midnight we move.

"What delays may occur in the pontoons I cannot foretell. I will get Jeff. C. Davis to make some appearances opposite Harrison, to make believe our troops are moving past Bragg to interpose between him and Longstreet.

"Every military reason now sanctions a general attack. Longstreet is absent, and we expect no more re-enforcements, therefore we should not delay *another hour*, and should put all our strength in the attack. Yours truly,

"W. T. SHERMAN, *Major-Gen.*"

IV.

Here is a letter bearing on the attack at Chickasaw, but Mr. Blair, unlike General Grant, has not seen the ground, and mistakes the real reason for the failure:

"CAMP BEFORE VICKSBURG, *February* 3, 1863.

"MAJ.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN:

"GENERAL:

* * * * * * * * * *

"While I admire your generosity in *assuming* the *responsibility* of the failure at Chickasaw Bayou, I must say that I do not regard it as just to yourself or friends that the blunders committed by inferior officers in the execution of your orders, and which were the direct cause of our repulse, should be laid to your charge or assumed by you.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Yours respectfully,

"FRANK P. BLAIR, *Brig.-Gen. Vols.*"

Here is a note of interest from the point of Grant's first victory:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT WEST TENNESSEE,

"FORT DONELSON, *February* 21, 1862.

"GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Commanding Department of Cairo, Paducah, Ill.:

"GENERAL: I am sending off the sick and wounded as rapidly as possible, and commenced doing so immediately after the battle. Owing, however, to the continuous wet and cold weather we are much retarded in the operation.

"I want to see as few citizens here as possible. They embarrass us very much. Ladies are still worse than men, and particularly if they are the wives of officers. I would esteem it a special favor if you would allow no officers' wives to come up except where the officers are wounded.

"I am at a loss to know what the next move is going to be. Yesterday I was in Clarksville, and expected by to-morrow week to be in Nashville. General Halleck's telegram indicates a different move. We want no more surgeons here.

"I am, General, very respectfully your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *Brig.-Gen.*"

There were few soldiers at Vicksburg in July of 1863 who did not readily see that Sherman's first attack from Chickasaw Bluffs, though positively ordered by Grant, was a loyal effort to do the

impossible. That General Grant thought so too, afterwards, is shown by the following note to the President :

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
"VICKSBURG, Miss., *July* 22, 1863.

"HIS EXCELLENCY A. LINCOLN, President of the United States :

"SIR :

* * * * * * * * * *

"General Sherman's management as commander of troops in the attack on Chickasaw Bluffs last December was admirable. Seeing the ground from the opposite side of the attack, I see the impossibility of making it successful. The conception of the attack on Arkansas Post was General Sherman's. His part of the execution no one denies was as good as it possibly could have been. His demonstration on Haine's Bluffs in April to hold the enemy about Vicksburg, whilst the army was securing a foothold east of the Mississippi, his rapid marches to join the army afterwards, his management at Jackson, Miss., in the first attack, his almost unequaled march from Jackson to Bridgeport and passage of that stream, his securing Walnut Hills on the 18th of May, and thus opening communication with our supplies, all attest his great merit as a soldier.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Your obedient servant,
"U. S. GRANT, *Maj.-Gen., U. S. A.*"

V.

General Grant's confidence that he had Lee as in a vise is shown by his note to Sherman, even before the last avenues of escape were closed :

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
"CITY POINT, Va., *March* 16, 1865.

"MAJ.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Commd'g Mil. Div. of the Miss. :

"GENERAL :

* * * * * * * * * *

"The determination seems to be to hold Richmond as long as possible. I have a force sufficient to leave enough to hold our lines (all that is necessary of them), and move out with a plenty to whip his whole army. But the roads are entirely impassable. Until they improve I shall content myself with watching Lee, and be prepared to pitch into him if he attempts to evacuate the place. I may bring Sheridan over—think I will—and break up the Danville and South Side Railroads. These are the last avenues left to the enemy.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-Gen.*"

VI.

General Grant's interest in the colored troops is evidenced by his choice of a commander at Vicksburg.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 4, 1864.

"MAJ.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Commanding Mil. Div. of the Miss.:

"GENERAL :

* * * * * * * * * *

"I suggested Slocum to command the district of Vicksburg, because there is

such a large proportion of colored troops in that district (more will be constantly organized) and Slocum will take an active *interest* in this work which the President and Secretary of War fear Newton will not. I do not join in this fear, but have not had the opportunity of having General Newton's views on the subject. He is evidently a soldier, and a soldier does not consult his own views of policy when orders from his superiors intervene.

* * * * * * * * * *

"I am, General, very respectfully your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-Gen.*"

VII.

The *real purpose* of Banks's campaign against Texas is shown in this note from General Halleck to General Grant. Whether good, in any sense, came of the politico-military fiasco is more than ever a matter of doubt.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 8, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, Comd'g, etc., etc., Chattanooga, Tenn.:

"GENERAL:

* * * * * * * * * *

"In regard to General Banks's campaign against Texas, it is proper to remark that it was undertaken less for military reasons than as a matter of *state policy*. As a military measure only, it perhaps presented less advantages than a movement on Mobile and the Alabama River, so as to threaten the enemy's interior lines and effect a diversion in favor of our armies at Chattanooga and in East Tennessee. But, however this may have been, it was deemed necessary as a matter of political or state policy, connected with our foreign relations, and especially with France and Mexico, that our troops should occupy and hold at least a portion of Texas. The President so ordered, for reasons satisfactory to himself and his Cabinet, and it was therefore unnecessary for us to inquire whether or not the troops could have been better employed elsewhere.

"I allude to this matter here as it may have an important influence on your projected operations during the present winter.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"H. W. HALLECK, *Gen.-in-Chief.*"

VIII.

The supersedure of General Rosecrans at Chattanooga by Thomas was left *optional* with General Grant, as is shown by the following from Halleck:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 16, 1863.

"MAJ.-GEN. U. S. GRANT, Louisville:

"GENERAL: You will receive herewith the orders of the President of the United States, placing you in command of the Departments of the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee. The organization of these Departments will be changed as you may deem most practicable. You will immediately proceed to Chattanooga

and relieve General Rosecrans. You can communicate with Generals Burnside and Sherman by telegraph. A summary of the orders sent to these officers will be sent to you immediately. It is left *optional* with you to supersede General Rosecrans by Gen. G. H. Thomas or not. Any other changes will be made on your request by telegram.

"One of the first objects requiring your attention is the supply of your armies. Another is the security of the progress in the Georgia mountains to shut out the enemy from Tennessee and Kentucky. You will consult with General Meigs and Colonel Scott in regard to transportation and supplies.

"Should circumstances permit I will visit you personally in a few days for consultation.

"H. W. HALLECK, *Gen.-in-Chief.*"

These war letters will be continued. The next series will embrace letters from Grant, Sherman, Garfield, Thomas, Admiral Porter, Governor Tod, and others.

S. H. M. BYERS.

OUR INEQUALITIES OF SUFFRAGE.

THE magnitude of the subject admits, in this article, only a hasty and dogmatic consideration of many of the points involved, while it demands more extended elucidation of others. There will, therefore, be very little of an argumentative nature attempted.

Few of the millions of voters who exercise their sovereign rights on election days have any knowledge of the fact that the laws under which they cast their ballots differ in any material respect from those governing all voters throughout the United States. But it may almost be said that the laws of no two States are alike. Nor are the differences between them slight. They vary as widely as the features, intonations, and provincialisms of the voters themselves. The wood-chopper of Michigan, who has been in the country but one year, the State three months, and the town or ward ten days, has just as much power in the selection of a President of the United States as the resident of Kentucky who, in order to vote, must be a citizen of the United States and have lived in the State two years, the town, city, or county one year, and the precinct sixty days.

When our forefathers framed the Constitution of the United States, it is doubtful if the most sanguine of them, in his wildest dreams, conceived of such a population as we have to-day, either in point of numbers or diversity of character. That they showed remarkable wisdom every one will admit, but the time has surely come when some of the laws to which they bound us should be carefully looked into. With the light of modern times upon them defects are to be found, which modern ideas alone can rectify.

The tremendous and ever-increasing development of the country has brought to our shores millions upon millions of foreigners, very largely from the lower and poorer classes of Europe, who have been crowded out, as it were, from their unattractive homes

by the hard life and small prospect of advancement there offered. Thus we have an extremely heterogeneous population, which, while it adds to our strength ultimately, by the mixture of blood, unquestionably lowers the average of our moral and mental powers until such a time as the individual ignorance, want of acquaintance with our laws and customs, and absence of American ideas, has been overcome in each particular immigrant. Of course there are a vast number of foreigners and naturalized citizens in the country who rank among our most intelligent men, but they do not represent the mass of our foreign population.

The Constitution provides entirely different methods for the choice of the President and Vice-President, the members of the House of Representatives, and the members of the Senate of the United States. By it the power is almost absolutely given to the several States to determine the necessary qualifications of voters, except that race, color, or previous condition of servitude cannot abridge the right of *citizens* to vote.

Let us glance for a moment at the result. Citizenship of the United States is required by 21 States, while in 17 it is not required. Residence within the State limits for one year is demanded by 25 States ; for six months, by 9 ; for three months, by 2 ; for four months, by 1 ; and for two years, by 1. The requirements as to the time the voter shall have lived in the election district, county, city, town, ward, and precinct are equally varied.

In four of the seventeen States that do not require citizenship a foreigner can vote after having been in the United States six months ; in 11, one year ; in 1, two years ; and in 1, two and one-half years. Thirty-six States require no educational qualification, while two do, and in nine the payment of some sort of a tax is demanded. In five more no paupers are considered worthy of enfranchisement, while in twenty-four no property qualification whatever is considered necessary. These twenty-four are nearly equally divided between those which do and those which do not demand citizenship, there being eleven of the former and thirteen of the latter. Thus it is evident that of the fourteen requiring a property qualification ten do and four do not require citizenship.

As to the matter of the geographical distribution of the various requirements there is no distinction so absolute as to justify the idea of illiberality on the part of any particular section of the country, or unreasonable freedom in any other. Generally speak-

ing, the Eastern and Middle States are more stringent in their requirements than the Southern and Western, but there are too many exceptions to admit of this being laid down as a rule.

Now that we have seen the condition of things as it exists, let us inquire whether or no it is desirable. And, in order to show how it is liable to operate, we will illustrate by hypothetical cases.

Three brothers X, Y, and Z, determine to emigrate to America. X and Y land in New York on October 15th, 1887. Z lands there on April 15th, 1888. X goes at once to Cincinnati, settles there, and declares his intention of becoming an American citizen. In the latter part of October, 1892, his business not being prosperous, he spends a month in traveling through various neighboring States in search of a more desirable location, and, during the last week of November, determines upon Covington, Kentucky, as his future home, and at once establishes himself there with his family within five miles perhaps of where he has lived ever since being in the country. Now, although he has become naturalized at the earliest possible moment, the first time that he will be able to vote for a member of Congress will be in November, 1896. He was unable to be in Ohio at the election of 1892, and in 1894 he had not lived in Kentucky the requisite two years.

Y goes to Minnesota, or any one of sixteen other States, and in the election of 1888 votes, perfectly legally, for the general ticket on which Mr. John Smith is a candidate for Member of Congress, and Smith is elected. Shortly after his election Mr. Smith finds that his health is failing, and, instead of returning to the State from which he was elected, he goes, say to California, makes his home there, and, naturally interested in politics, finds himself in 1890 a candidate for Congressional honors from California. Y has also moved there, and though a resident of the State for the prescribed term of one year, not being an American citizen he is unable to vote for Mr. Smith, though two years before in another State he had voted for him.

Z, the third brother of the family, who arrived in America six months later than X and Y, settles at once in Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, or Colorado, and casts his first ballot in the fall election of the same year. He then moves to any other one of the seventeen States which do not require citizenship as a qualification of voters, and after each election moves again. In this way, by the

time his brother X has voted once, he may have voted for five different Congressmen in as many different States.

This condition of things may not be apt to occur, but it is possible. Nor is this all. Other varying sources of disqualification are liable to be met with, namely, property and educational unfitness, and in one State—alas but one—the moral character of the voter is nominally required to be good. The enactment of such a law by a State Legislature may be considered by many a doubtful compliment to the inhabitants of the State; the State is certainly a doubtful one on election days.

Can any one claim for an instant that such a condition of affairs is just? The doctrine of state-rights is all very well when applied to the purely internal government of a State, and so long as, in its application, it infringes upon no individual rights. But, under the present law, the individual rights of a very large majority of the male population of the United States over twenty-one years of age are materially interfered with. If it is right that in one State the non-citizen resident should vote, it is equally right in every State, and the twenty-one States that require their voters to be citizens do their foreign residents a grievous wrong. On the other hand, if any State may justly require citizenship as a condition for enfranchisement, every State should require it. The seventeen States that allow non-citizens to vote are unjust to their own citizens, for they give them individually a less relative power in the councils of the nation than that possessed by the citizens of the twenty-one States which require citizenship.

In the same manner the inequalities of residence, whether in state, county, or precinct, of education, and of property, in fact of every sort, are fraught with injustice; and simply from the standpoint of equal rights should be done away with. There is, therefore, no equitable solution of the problem except in a common, all-governing law, so regulating the question of franchise that he who may vote in one State may, under similar conditions, vote in any other State. Just what that law should be is a momentous question, involving many points which demand the most careful consideration, the nicest discrimination between right and wrong, between measures politic and impolitic for the furtherance of the national honor and strength; and in considering them the lines of political parties should be utterly abolished; and woe to the party, whether Democratic or Republican, Labor or Tem-

perance, which, for its own political furtherance, refuses to weigh the matter candidly and act honestly regarding it, with the best good of the entire nation as the crowning result to be aimed at.

The extremes are seen in, 1st, non-citizenship and short residence, with no education or property whatever ; and, 2d, citizenship and longer residence, together with education and property. Between these two lie numerous conditions and combinations of conditions. Is it wise to accept either extreme, and if so, which ? Let us consider them for a moment in their entirety, and see if either is likely to operate with justice to the greatest possible number of inhabitants ; and, 2d, to serve in the best manner for the national good.

In discussing the desirability of a common law giving the right of franchise to alien residents, and reducing the requirements to a minimum, the first point to arise is, would it be just to the greatest possible number ?

All residents may be divided into two classes,—citizens, native-born and naturalized, and aliens. Of these native-born citizens are in the large majority, which is greatly increased by the addition of those naturalized. Now, unquestionably, the average ability of American citizens is greater than that of alien residents, and therefore greater than of all residents, citizen and alien ; and accordingly the restriction of the franchise to citizens could work no injury to aliens, whereas the enfranchisement of aliens can do no possible good to any one outside of the aliens themselves, who constitute a very small minority of the general public, and is liable to work untold injury to the large majority—the citizens of the Republic. Then, too, as to an educational qualification. The public school system of the United States places the knowledge, at least, of how to read and write, within the power of every American. Without this knowledge it is impossible for any person in a republic like ours to arrive at even a reasonable degree of information regarding the great questions of the day ; and without some individual knowledge of what he is voting for, some tangible reason why he votes for or against any question or candidate, the voter is no better than one of a flock of sheep, and is led blindly by his party boss or master, a submissive tool in the hands of others, generally unscrupulous men, who care for him only so long as he can give them his vote. Now, why should the small minority, who, being utterly ignorant, cannot

rationally inform themselves of the points at issue, be allowed to swell the power of one individual or party at the expense of others? Such an arrangement, on the very face of it, is unjust to the party or person against whom the ignorant vote.

The *justice* of the proposition that an educational qualification should be demanded of voters being incontrovertibly established, it is readily demonstrable that the best interests of the country demand it. A foreigner coming to our shores may have his own ideas of what he individually likes, but he cannot have as sound ideas of what is best for Americans generally as the man who was either born or brought up here, or has lived here long enough to become naturalized. Driven out of Europe, perhaps, by what he considers oppression, whether an anarchist, socialist, or nihilist, or simply a man dissatisfied with monarchical government, he is utterly unacquainted with true Republican methods and the needs of a government such as ours, until he has been here at least long enough to become a citizen. Consequently, his vote is more likely to be harmful than beneficial to the general public. The same is true of the totally uneducated.

The question of a property qualification is not so easily handled. Undoubtedly the householder, or the man who has landed property, is, generally speaking, a better citizen and more desirous of a pure, efficient, and economical management of affairs, a curtailment of taxes, than the one whose purse strings are not directly affected thereby. There is no way of appealing to a man's judgment so effectually as through his pocket. And yet there are a very large number of good American citizens, particularly among what are generally called "the laboring classes," who possess no real property and are unable to become possessors of any. It would not be a hardship, however, to require that all voters should pay a poll tax, and it might be wise to demand an additional property qualification, but it would lead to so much opposition at present, and is of so uncertain desirability, that it is not wise to advocate it at the outset of an effort for the reform of the laws of suffrage.

The subject of registration demands our next consideration, and is of the utmost importance. Fortunately, the large majority of the States demand it. In seven States, however, it is not required. It is the strongest safeguard we have against fraud, and should without hesitation be rigidly enforced in all.

On the contrary, to residence within the State limits too much importance has been given. In these days of widespread and general railway travel, and diverse and extended business interests, the business man who lives to-day in California may next month have his home in New York, and the laborer now employed in New England may, before he knows it, be building a railroad in Arkansas or Nebraska. If these men are citizens of the United States, there is no reason why they should not change their legal residence as often as they change their habitat.

The only advantages of requiring a definite term of residence in any particular locality is the acquaintance with the local interests to be secured by the representatives of that locality in Congress and the Senate; and more particularly the ability of the officers of elections to preserve the purity of the ballot. For this purpose a prolonged residence within the limits of the State is not so important as a reasonably long residence in the voting precinct. Six, or even three, months in the State should be sufficient, but sixty days, or at the least six weeks, in the voting precinct should be required.

The proposition that criminals and paupers should be excluded, as they generally are, as unworthy of enfranchisement, needs no argument. It is self-evident, and will readily be conceded by all fair-minded persons.

Having thus seen the inequalities of suffrage, the need of removing them, and the desirable points to be retained, it remains to be discovered how it is best to establish an efficacious system.

It would unquestionably be well to have throughout the Union a common law, applicable to both State and National elections, were it not for the great inroad such a law would make upon the individual rights of States. An attempt to accomplish anything of the sort would raise such an opposition as to defeat the end in view, and it is a matter of grave doubt whether it would be wise to interfere so far with local State government.

Admitting the desirability then of uniformity in the qualifications of voters at National elections, and confining ourselves to National elections, two points become apparent: 1st. On days when elections take place for Presidential and Vice-Presidential electors, members of the U. S. Senate, and Representatives in Congress, or when balloting occurs regarding the adoption of Constitutional amendments, no other elections for local or State officers

should be allowed, for it would be impossible to distinguish between those qualified to vote under a United States law, and those who, by their State law, were competent electors of State and local officers. 2d. United States Senators should be chosen by the direct vote of the people. Otherwise, if elected, as at present, by the State Legislatures, they would, in point of fact, be the choice of men who in their different States received the vote of electors differently qualified. They would, therefore, hold office under unequal terms of enfranchisement.

In order to change the manner of election of United States Senators from a legislative to a popular vote, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States is necessary; for Section IV. of the 1st Article of the Constitution specifically states that "Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations" regarding Congressional and Senatorial elections, "except as to the places of choosing Senators."

Congress, moreover, has no power, under the Constitution, to say *how* the Electors for President and Vice-President shall be chosen. It can only state the date of election. A constitutional amendment is therefore needed to accomplish this end.

Since it is necessary, therefore, to amend the Constitution in order to remedy so much of the defect in our present system of voting, it is best, in doing so, to recast the entire system, and embody in a series of amendments, that will cover the ground completely, such laws as will serve to distinctly define the position of the United States that, in regard to national affairs, only *duly qualified* citizens shall vote, embodying therein the qualifications. A series of amendments will serve the purpose better than one amendment covering the entire ground, because those States which might be willing to accept a part might oppose another part, and, different parts being opposed by different States, the adoption of the measure, if voted upon as a whole, might fail, while, if voted upon as different articles, the adoption of all, or at least a portion, of the amendments might be secured.

J. Chester Lyman.

P. S.—The subjoined table shows the different suffrage requirements in the different States.

Name of State.	Citizenship.	Time required in			Registrat'n.	Educational and property qualifications.
		State.	County.	Division of county.[6]		
Alabama	No.	1 yr.	3 mo.	w. or p., 30 days.	Yes.	No.
Arkansas	No.	1 yr.	6 mo.	w. or p., 30 days.	Yes.	No.
California	Yes.	1 yr.	90 d.	p., 30 days.	Yes.	No.
Colorado	No.	6 mo.	....	.....	Yes.	No.
Connecticut	Yes.	1 yr.	....	t., 6 mos.	Yes.	Read state laws. Good moral character. Freehold yielding $7 annually, or pay state tax, or have done military duty.
Delaware	Yes.	1 yr.	1 mo.	.....	No.	No paupers, pay county tax.
Florida	No.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	Yes.	No.
Georgia	No.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	Yes.	Must have paid their taxes.
Illinois	Yes.	1 yr.	90 d.	e. d., 30 days.	Yes.	No.
Indiana	No.[2]	6 mo.	....	w. or p., 30 days.	No.	No.
Iowa	No.[3]	6 mo.	60 d.	t. or w., 10 days.	Yes.	No.
Kansas	No.	6 mo.	....	t. or w., 30 days.	Yes.	No.
Kentucky	Yes.	2 yrs.	Co., t. or c., 1 yr.; p. 60 d.		No.	No.
Louisiana	No.	1 yr.	....	pr., 10 days.	Yes.	No.
Maryland	Yes.	1 yr.	Co. or c., 6 months.		Yes.	No.
Maine	Yes.	3 mo.	....	.....	Yes.	No paupers or Indians.
Massachusetts	Yes.	1 yr.	C. d., t. or c., 6 months.		Yes.	Read and write, no paupers, have paid state or county tax.
Michigan	No.[4]	3 mo.	....	t. or w., 10 days.	No.	No.
Minnesota	No.[2]	4 mo.	....	e. d., 10 days.	Yes.	No.
Mississippi	Yes.	6 mo.	1 mo.	.....	Yes.	No.
Missouri	No.	1 yr.	Co., c. or t., 60 days.		Yes.	No.
Nebraska	No.	6 mo.	40 d.	w. or p., 10 days.	Yes.	No.
Nevada	Yes.	6 mo.	Co. or d., 30 days.		Yes.	No.
New Hampshire	Yes.	....	....	t., 6 months.	Yes.	Must be tax-pay'r
New Jersey	Yes.	1 yr.	5 mo.	.....	Yes.	No.
New York	Yes.	1 yr.	4 mo.	d., t. or w., 30 days.	Yes.	No.
North Carolina	No.	1 yr.	30 d.	.....	Yes.	Must own 50 acres of land or have paid taxes
Ohio	Yes.	1 yr.	30 d.	t., v. or w., 20 days.	Yes.	No.
Oregon	No.	6 mo.	Co. or d., 90 days.		Yes.	No.
Pennsylvania	Yes.[5]	1 yr.	e. d., 2 months.		Yes.	Must have paid state or co. tax within 2 years.
Rhode Island	Yes.	1 yr.	t. or c., 6 months.		Yes.	Must own property in his town and pay taxes on it.
South Carolina	Yes.	1 yr.	60 d.	.....	Yes.	No.
Texas	No.	1 yr.	Co. or e. d., 6 months.		No.	No paupers.
Tennessee	Yes.	1 yr.	6 mo.	.....	No.	Must pay poll tax.
Vermont	Yes.	1 yr.	....	t., 3 months.	No.	No.
Virginia	Yes.	1 yr.	Co., c. or t., 6 months.		Yes.	No paupers.
West Virginia	Yes.	1 yr.	30 d.	.....	Yes.	No.
Wisconsin	No.	1 yr.	....	.....	Yes.	No paupers.

Notes.—[1] Compiled from Hill's Manual 1882. [2] Foreigners must be resident 1 year in United States. [3] Foreigners must be resident 2 years in the State. [4] Foreigners must be resident 2½ years in the State. [5] Former citizens returned from abroad vote after 6 months in State. [6] Co., county c., city; d., district; e. d., election district; c. d., congressional district; t., town or township; v., village; pr., parish; w., ward; p., precinct.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN NEW YORK.

THIS note was kindly furnished to me by Colonel Bliss in answer to a query as to his view of the proposed Constitutional Convention in the State of New YORK.—EDITOR.

I was out of the country during the canvass this autumn, but had I been here I should have opposed the calling of a convention. In my opinion, our Constitution needs very little of amendment, and the product of a convention elected just now is more likely to be evil by destroying things that are good in the present Constitution than good by reason of any beneficial changes that may be introduced. Still, I do not worry now that this convention is called, for I have not the remotest idea that its work will be accepted by the people. The truth is that while in theory the correct way to amend the Constitution is to submit the whole instrument to revision, and so make a congruous whole, yet, in fact, the practical way is by special amendments of particular sections. If you overhaul the whole constitution, and then submit it for approval as a whole to the people, you concentrate in opposition to it the separate interests or persons who are against specific sections or articles, and they together are pretty sure to be powerful enough to defeat the new instrument. It is really no slight objection, and one that will influence many, that when after forty years of judicial decision we have at last come to know precisely what our present constitution means, a revision would throw doubt even upon those provisions which are not directly amended.

Our Constitution has sixteen articles embracing 155 sections. I do not think there are a third of the articles into which the slightest amendment should be introduced.

It would probably be wise to put it in the power of the Legislature to provide for giving the minority some influence in elections, whether by cumulative voting, minority representatives, or in some other manner: not to enact these in the Constitution, but to give the Legislature power to try them. In that connection, care should be taken to provide in the Constitution itself for protecting the rights of the minority in the formation of Senate and Assembly districts. As it is now, the eighty or ninety thousand Republicans in New York city could be left entirely without representation in the legislature by the simple expedient, in making Senate and Assembly districts, of cutting the city up into slices, East and West, directly across the island. Only divisions in the Democracy, and personal influence with Mr. Kelly and other leaders of the party, have prevented this from being done hitherto.

I think the relief of the Court of Appeals is one of the most important things to be considered by the convention. There are on the calendar made up at the end of last May 935 cases. Of these there have been disposed of less than 150. The court cannot properly deal with more than 400 calendar cases in a year, if so many. This is in addition to criminal cases, which come up with a controlling

preference, and are not on the present calendar, and motions, which take about two days in a month. Cases at the foot of the calendar, therefore, wait more than two years. This is a gross injustice, and is a direct encouragement to unwarranted appeals. I know cases on the present calendar where it is so certain that the decision below cannot be changed by an appeal, that I am confident, when they are reached, two or more years hence, the decision below will be affirmed by default. Moreover, there must be already 200 more cases which would be in the Court of Appeals if a new calendar was made up now.

The convention won't do it, but it would be an eminently wise thing to sell the State salt-lands at Syracuse. They are very valuable, but produce substantially no income to the State, and are a source of patronage, if not of jobbery. Formerly there was, perhaps, a reason for keeping them in the hands of the State to prevent a monopoly, but now that salt-springs have been opened in Michigan and elsewhere in the West, there is no force in the cry of monopoly. If there was, the system under which the salt works at Syracuse are conducted gives a practical monopoly to a few manufacturers.

I have no faith that, by any amendment of the Constitution, any way would be opened to an improvement in our municipal government, beyond that which may be obtained through an enlargement of the rights and powers of the minority. The Legislature has now, I think, the power to do all that is valuable which can be practically done in that direction by Constitution or legislation, except, perhaps, the prevention of the passage of laws intended to meet special cases under the guise of general acts. It does not seem to me that the scheme of requiring a uniform charter for all cities can be successful.

So far as New York city is concerned, I think it would be a good thing to make it possible to place in the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund the powers now possessed by the Aldermen with reference to grants for street railways. When the general railroad act of 1884 was before Governor Cleveland for his approval, I called his attention to the clause giving the power to the Aldermen, and urged him then to insist upon having the bill recalled by the Legislature for the purpose of an amendment which should superimpose upon the consent of the Aldermen the approval of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund as to the terms of the grant. This was all that I thought could be done under the present Constitution without an entire change in the distribution of powers in the city government. I predicted to Governor Cleveland that the result of the bill as it stood would be to make an auction room of the Aldermanic Chamber. My suggestion met the Governor's approval, and he intended to act upon it, but he thought he found that if the bill was returned to the Legislature it would not again pass, and he preferred to sign it, though he saw the objection to the clause, because he thought a general street railroad law an absolute necessity. The consent of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund is now required to the leasing of any land to or by the city, and there would be consistency in letting them fix the term of any grant to occupy the streets with railroad tracks. If the subject of street railroads is touched in the Convention, I think provision should be made by which only a single track can be placed in our ordinary cross streets, so that cars may run on one street going one way and on a parallel one going the other. This would go far to minimize objections to tracks in streets.

GEORGE BLISS.

II.

A REJOINDER TO GENERAL BEAUREGARD, BY ADMIRAL TAYLOR.

IN the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for October, 1886, Gen. G. T. Beauregard has replied at length to my statement in the July number of the same year

His attempt to throw discredit upon that statement demands some remarks from me, which, in order to meet all his points, I am compelled to make more extended than I would wish.

The matter in question is his article in the May number of the REVIEW, of 1886, which is based upon his proclamation of the 31st January, 1863, declaring the blockade of Charleston "to be raised by a superior force of the Confederate States," and what appears as an *addendum* to the proclamation, called "results of the engagement." (Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1863, pages 178–179.)

General Beauregard maintains the correctness of his assertion, and says, "I never even intimated that because the Federal blockading fleet was dispersed, north and south, on the 31st January, 1863, by the Confederate rams 'Palmetto State' and 'Chicora,' the Charleston blockade was permanently broken, and remained so to the end. I said that 'for the time being' it was raised." This is true as regards his statement of May, 1886; but compare this declaration with the proclamation itself, which is the only document that has come to my knowledge which was, to use General Beauregard's own words, "certified to by Commodore Ingraham, by the foreign consuls then in Charleston, and by myself."

"At about the hour of five o'clock this morning, the Confederate States naval forces on this station attacked the United States blockading fleet off the harbor of the city of Charleston, and sunk, dispersed, and drove off out of sight for the time, the entire hostile fleet. Therefore we, the undersigned, commanders respectively of the Confederate States naval and land forces in this quarter, hereby formally declare the blockade by the United States of the said city of Charleston to be raised by a superior force of the Confederate States, from and after this 31st day of January, A. D. 1863."

If this declaration was not intended to convey the idea that the blockade was *permanently* raised, there is no value in language. The ships, he says, were driven off "for the time." But he makes no reservation as to the permanence of the blockade, but declares it to be raised from and after the date mentioned. He appears to have forgotten what all authorities on international law affirm, that a blockade once broken by a superior force cannot be re-established except by due notification to foreign countries, and after an established interval of time. The blockade of Charleston continued uninterrupted, without notification of any kind, and was always respected by foreign powers.

A few days after the attack of the rams, an English frigate (28 gun ship) appeared off the harbor, and was permitted to cross the bar. She anchored just outside of Fort Sumter, and remained there some days. Her captain had every opportunity of communicating with the city, and of meeting his consul, and of ascertaining all the facts relating to the sortie. I met this officer in company with the commander of H. B. M. ship "Petrel," on board the U. S. S. "Powhatan," during his stay. He showed me a copy of the Charleston *Courier*, mentioned in my article of July last in the REVIEW, which I asked him to give me, as it contained the account of the doings of the "Chicora" on the 31st of January. He regretted that he could not do so, as he wished to take it to Washington for the information of the British Minister there. As no action was taken by that functionary, it seems evident that in his opinion General Beauregard's proclamation was unfounded.

I now re-affirm every assertion, and reiterate every denial made in my report of the engagement, dated 31st January, 1863, and in the certificate of the "Officers commanding various vessels of the blockading squadron off Charleston," dated 10th February, 1863, as well as every declaration contained in my article in the July number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

General Beauregard's remarks as to "contradictory statements and denials," though intended for "General Sherman, Rear Admiral Taylor, and others," apply equally to General Beauregard himself.

Col. A. A. Lechler, who is referred to somewhat sarcastically as "the Colonel of a Pennsylvania Militia Regiment," and whose "officious zeal" induced him to address a letter to Admiral Du Pont, nowhere "indirectly admits," as General Beauregard says he does, "that he was never near the scene of action, and was merely passing on a transport, at some distance off Charleston harbor, when he encountered the Federal fleet, evidently after its dispersion." On the contrary, he expressly declares that he found the blockading squadron, on his arrival off the harbor, lying there, some of the vessels at anchor. The distance from the land was estimated to be from four to five miles. The morning was somewhat hazy, but the land could be plainly seen on each side of the harbor, and by the aid of a glass a fort, said to have been Sumter, was visible. He was right in the midst of the fleet. And he concludes by saying, "Being thus near the site of the engagement, and so soon after it came off (he arrived there about half past eight), we do not hesitate in the least to pronounce the statement that the blockade was raised, not only absurd, but utterly and willfully false." (For this letter see the Secretary's Report for 1863, pages 179–180.)

The position in which the blockading vessels were found by Colonel Lechler was almost identical with that in which we were left by the "Chicora" when she retreated across the bar. It was the same point to which the "Housatonic" ran, after slipping her cable, to engage the "Chicora."

It is impossible to conjecture what vessels were pursued "six or seven miles seaward" by Commander Tucker. The "Mercedita" had surrendered and the "Keystone State" was disabled. The only other vessels at that point were the "Quaker City" and "Memphis." Those two, therefore, were all that *could have been* chased off. Yet both of these vessels were quite near the "Housatonic" when the firing between that vessel and the "Chicora" was going on, and the latter was crossing the bar. The two schooners and the brig that Commander Tucker engaged are not to be accounted for. No such vessels were present. The "bark-rigged propeller" must have been the "Housatonic," which did engage the "Chicora," though the latter was retreating to the bar, and was far in shore of the "Housatonic" when she came up and commenced firing. The former made no attempt to come to close action.

After the "Chicora" had got out of range, there remained near the bar the "Housatonic," "Quaker City," and the "Augusta," all of which took part in the engagement. The "Flag," "Ottawa," and "Stettin" were at their usual stations. The "Unadilla" was on her way down from her station inside of Rattlesnake Shoal. The "Memphis" had the "Keystone State" in tow for Port Royal. The extract from the log-book of the "Housatonic" will show how all the vessels except the two last named were employed during the day. (Secretary's Report for 1863, pages 172–174.)

When the intelligence of this affair reached Admiral Du Pont, he sent the two oldest officers under his command, viz., Captains Thos. Turner and S. W. Godon, to investigate the whole matter. The report of the former is worthy of attention, and it may be found on page 176 of the Secretary's report for 1863. It was at this time that the indignant protest of the "Officers commanding various vessels of the blockading squadron" was drawn up. He says: "It is with unaffected pain that I am called upon to forward a document reflecting so severely, but justly, upon functionaries holding the high position of consuls, and one of them, if this statement has been made by his authority, the commander of a vessel of war

of her Britannic Majesty. Nor can I account for it in any other way than being a premeditated act on their part, with foregone conclusions, to draw up a report that would prejudice our cause in the eyes of the world, or that these events were seen by them with the distorted optics of prejudiced or partisan witnesses." These remarks, taken in connection with those of General Beauregard on page 415 of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for October, appear significant. The latter says: "It was clearly my duty, under the circumstances, to take advantage of an opportunity which might have so materially benefited the Confederate cause in the eyes of foreign powers."

The two Confederate rams, according to General Beauregard, were hampered with several obstacles to success: "First, the weakness of their machinery; second, their very heavy and objectionable draught; and third, the fact that neither could be looked upon as altogether seaworthy." If this were the case, their commanders could not have anticipated any brilliant result. An inference might fairly be drawn that the sortie was intended merely as a demonstration, to give a coloring to an anticipated proclamation.

General Beauregard is in error when he says that I transformed Commander Le Roy's action in re-hoisting his colors and resuming fire on the enemy into "a praiseworthy effort on the part of the officer commanding the 'Keystone State,' and, singularly enough, throws the whole odium of the breach of faith on Commander Tucker." If he will again examine my words, he will find that I made no statement, nor uttered any opinion whatever. I simply gave Commander Le Roy's version of the affair. But I now unhesitatingly declare my belief that he was perfectly right in what he did. It is impossible that he could have committed any "faithless act" to place him "beyond the pale of civilized or honorable warfare." Chivalrous to the highest degree, Commander (now Rear Admiral) Le Roy needs no indorsement, no defense of any kind. His bare statement is a sufficient guarantee for accuracy, to all who know him.

As regards what Capt. W. H. Parker says of General Beauregard's proclamation, it was cited by me merely as his "opinion," and not as "an historical fact." Captain Parker was doubtless considered an officer of intelligence, professional ability, and devotion to the Confederate cause, or he would not have held the position he did on the day in question. His "opinion" is therefore entitled to much weight, particularly as his sympathies, it may be assumed, would have inclined him to approve, if he could have done so. He must "have seen what others failed to see," notably General Beauregard and his foreign sympathizers; for he declares that "as we entered the harbor, the Federal vessels closed in and resumed the blockade." The blockaders were all at their posts, and I presume they might have been seen by any eyes desirous, or even willing, to see them. The Charleston paper quoted in the report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1863, on page 178, says that on the 31st January, "late in the evening, four blockaders reappeared, keeping far out." Thus we have two statements that the blockading vessels were in sight from Charleston harbor on the afternoon of the 31st January, though General Beauregard declares in his statement that "not a Federal sail was visible, even with spy-glasses, for over twenty-four hours."

General Beauregard's concluding remark, that the "Federal blockading fleet was rendered so uneasy and inefficient by the results of the attack made upon it, on the 31st January, 1863, that for days and weeks afterward it was a matter of no difficulty for blockade-runners to enter or leave the port with almost entire freedom," is simply amusing. They must have received a terrible fright if they could have remained so demoralized for days and weeks. On page 416 of the REVIEW for October, he admits that the "officers in command of the ships com-

posing the blockade of Charleston were unquestionably gallant officers." If what he calls the "results of the attack" were true, they would appear in a totally different character. The simple fact is that the blockade runners, skillfully commanded, of great speed, very low in the water, painted of a dull grey color, and having choice of time, weather, and tide, had a great advantage over the blockading vessels. A very large proportion, it is frankly admitted, "succeeded in eluding the closest blockade of a coast ever maintained," as Admiral Porter defines it on page 685 of his "Naval History of the Civil War." And on page 18, he gives us the astonishing results of our vigilance.

In quoting General Beauregard's article in the REVIEW for May, 1886, in my reply of July, the word "entire" was substituted, by mistake of the printer, for "outer." We never claimed to have possession of the "entire harbor" at any time prior to Admiral Du Pont's attack in April, 1863.

To show how General Beauregard's proclamation was valued in Great Britain, where more sympathy was felt for the Confederates than for the United States, I feel that I may be excused from quoting from the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1866, page 216, notwithstanding the personal allusion to myself.

"Admiral Du Pont transferred his flag to the 'Ironsides,' which had been lately sent to aid him in the attack. She arrived just in time to complete the efficiency of the blockade, which had been for a few hours put in jeopardy by two small Confederate rams, the 'Chicora' and 'Palmetto State,' which issued from the harbor before daybreak on the 31st of January, designing to surprise the Federal squadron. The 'Mercedita,' the first vessel run into by them, was totally disabled, and surrendered. But meanwhile the alarm spread rapidly, and the project failed. After engaging and inflicting considerable damage on the 'Keystone State,' the next of the gunboats, the assailants yielded to the resolute advance of Captain Taylor (the senior Federal officer), in his steamship, the 'Housatonic,' supported by the 'Quaker City,' 'Memphis,' and 'Augusta,' and returned to the protection of the forts, claiming a success for what was, in fact, a failure, caused by their small tonnage and slow speed."

In conclusion, I assert most emphatically that the blockade of Charleston was never raised, for one moment, by the "Palmetto State" and "Chicora," General Beauregard's proclamation and subsequent declarations to the contrary, notwithstanding.

WM. ROGERS TAYLOR.

III.

WORKING WOMEN.

THERE are in the United States 2,647,157 women who earn their own living. Of this number 2,242,252 are classed in the following occupations: laborers, mainly agricultural, mill operatives, seamstresses, domestic servants, and teachers—with the exception of the last the most menial and worst paid of employments. In any of these industries it would be a low estimate to say that the supply of workwomen is ten times greater than the demand. This statement will be amply corroborated by the experience of any establishment which employs women in large numbers, or by the personal experience of any one who seeks the services of a workwoman in any of these capacities.

Thus we find a social condition, which, while obliging nearly 3,000,000 women to depend upon their own exertions for a livelihood, offers them a field of labor so circumscribed as to afford employment for not more than one-tenth of the number. Enormous overcrowding, fierce competition, and a consequent undue pressure upon wages must necessarily follow such a state of things.

The five industries mentioned contain the following number of women: laborers, 600,080 ; mill operatives, 152,163 ; domestic servants, 938,910; seamstresses, 334,026 ; teachers, 154,375. Those classed as laborers are chiefly found in the Southern States, and include, of course, a large number of negro women, although the sight of white women working in the fields is a familiar one to the traveler, especially in the States of Tennessee and Kentucky. Thousands of women are also employed as porters and laborers in stores and warehouses in the large cities of the North.

The number of women given as mill operatives includes only those engaged in textile manufactures, but the number engaged in other manufactories would greatly swell these figures. Twenty years ago, there were not 300 women employed in cigar manufacture ; to-day there are 19,884 in the tobacco industries, and the number is rapidly increasing. The trade of cigar-making is injurious to men, but fearful in its effects upon the health of women and children.

Twenty-one thousand and seven women are employed as boot and shoe makers. In this industry they do the binding, sewing-on of buttons, etc., which is paid by the piece and very poorly. In all these manufacturing pursuits women are restricted to the meaner sort of work, and rarely rise to positions of trust, skill, or management. The chief requirement of their work is a certain manual dexteri y, which is as easily acquired by a child as a woman, consequently the wages and qualifications of the woman are kept at the level of those of a child. Under this system, factory women must remain in the lowest grade of employment ; the experience and trustworthiness of maturer years are of no use in bettering their condition. It is, therefore, not strange that we find so many factory women wanting in that intelligence, energy, and spirit which accompany a sense of responsibility and trust.

Nothing is more effectual in producing abjectness of character and deadening the moral and intellectual nature than a mean, servile condition which holds out no hope of change or improvement, and in which the compensation is insufficient to afford the means of a comfortable living.

We may well argue a prevailing state of public ignorance regarding the evils of working women's condition, when one of the daily papers of this city uses, as an argument in favor of their present position in industry, the fact that 45 per cent. of the employés in numerous manufacturing enterprises are women. The beasts of burden, or the steam which furnishes the motive power, are as much a factor in the exercise of any intelligent, thinking purpose as the women employed in these industries. And although the number of women in these pursuits should be doubled, filling the places in them they now do, the evil would only be increased and intensified.

Trade-unions have become a recognized power in determining, in great measure, the hours and wages of workingmen. By means of thorough organization they now form a large and powerful class, whose claims are met with respectful consideration by employers. But this protest of labor against oppression of all sorts is practically unavailable to women. As an eminent English writer says: "The stripes of workingmen are feared; those of workingwomen laughed at." This fact is recognized by the employer, who well knows that he can buy his labor cheaper from unorganized than from organized labor.

Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Com. of Labor, makes the following strong statement on the condition of women in the cotton mills : "What are these women but the very weakest and most dependent of all the people ? They have no disposition to agitate. All that is possible to them is to toil, scrimp, and bear. Now for men, the strong, those who bear rule, the sovereigns of the land, the *hours of labor*

are but ten all over the country in about every employment where they preponderate. But where the women and children preponderate the hours of labor, as a rule, are *eleven or more.* And the question is, why is it, in this land, which aims at equality and justice, that the weakest, the most helpless and dependent, are loaded with the more hours, while the strong, the able-to-bear, and the controlling ones have the less hours to work ?"

Many noble societies, even in this city, have been founded for the amelioration of the condition of factory operatives, but these do not reach the cause of the evil. It is justice, not charity, these women want from society. The even-handed goddess is the only reformer that can reach the root of these and many other social wrongs. The woman who effects the promotion of one capable factory woman to a position of trust and management, has done more to elevate and give encouragement to the whole class than would she, who should organize a score of dilettante charities for their benefit.

The trades dependent upon the needle form a history of human misery unequaled by the industrial condition of any working class the world has ever seen. Is not Hood's Song of the Shirt so pitiful in that it is so true ? Here, too, women suffer from the same want of organization, the same eager competition born of overcrowding, the same low wages that mark the other leading occupations. It is true that the best of skilled labor commands good wages, and the fashionable dressmakers often acquire a competency, but these are but a handful compared to the vast army of needle-women who work for a mere pittance. The influences which tend to depress woman's industrial condition bear the most fearful significance in the lower grades of its workers,—the sewing woman who makes a heavy pair of working pantaloons for *seven cents*, and by working continuously at the machine can make ten pairs in a day of from 12 to 15 hours. Provided no time is lost, their average weekly wages are $3.80, but to reach even this sum they are obliged to work *seven* full days, only occasionally taking Sunday afternoon for a holiday. The condition of the shirt makers is still worse ; they receive but 6 to 8 cents apiece, and can earn only from 30 to 50 cents a day. Vests are made for 3 to 6 cents apiece. Miserable attics and cellars form the only homes of these women, and their tenure even of these is precarious, depending upon the uncertain fortunes of an employment in which, owing to the enormous overcrowding, the most frivolous reason serves as a pretext for a dismissal. Such a woman's food is insufficient and unwholesome, her clothing of the meanest description, and if she have a best dress for Sundays or holidays it is often in the pawn shop to meet the exorbitant rent she is obliged to pay for even her wretched tenement. A cloak maker, who, with a friend, occupies two rooms on the top floor of a large tenement house on the East Side, states that they never have a warm meal or meat except for their Sunday dinner. The remainder of the week they subsist on bread and tea or milk. She also added that they were better off than many other sewing women. And yet it is work demanding experience, skill, and taste in its higher departments, and requiring neatness, deftness of hand, and care in all. Its products are among those most in demand ; the garments of the women and children of the wealthy classes are marvels of beauty and workmanship, while the changing dictates of fashion require the constant services of the sewing women. The question naturally arises, Why then are the wages of seamstresses so shamefully low and the struggle for existence so tragic for them ? It must be obvious to the most superficial observer that, even with the present excess of supply over demand in this branch of work, thorough organization could effect much in raising the wages of needlewomen. But here the greed of monopoly is limited by no restrictions or resistance. The poor sewing woman, isolated in the midst of a great city, falls an

easy prey to this gigantic evil of modern society. The multiplication of stores of ready-made clothing means an increase of the system which allows the manufacturer to grind down the wages of "slop work" to the pittance which merely enables the sewing women to exist,—to live in any sense that implies a rational existence she does not. To these women even the lowest wages of the workman would mean riches and abundance. And yet it is the man who complains the most loudly and effectually. Michelet says that the workman needs so many more things than the workwoman that one could say of them what is said of the English and Irish laborers, "The Irishman when he is hungry asks only for potatoes; but the hungry Englishman demands meat, sugar, tea, and above all beer."

The position of domestic servant possesses many advantages over the condition of a factory or sewing woman, both by the increased comfort and cleanliness of its surroundings and its better compensation. But in no other employment do we hear more bitter complaints of inefficiency. This is almost wholly due to the fact that, in the city, domestic servants are mostly drawn from the tenement-house districts or the newly landed immigrants from Castle Garden, who, without previous training, are expected to perform skillfully the complicated duties of a modern household. With the best intentioned, proficiency is only gained by many failures and long experience, while the more thriftless and careless go to swell the ranks of inefficient servants who, being always in search of a place, serve to keep wages at the lowest rates. But if girls were trained for domestic servants as boys are trained to become carpenters and masons, the work would speedily command the consideration and wages that other skilled labor does in the market.

Upon women possessing wealth, leisure, and influence, must the evils of the present state of domestic service chiefly rest, since they have it in their power, not only to provide themselves with skilled servants by organizing and encouraging schools of cookery and other branches of domestic economy, but of becoming benefactors to thousands of their own sex by raising domestic service to the rank of a skilled employment.

And yet to enter domestic service is one of the most common remedies proposed for bettering the condition of working women. Do the advocates of domestic service ever stop to consider that it is one of the employments open to women which is already crowded to its utmost capacity, and that to precipitate any more untrained women into a field of labor which does not afford any adequate means of training for those already there would be a most disastrous remedy for the evils which now prevail? Nearly a million women are filling the position of domestic servants, and yet the intelligence offices are crowded and every advertisement brings scores of applicants. It is better servants that are needed, not greater numbers. Another evil in the working woman's condition arises from the fact that however hard she may work she cannot, at the present rate of wages in the occupations fully open to her, hope to save money. It is with the greatest difficulty she can provide for the immediate wants of the present; thus all openings which require the smallest amount of capital are closed to her. A man, starting at the lowest round of the industrial ladder, can, by habits of steady industry, thrift, and economy, rise to the highest position in his trade or profession, can look forward to the pleasures of a comfortable home, of educating his children, and enjoying a competency in his old age. But for the working woman there exists no such plans or hopes. The hopelessness of her condition is one of its saddest features.

IDA M. VAN ETTEN.

IV.

"THE SOUTH IN THE UNION ARMY."

AN article by "Felix A. Reeve," in the REVIEW of November last, makes comparisons between certain Northern and Southern States, as to their relative patriotism during the war of the rebellion, as evidenced by the respective numbers of troops furnished by the States referred to. Some time since, almost precisely the same argument appeared as an editorial in *Harper's Weekly*, in which the same figures were given, and the same comparisons made, and the alleged result treated as a most curious and surprising fact which had so far escaped attention. If such alleged statistics, which are so distorted as to produce fictitious results, are to pass unchallenged, we may soon see it proven by figures, "which cannot lie," that the South alone suppressed the rebellion.

Your correspondent compares the percentage of soldiers furnished by several States upon the basis of the total number of men of military age in those States, according to the census of 1860. He makes his comparisons more particularly between Delaware and Vermont, and, as the facts will give almost the same results between any or all of the States he refers to—that is, between the border slave States on the one hand and some of the strongest Republican States of the North on the other—I will, to avoid the repetition of the same class of figures, confine myself mainly to the two States mentioned.

Mr. Reeve states that Delaware furnished 13,670 soldiers out of a population of 18,000 white males of military age, being 75 per cent., while Vermont furnished only 58 per cent. of her like population.

It is well known that the quota of soldiers called for by the War Department from each State was based upon the number of males liable to military duty in each State, and that the method of ascertaining this number was in all States the same. Now, if Mr. Reeve had examined further the tables of the Adjutant General's office, whence all these figures come, he would have found that the total quota of Vermont was 32,074 men, while the State furnished 34,639 soldiers, and that the quota of Delaware was 13,935, while she furnished 13,670 soldiers. Now, either his figures are incorrect, or else the Government inflicted a great wrong upon the "heroic little State," as Mr. Reeve terms Delaware, in requiring her to furnish an undue proportion of troops. So with the other States he refers to. The comparison, as he makes it, is always in favor of the Southern State. But the record shows that Massachusetts was called on for 139,095 soldiers, and sent 146,730 to the field. Rhode Island's quota was 18,898, and she sent 23,286. That of Illinois was 244,496, and she furnished 259,092; of Kansas 12,931, while she furnished 20,149 soldiers.

Of the Border Slave States, Kentucky's quota was 100,782; she furnished 75,760. That of Maryland was 70,965, while she sent 46,638.

It would seem that either these figures or those of Mr. Reeve are wrong, but both are correct. It is in his deductions that he disproves the old saying that "figures cannot lie;" for they can be made to pervert the truth to a remarkable degree.

He says that Delaware had only about 18,000 *white males* in 1860, yet she sent 13,670 *men* into the Union army. In this distinction lies the secret of the curious result he arrives at. Delaware had in 1860 22,000 *men* of military age, but of these 4,000 (in round numbers) were colored. Vermont could not have raised an infantry company of black men if she had conscripted every negro within her borders.

Mr. Reeve states that the Border and Slave States furnished over 350,000 white soldiers to the Union, and nearly 100,000 blacks.

The truth is, and the record shows, that these States furnished a little over 350,000 *men*, while the colored troops not credited to the States numbered 93,441, and the total of colored troops was 186,097, the difference of 92,656 being credited upon the quotas of the several States furnishing them, and, consequently all, or nearly all, being included in the 350,000 men credited to the Border States.

Yet Mr. Reeve, by his peculiar process of arithmetic, calculates the percentage that this 350,000 soldiers—over one-fourth negroes—bears to the *white males* of military age in the Border States, and compares it with similar estimates from the Northern States, in which the colored factor is missing entirely.

Having arrived at these remarkable conclusions, Mr. Reeve bases upon them an argument, the gist of which is that without the assistance of the loyal men of the South the government could not have suppressed the rebellion. This is, perhaps, true; for the services of the Union men of the Border States will never be fully known, and cannot be too highly appreciated.

But it is also true that if the Union sentiment in the North had been as strong as was the secession sentiment in the States of the Confederacy, it would not have taken four years to break down the rebellion. With the Knights of the Golden Circle in the West, and the anti-draft rioters in the East, and the thousands of "copperheads" all through the North, the "left wing of Lee's army" was a greater menace to the success of the Union arms than all the Union men south of Mason and Dixon's line were to the South.

It has become fashionable with a certain class of writers of the North to belittle the achievements of their own section during the war. Some are those men who, in search of that political purity which will better agree with their delicate organisms, have left the party of Grant, Garfield, and Logan, and, having sought new affiliations in the company of those whom for years they have denounced as traitors, are now seeking to justify themselves by discovering heretofore unseen merits in their new friends, and similarly unknown faults in their old ones. Then we have the generals who went to the rear during the war. According to these gentry Grant was always doing the wrong thing, Sherman was a "crank" and a falsifier, and Sheridan a mere accident, while all the truly great generals who could have won battles upon strictly military lines were in retirement.

We might take counsel of the South in this respect. Admitting, as do most of the men of that section, that secession was an error, and vying with the North in their present devotion to the old flag, they love and honor their leaders, and revere the memory of Lee, Jackson, and Hood. They look back with pardonable pride upon the military prowess of the South, while it is left for the pessimists of the North to discredit their own people, and to belittle the services of their great leaders, and of the rank and file, who achieved the results that saved a nation.

A. P. MOREY.

V.

MR. CONWAY'S DRESS-COAT KING.

I MAY misapprehend the object, fail to follow the reasoning, and entirely miss the deduction of the contributor of the article entitled "Our King in Dress Coat" in your current number—probably I do—but having read it twice, it has brought me to a higher and more patriotic appreciation of the simplicity and perpetuity of American institutions than I heretofore possessed, and in proportion to that

improvement of my education am I indebted to the author. His language, together with a thoughtful retrospect of my personal experience and my reading, saves me from the abyss of despondency into which he seeks to plunge any man who had been careless enough to believe that the American Constitution for more than a century has proved good enough to live and prosper under in times of peace, or to fight under and win everlasting and indispensable victories in times of war. Never before have I felt such veneration for the "framers." Think of it! What have we escaped? Briefly stated, your contributor furnishes us with this category: At a reception given by President Andrew Jackson, "there was ice-cream, and I saw a number of people breathing over their spoons in order to melt it before putting it into their mouths"—Horrible! And yet the American Constitution survived, though the constitutions of the guests may have suffered.

Again, President Andrew Johnson was "a drunken ruffian who staggered about the country vomiting vulgarest abuse on the people and Congress." Yet when the debauch was over, somebody else took up the Constitution just where he had left it. Shocking, indeed, is it, according to your contributor, that it should be an element of success in a presidential campaign that one of the candidates "lived in a log cabin, or split rails, or traveled a tow path;" though hardly as shocking as the parallel with which he cynically follows it in the next line, "Was not the Son of God a carpenter, born in a stable?" Does he forget that the simple minded boys of the log cabin, these rail splitters, these mule drivers, shone at the bar, graduated at universities, and were giants in debate?

Lamenting the bad taste of the people in selecting military in preference to civilian presidents, he concedes that "one statesman *was* indeed elected, but could not take his seat against two generals in possession." This, of course, refers to that able and eminent American, Samuel J. Tilden, who was statesman enough to concede the right of Congress, under the Constitution, to appoint an impartial tribunal to count the vote upon an extraordinary occasion, but who was never coward enough to confess that "he could not take his seat against two generals in possession."

If, as stated by your contributor, John Stuart Mill displayed his ignorance of the literature of the age by expressing wonder "that among Americans there had been developed no school of critics and reformers of the Constitution," I hope it may *continue* to be a subject of wonder, rather than that critics should write simply to see themselves in print, and write nothing but "words." When any fair criticism of the American Constitution is produced by your contributor, I trust he will keep before him the definition of Lord Bolingbroke, that "the Constitution is the rule by which the sovereign *ought* to govern at all times; and government is that by which he *does* govern at any particular time;" while he looks back a hundred years for an instance of a willful and unquestioned violation of the American Constitution by the President; and when he approaches the subject of "The Executive" let him forget and regret that he ever wrote that "the phenomenon of an American potentate, stronger and less responsible than any other monarch in the world, has often been remarked, but not explained," and instead thereof let him find room in his memory for the many rebukes administered by the people, the Congress, and the Judiciary, in all cases of alleged unlawful exercise of power by the President, all of which has been accomplished under and by virtue of "The American Constitution." Respectfully,

CHARLES H. T. COLLIS.

VI.

THE BEST WORK OF FALSE FAITHS.

APROPOS of Gail Hamilton's article entitled "Good Works of False Faiths," in the January number of the REVIEW, permit me to say a word about what seems to me the best work of these same "false faiths."

Never has there been in the history of the Christian religion such universal tolerance as there is at the present day. Every denomination has broadened. Unitarian meets Episcopalian; Episcopalian, Presbyterian; Presbyterian, Methodist, and all meet Romanist in a spirit which a short time ago would have seemed incredible. This tolerance began practically with Schleiermacher in Germany. Thence it extended into England. Our own great divines have caught the spirit of the age; and their respective congregations, wondering at first, but soon becoming reconciled to the new order of things, have peacefully followed their leaders. Scientists declare that the change is due to scientific influence; philosophers, that it is only another evidence of a growing and perfecting civilization; while not a few maintain that Christianity has reached this broad outlook by her own peculiar and inherent power. There seems to me, however, to be another cause which has also done its share toward producing these results, and that is these same "false faiths." Within a few years—the years in which tolerance has become general—we have given to oriental religions much careful and sympathetic study. In this study we have naturally compared these religions with our own, and by this comparison we have discovered that much of that ethical greatness and sweetness which we, in our bigotry, thought to belong to Christianity alone, has lived for centuries in the religions of the East. Brahminism, with its subtle philosophy, and its worship of the infinite and absolute; Buddhism, with its strict code of morals, its charity, its tolerance; Zoroasterism, with its reverence and filial love, have indeed been revelations to us who have been taught to believe that the Orient is a region of corruption, and that all faiths save Christianity are, as the early fathers of the Church denounced them, "the works of the devil." To this oriental study then, is largely due the spirit of the age; for, by seeking the good in other religions, we have not only come to see more clearly the good in our own religion, but our mind and hearts have been broadened by the very process of comparison. And so the ancient teachers of the East are doing their greatest work by leading us out of a petty, self-imposed conservatism, into a universal fellowship and good will.

A. C. BOWEN.

CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.

THE commemoration of the quarter-millenary of Harvard has served more than one useful purpose, since, besides reminding New England people that their own oldest college was founded earlier than several distinguished European Universities, it has directed general attention to the importance of preserving, or, at all events, describing other extant antiquities of the pre-revolutionary era. In Mr. Porter's book* we have not only a faithful, but, in respect of illustrations, a sumptuous record of rambles in the north end of Boston, where most of the linger ing vestiges of the colonial epoch are to be sought. In this quarto volume, of upward of 400 pages, are presented pictorial reproductions of scores of public or private buildings (all but one of which are standing), together with an adequate account of the periods in which they were erected, and of their subsequent vicissitudes. It is unquestionably true that no town or city within the present territorial limits of the United States—not even St. Augustine or Santa Fé, although these places were settled considerably earlier—can pretend to vie with Boston in the number and historical interest of its ancient edifices. Here, for instance, is Paul Revere's house, in North Square, built soon after the great fire of 1676, its predecessor on the same spot having been the parsonage of the Second Church, bought for the use of Increase Mather. We suppose that very few Bostonians could find their way to North (originally known as Clarke's) Square, which is, in fact, not a square at all, but a triangle, which, with its old cobble-stone pavement, recalls the market-place of an English provincial town. A market-place it was more than two hundred years ago, but is now, we learn, only to be reached through a narrow opening in North street, formerly known as Mountfort's Corner. In North street, opposite Sun Court, is also to be seen a little two-story, gambrel-roof house, which was erected in the reign of Charles II. In Salutation Alley, which opens out of Hanover street, and which is just wide enough to admit the passage of one wagon, is a quaint little house, the old home of Nathaniel Greenwood, which is one of the two or three oldest houses remaining in Boston. Salutation Alley, like all the other English streets of its epoch, had no side-walks, but had a gutter running through the middle. The houses bordering it had originally gardens in front, like the dwelling-houses of old London in the times preceding the great fire which took place in the reign of Charles II. The best-preserved specimen in Boston of the early style of brick houses is at No. 23 Unity street; precisely when this building was erected is not known, but it was sold to the progenitor of its present owners as early as 1724. Another brick house adjoining this, and identical with it in age and style, was, for many years, owned by Benjamin Franklin, and was the home of two of his sisters. The large brick house

*Rambles in Old Boston, New England, by Edward G. Porter. Cupples, Upham & Co.

at the corner of Salem and Bennett streets also carries us back to a period when George I. had recently come over from Hanover to ascend the English throne. Even more interesting is the fragment of an ancient wooden dwelling at the corner of Bennett and Hanover streets. This is the remnant of the house built in 1677 by Increase Mather, and in which his son, Cotton Mather, spent a part of his boyhood. The pride of the North-End of Boston is Christ Church, built in 1723, and the oldest ecclesiastical edifice now standing in Boston. Among the chief treasures of the Church is a communion service, part of which was presented by George II. in 1733, and a folio Bible, one of the so-called Vinegar Edition of 1717. The largest and most complete example of a wooden dwelling of the seventeenth century yet extant in Boston stands on the east side of Salem street. There are said to be reasons for believing that this house, which at one time belonged to Adam Winthrop, was built as early as 1680. The windows have solid plank casings, tenoned and pinned together, and the whole frame is as strong as that of an old-fashioned line-of-battle ship. We may further mention that another wooden building, still standing on a corner of Faneuil Hall Square, belongs to a period as far back as 1690, and was originally only thirty feet from the dock, which is now far distant. Faneuil Hall itself, by the way, stands on the site of what was once the town dock, to which the tide came up. But from the point of view of age the gem of old Boston is, perhaps, the Tremere house, near the extreme end of North street. This must have been erected before 1674, since a deed recording its conveyance is dated in that year. We are unable to enumerate other curious remains of ancient Boston depicted in Mr. Porter's book, but we have doubtless said enough to indicate the value of the work, from both the artistic and the antiquarian point of view, to all students of New England history, as well as to the many persons who, through birth or derivation, are bound by peculiar ties to the capital city of the Massachusetts colony.

We should have nothing but praise for Mr. Bush's account* of the first century of Harvard's corporate existence but for the sub-title which he has somewhat carelessly allowed himself to give his book. "The first American university," in any legitimate meaning of the word "American," Harvard College cannot profess to be, seeing that the universities of Lima and Mexico were each founded at least eighty years earlier. We should, however, at once say, in justice to the author, that the too pretentious designation to which we have adverted, is out of keeping with the thoroughly honest tenor of the narrative. In this book, unlike some histories of Harvard College, we are annoyed by no attempt to make great things out of small. The truth is not disguised by Mr. Bush that, for at least a century after its foundation, the institution, which laid claim to the ambitious name of college, was really in respect, both of pecuniary resources and the number of its pupils, decidedly inferior to many an endowed school of the present day, and notably, for instance, to Philip's Exeter Academy. Thus, in 1723, eighty-five years after its beginning, the college possessed a library of but 3,500 volumes, or about as many as are now contained in the library of the Golden Branch Society at Exeter. Again in 1726, the Hollis endowment of a professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy produced an income of but twenty-six pounds sterling, which was, nevertheless, considered an honorable stipend, although, after making every allowance for difference in the purchasing value of money, we can now see that it was extremely niggard. The number of pupils graduated from the college during the first sixty-five years of its existence was five hundred and thirty-one, or, on an

* Harvard, the First American University, by George Gary Bush. Cupples, Upham & Co.

average, only about eight a year. If, on the other hand, we look at the studies pursued, we can see that the Harvard of those days was rather a theological seminary, than an establishment intended to qualify its graduates for all the liberal professions. Unless specially excused, all students, except the Freshmen, were obliged, four days in the week, to receive instruction in Hebrew, and treatises in divinity also figure conspicuously in the lists of prescribed text-books.

We must, nevertheless, admit that, as regards proficiency in the classical languages, or at all events in Latin, young men were carried further in the Harvard of the seventeenth century than they are now in the schools that prepare lads for universities. This will be clear if we point out the requirements for admission, which, so far as Latin is concerned, do certainly seem to have been higher two and a half centuries ago than they are now. The rule laid down by President Dunster, in 1642, was that every applicant for admission must be able to "read Cicero or any other such like classical author at sight, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, besides declining perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue." Such a mastery of Latin, considered as a living language, was effected by the habitual use of it in the class room, and in familiar intercourse between teacher and pupil. How indispensable at that time the language was will be at once perceived when we recall the fact that while Mr. Dunster was presiding over the college, John Milton was employed by Cromwell to conduct diplomatic correspondence in Latin, which was then the medium of international communication, and so remained until French superseded it, owing to the material and moral ascendency of Louis XIV. Two other facts brought out by Mr. Bush throw light on the relations of students to their instructors and to one another. The practice of flogging and of boxing the ear was for several generations firmly adhered to by professors and tutors, and it is not until about 1740 that we read of corporal punishment going out of use. The origin of hazing may be recognized in the disabilities long imposed on Freshmen. The following regulations, for example, are said to have remained in force during the seventeenth century; no Freshman could wear his hat in the college yard (unless it rained, hailed, or snowed), or speak to any member of the upper classes with his hat on, and every Freshman was obliged to go on errands for his seniors, whether these were graduates or undergraduates.

Of the addresses delivered by Mr. Lowell* in England and the United States during the last six years, nine have been collected and reprinted in a single volume. Of these, the remarks on Fielding, Coleridge and Wordsworth will be reperused with interest, but the speeches of abiding value, which imperatively called for publication in a permanent form, are the address on "Democracy," read in Birmingham, England, and the Oration commemorative of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard University. In the former speech, Mr. Lowell publicly discussed and answered those objections to democracy, considered as an alleged enemy to culture and refinement, which are often urged in private, though they seldom find expression in the newspapers of England or the United States. Mr. Gladstone has, indeed, essayed on several occasions to figure as the defender of the social consequences of universal suffrage, but his advocacy was less effective than is Mr. Lowell's, because he met the imputations less roundly and frankly. Yet we cannot help thinking that more cogent than any of Mr. Lowell's arguments, more illuminative and persuasive than any of his metaphors, was the influence upon his audience of his own personality. Englishmen had learned to know the speaker thoroughly, and they could not but discern in him a living demonstration that

* Democracy and other Addresses, by James Russell Lowell. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

democratic institutions are no bar to the attainment of an urbane, elevated, and many-sided culture, to the evolution of the light and sweetness which Mr. Matthew Arnold seems to think impracticable in a land where numbers rule. Of the Harvard Commemorative address, we will only say that, apart from the perfect adaptation of every word to the occasion, the most noticeable feature was the strenuous, though courteous, vindication of the title of the Greek and Latin languages to retain a large and fundamental place in a liberal education. The case for Greek has never been put more forcibly, although, as every Harvard graduate well knows, the orator was trammeled by considerations of place and time, and of deference to persons and opinions just now predominant in the Councils of the University.

One cannot run over the 500 octavo pages which Mr. Frothingham has dedicated to William Henry Channing*—full of industry, of talent, of hearty appreciation and affection as they are—without recalling the query imputed by Longfellow to Priscilla, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" There must be, we fancy, very few readers in this country or in England who would not rather see an autobiography of Mr. Frothingham than a biography of William Henry Channing, who, for the rising generation, will be chiefly memorable, if memorable at all, as the nephew of his uncle. For the writings of the once-famous William Ellery himself there is no longer much demand, and if the nephew, William Henry, is rescued from complete oblivion, he will owe his preservation to Mr. Frothingham. This book, however, is of an intrinsic importance, wholly independent of its biographical purpose. It is a history of liberal Christianity in the United States and England during the present century, and we suppose that no other survivor of the movement would have been so competent to write it.

Among the books called forth by the success attending the publication of Grant's memoirs, and which rely for circulation less on their intrinsic merits than on the author's personal association with the events described, the compilation by Admiral Porter† deserves particular mention. The writer speaks with a good deal of modesty respecting his own qualifications for the writing of history, and is not unwilling to acknowledge that the task may be more fittingly performed hereafter. We can see no reason for disputing the Admiral's averment that he has made up his narrative from the official record of the Navy, and that he has not allowed himself to suppress or distort facts, because he may have had official relations with particular commanders. His book, which comprises nearly 850 large quarto pages, is profusely illustrated, and the portraits alone would be likely to commend it to a wide audience.

Mr. Curtis's stout volume‡ seems to have been evolved for the purpose of demonstrating—what, so far as we know, no follower of Darwin would deny—that Darwinism is as yet unable to say precisely "at what point or stage in the series of developing animal organisms the mind of man was produced, or what it was when produced." With reference to both of these questions, the present attitude of the honest Darwinian is simply that of an agnostic, and he is willing to listen to any affirmative evidence, except that of revelation, for the hypothesis attributing a non-material origin to the mind of man. We do not understand Mr. Curtis

* Memoir of William Henry Channing, by O. B. Frothingham. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

† The Naval History of the Civil War, by Admiral David B. Porter. The Sherman Publishing Co.

‡ Creation and Evolution, by George Ticknor Curtis. Appleton & Co.

to contend that he has submitted affirmative evidence of this kind, which, even to himself, is satisfactory. Indeed, he seems to recognize the absence of scientific proof of the non-material origin of the intellect when he designates "the great want of this age" to be "the prosecution of inquiry into the nature of the human mind as an organic structure regarded as such," by which rather equivocal language we presume the author to mean the human mind considered as an entity essentially independent of the body, and only temporarily associated with it. When Mr. Curtis goes on to say, "It seems to me that the whole mission of science is now perverted by a wrong aim, which is to find out the external to the neglect of the internal," he has either overlooked the two most distinguished names in the history of contemporary or recent philosophy—those of Hartmann and of Hartmann's master, Schopenhauer—or he strangely misconceives the point of view from which those inquirers have approached the study of the human mind. They certainly did not insist on regarding metaphysics as a department of physiology.

The Historical Atlas,* compiled by Mr. Labberton, is a credit to American cartographers, and may be heartily commended to those unable to buy the expensive work by Spruner. The 141 maps here collected begin with conjectural indications of the Old Egyptian Empire, whose seat was at Memphis, and of the (nearly contemporaneous) first period of the Chaldean ascendency in Western Asia. We are next shown, with a greater attempt at exactitude, the extension of the so-called New Egyptian Empire under Rameses II., and the circuit of Assyrian preponderance at the era of its greatest development, when, under Asshurbanipul, it stretched over Egypt, Cyprus, Palestine, and a part of Asia Minor. From that date—the seventh century B. C.—down to our own day, almost every change of reasonable duration in the political condition of every important section of the Mediterranean world is represented with a close approach to accuracy on a separate map. Especially helpful to the student will be found the map exhibiting the dominions and pretensions of Charles the Bold, and that portraying the gradual reunion of the Provinces of France to the Capetian crown. The successive transformations of England, from the landing of the Jutes to the Norman conquest, are made clear to the eye by not less than fourteen maps, supplemented by plans of the decisive battle-fields. The maps relating to Spain are the weakest features of the book. Not one of them relating to a period prior to the peace of Westphalia exhibits the two cities, Merida and Tarraco, which, throughout the Roman and Visigothic periods, were the most populous and opulent in the Peninsula. On the other hand, we note with satisfaction that Mr. Labberton is careful to bring out the existence of an independent Suevic kingdom in the northeast of the Peninsula during a considerable part of the Visigothic era. Without due attention to this fact, no one can understand the weakness of the Visigothic power at the date of the Arab invasion. We note some errors in the map illustrative of the Arabic ascendency in the first quarter of the eighth century. At that date Cyprus and Crete were not Saracenic, but still Byzantine, and the Arab conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica was reserved for the Aglabite dynasty of Kairoan.

* An Historical Atlas, by Robert H. Labberton. New York: Townsend MacCoun.

:nty-Second Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 144: No. 4.

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OPEN NOMINATIONS AND FREE ELECTIONS.

An open nomination is one in which every voter may freely participate and an honest election one in which every vote is fearlessly cast and honestly counted. Have we not these already? We have them in theory, but we have them not in practice.

The discipline or the despotism of parties has perverted them. In this fair city of New York, as often as an election comes round, 25,000 persons instruct the 250,000 or 300,000 voters whom to vote for. They are, indeed, told that they may vote for whom they please, but if they do not vote for the candidates named by the 25,000, the vote might as well be thrown away. The electors are as much restricted to the list made out for them as if the actors were by law divided into two classes, one called the nominating class and the other the voting class, or, to use higher sounding words, the initiatory Senate and the ratifying Assembly. We might continue to call this kind of government a free one, but it would be, in fact, an oligarchy. And what sort of an oligarchy? Enter any of the primaries and answer.

Such an arrangement of government, however brought about, whether by law or by custom, is unendurable, and if not changed must end in a catastrophe. The people are disgusted with it;

the revolt at the last election is evidence of the nervous restlessness caused by it in the body politic. I speak of the City of New York.

Go into the Produce Exchange, the Merchants' Exchange, the Real Estate Exchange, or any other of the Exchanges, enter a counting room in the city, and ask any of the great dealers or manufacturers for his influence in favor of or against any measure pending in the legislature, and he will probably answer that he has no influence whatever, and does not even know who his representatives are; and he may, perhaps, add that if you want influence you must go to the ward politician, the boss of the primaries, the inevitable busybody who takes meetings captive and manipulates conventions, and whose abiding place is the drinking room of the corner. In vain will you reason with your friend; you may urge upon him the duty of attending to the offices and the laws; he shrugs his shoulders, and answers that he is out of patience with the tricks of the politicians, cannot attend the primaries, and if he did, his voice would not be heard; and so he leaves the machinery of government to be run by those who make a trade of it, live by it, and maintain themselves by those arts with which we are all familiar.

The air is thick with rumors of corruption in office. What reason there may be for them cannot be fully known, except from the proceedings in the courts, but the prevalence of the rumors is an alarming sympton of a public mind, distressed or diseased, whichever it may be. It is, moreover, reasonable to infer from the belief, almost universal in the truth of the rumors, that corruption, and a great deal of it, does exist. But whether it be much or little, our safety requires that it should be extirpated. The people are not corrupt; we believe that; they desire honest and good government; it is to their interest and their happiness to have it. If their agents, or any number of them, are corrupted, or can be corrupted, the fact should be made known to every citizen of the State, the causes found, and the disgraceful plague stamped out, as we stamp out the diseases of cattle.

It would not mend the matter to say, that we are no worse than other people; that British politics, or French politics, or German politics are as bad; they may be as bad, for aught we know, they may be better or they may be worse; but we pretend to have a better and purer government than theirs. We know what makes us comfortable, and we must look to ourselves for

protection. Resist the beginning of evil is one of the most prudent of maxims.

Men say, we are industrious, we are prosperous, we heap up riches and we grow in power. Who are they that are so fortunate; the laborers, who from end to end of the land fill the air with complaint and menace; the occupants of tenement houses, living in filth and misery; the homeless children, whose ceaseless cry is heard above the shout of revelry and the din of traffic?

We are, no doubt, making our experiment of government under great advantages, but there are also disadvantages that we have to encounter and overcome. The advantages are the division of the nation into autonomous states; the partition of delegated power into legislative, executive, and judicial departments; the extent of unoccupied land; a suffrage so nearly universal that resort to force need never be had in order to obtain rights. The physical power and the political power rest in the same strong arms. Our disadvantages are the divergent interests of different parts of the country; the considerable number of uneducated voters; a population not yet altogether homogeneous; a large foreign immigration; and above all the notion, wide-spread in thought and wider in practice, that government is a contrivance for the distribution of offices and jobs. Here are evil forces enough, not indeed to counterbalance, but to hinder and disconcert the good, and to darken at times the forecast of the lover of his country.

The source of all power is the voice of the people. The essential condition of a just vote is a free choice. To escape anarchy, a concentration of the votes is necessary, and with us this is obtainable only through nominations. The problem then is, how to concentrate the vote and yet preserve the independence of the voter. The problem is solved, and solved only, when we have a fair representation of the voters in the *selection of candidates*, followed by a fair *election* from among those selected.

In our present circumstances, and according to our present methods, a free and spontaneous nomination must be a rare occurrence. From the primary to the convention, and from the small convention to the large, there is clamor, overreaching, and confusion. Whoever has attended a Presidential nominating convention must remember the turmoil, the bargaining, and the clamor on one side the platform whereon the delegates were seated; and on the other

sides the immense hall filled with a crowding host of spectators, coming as pretended witnesses, but becoming, as the work goes on, real participants, as if they were so many assessors, sitting to advise, to dictate, and perchance to drown with louder tones the voices of the delegates. A nomination once made by those or other arts is forthwith trumpeted as the free choice of the party and binding upon the honor of every one of its members.

So it has happened, that while the election is the process with which the law mostly deals, the nomination has become, through the practice of parties, the element of chief importance. If we were sure that good men had been nominated, the election would turn upon principle. As it is, the nomination is made by methods which no man can approve, and then the election is carried by the discipline of party in the name of principle. It is thus the consequence, deplorable as it is natural, that offices and jobs are the stakes for which the politicians play; the public service is neglected or perverted, offices are multiplied, emoluments are increased, bribery is encouraged, and the public conscience is debauched.

The first thing to be done is to awaken the minds of the people to a sense of the evil and the danger. That done, reform will surely follow, for "where there is a will there is a way." This is a maxim as true in matters of state policy, as in the conduct of private life. There is need of immediate and vigorous action. We may not say that we are resting on a volcano, since subterranean fires are beyond our reach, but we are resting in a false security, amid social and political fires that are aglow around us, more formidable than those of the earth beneath, and yet controllable by the vigilance, the prudence, and the energy of man. In this belief let us reflect upon what we can and ought now to do.

With the Constitution of the State as it is we cannot *compel* a citizen to take part in nominations to office, for do what we will he may go to the polls and cast his ballot for whom he pleases, whether previously nominated or not, but we can encourage him to take part in the nominations and offer him inducements for so doing. This is within the power of the delegated legislature now in existence. When the Constitutional Convention acts and the sovereign people ratify, they may *oblige* every voter to take part in the nomination if he takes part in the election. But what may the Senate and Assembly do in the meantime? They may provide

by law for paying the election expenses of all candidates nominated in a particular manner, and thus go a great way in the improvement of political methods. Suppose it were provided that registration in cities should be made early in October next before an election; that, at the time of registration, the voter should be requested to name the person whom he would nominate for the offices to be filled, and that the persons thus nominated by a certain number, say a tenth, of the voters registered, should have their ballots printed and distributed at the expense of the county. Would not these conditions tend to purify nominations? The details of a plan, of which this is the merest outline, are easy to be made. It might be provided, that no person should be thus nominated except one who had been previously recommended, as fit for the office, by a certain number of the voters of the district.

In some such way as this, the preferences of each voter for persons to be put in nomination could be expressed without inconvenience to him, as he would have to spend no more time than is now required for his registration, would have to attend no other meeting, or expose himself to the wrangle, the turmoil, or other inconvenience of the primaries. One who wanted an office, or whose friends wanted it for him, would have only to be recommended by those who thought well of him, and if one-tenth of the voters of his district approved the recommendation, his name would be printed on ballots and distributed without expense to him. The chance of getting the right man in the right place would certainly be increased, the assessments upon candidates decreased, and the domination of the primaries overthrown.

There are no doubt many other improvements important to be made in our electoral machinery. Greater secrecy in balloting can be secured, the scandalous transactions, by which exchanges of ballots are made by traitorous agents without the knowledge of candidates, can be prevented, and those grosser frauds, through which false counting and false certificates are intruded into the process, can be guarded against beyond peradventure. These, however, are matters into which it is not necessary now to enter. The purpose of this paper will have been gained, if it has aroused any considerable number of our citizens to such a sense of their danger, visibly impending, as to make them look to the *nominations* first of all, act promptly and with the energy of freemen who are in earnest.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

WHY I AM A CONGREGATIONALIST.

FIRST. I am a Congregationalist, very much as King David was a stranger and a sojourner, because all my fathers were.

But I am also a Congregationalist by conviction, because Congregationalism, considered as a policy, not as a creed, seems to combine in the happiest proportions individual religious freedom with social religious organization.

Congregationalism is sometimes said to be that form of ecclesiastical government which is most nearly allied to, and which most closely harmonizes with, the Republicanism that constitutes our National political government.

This, however, is hardly demonstrable. Congregationalism is modeled upon the Southern idea of a confederacy, rather than upon the Northern idea of a Nation. In Congregationalism all power inheres in the congregation. Each church is a separate and independent body, conducting its own business without reference to any higher body, without ultimate appeal beyond itself; calling Councils, but only for decorum; combining with other churches in a Conference, but only for conference; organizing itself with others in a National Council, but only for counsel. In none of these bodies does a church relinquish a particle of its self-government to any other body, either in respect of belief or action. The Conference may, for difference of creed, withdraw fellowship from some church. The Council may, for lack of confidence, refuse to assist at the installation of some minister. But none the less does the particular church remain a Congregational church, organized and perfect in all its parts; and none the less may a church insist on installing and retaining the pastor of its choice without forfeiting its claims to be a Congregational church. All that it forfeits is its place in the association of Congregational churches. So far as they are concerned it is Independent, but so far as its own constitution is concerned it is

Congregational. A church may at any moment secede from any Conference, withdraw its representation in National Council, refuse to act in accordance with the advice of a local council—and no council, local or national, is empowered or pretends to do more than advise—and the worst and most that can happen is that it may cease to be a member of a local association and become an Independent church. It in no way loses its entity as a Congregational church. All its organization is still complete within itself. Incorporation into any larger body is purely voluntary, does not affect the constitution of the larger body, is a relation which can be assumed and resigned at will. The departure of any church does not organically rend the body from which it secedes. The advent of any church in no way constitutes the larger body an organism. A Conference or a Council is but a voluntary assembly of churches, a congregation of con gregations present by representatives. A church is but a voluntary assembly of believers united by their belief. There is thus no Congregational church, while there are a great many Congregational churches. In this, therefore, it is unlike our National Government, that it is, in any combination, but a collection of organisms of equal rank. These are never, like the States of the Union, welded into one, a different, and a higher body, the Nation. For its strictly simple and sufficient Home Rule, I am a Congregationalist.

Christ established no church, neither Catholic nor Congregational, nor any church between the two. All ecclesiasticism is of human origin. Christ left undisturbed all the mechanism of human society, ecclesiastical, political, domestic, friendly. More than that, He repeatedly and publicly called attention to the fact. He protested that He did not come to destroy the law or the prophets. He preached in the synagogues already built; He entered with ready sympathy into the social festivities to which He was invited; He loyally paid tribute to the rulers under whom He found himself; but He enunciated principles under whose working the law became only a shadow and a reminiscence—synagogues crumbled, tyrants fell, festivals were purified.

Neither one church nor another, therefore, can be justified in claiming to be the original Church of Christ. Congregationalism finds its warrant—a true warrant—in the promise of Christ: —where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am

I in the midst of them. That is what a church establishment is for—to retain the spirit of Christ on the earth, to diffuse the spirit of Christ through the earth, to draw the kingdoms of this world into the one kingdom of our Lord, the Kingdom of Heaven.

We have the assurance of Christ that no complicated machinery is necessary, no Synod or Presbytery or Hierarchy, Episcopate or Bishopric, or See or sermon. A church is the simplest possible form of organization. It is only to be on the spot. It is only to come together in the name of Christ, and Christ will be there. Every little country school-house prayer-meeting, every pioneer group gathering itself in a log hut on the outskirts of civilization can make itself into a church complete in all its parts, because the only condition is that it shall assemble in the name of Christ—not in the name of rivalry or faction, ambition to establish its own sect, or dissatisfaction with the other minister, or determination to have its own way—but in the name of Christ. This is the condition which men must fulfill. Christ has promised to fulfill the other condition. He will be present.

The name of Christ—name which is above every name; name in which lies all our hope, perfection of the life that now is, promise of the life that is to come—how many crimes are committed, how much of selfishness, self-will, vulgarity, and vice broods under that holy name! But there is none other name given under Heaven among men whereby we can be saved, and upon this rock must the true Church be built.

I am a Congregationalist because Congregationalism acknowledges the invisible Christ as the only church foundation, and builds upon this foundation no visible church universal after the fashion of the kingdoms of this world, but recognizes that the true church universal must be invisible and spiritual, after the fashion of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Any warrant for Congregationalism in the words of Christ is not to be confounded with an imposition of Congregationalism upon the world as the one imperative divinely ordained church government. The context itself shows that Christ did not, in the text, command or found the establishment of a church; for He recognized a church already existing. Before giving His disciples the assurance of His presence at their gatherings, He had directed them in a certain contingency to tell their troubles to the church. Therefore, a church must have been already formed. What this

church was, or on what principles organized, we are not told. Probably it was in conformity with Christ's subsequent assurance, which assurance itself may have been but the stronger affirmation of some previous unrecorded "seed thought;" for the word used and translated *church* is defined to mean literally *congregation, any public assembly.* It may mean, and has sometimes been supposed to mean, the Jewish Sanhedrim on the one hand, or any assembly of devout men on the other.

This declaration of Christ, that where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ, there will Christ be in the midst, is no more a divine ordering of Congregationalism as the one enjoined Scriptural, ecclesiastical polity, than is that other declaration: *Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill,* an enforcement of the perpetuity, the universal binding obligation of the law of Moses. It is no more a Divine ordering of Congregationalism than is that other declaration to Peter, *Upon this rock will I build my church,* a divine ordering of the Roman Catholic Church as the one only true church. All such interpretations seem equally and utterly foreign to the true interpretation of Christ's life and teachings. We do not need to fall back upon the researches of learning, though they show us earlier manuscripts in which the text "upon this rock will I build my church" is not found. Granting the full text, the Roman Catholic inference is only a little harder to draw than the Congregational inference. Both are forced. Neither follows of its own accord.

We greatly weaken our cause when we found it on any adventitious circumstance, on any isolated text, and not on natural, eternal principles. We who worship God with simple rites are too apt to sneer at ceremonials more minute and numerous than our own; but all ceremonial is of human origin, of man's device. The posturings and vestments of the Episcopal Church, the altar and incense of the Roman Catholic Church, we sometimes picture as un-Christlike—pompous, worldly, not to say wicked additions to the simplicity, corruptions of the purity, of the true Church of Christ. But they are not necessarily wicked or wanton. True, Christ ordained no mitre or chasuble, cope or cassock, but neither did He ordain the chorister, or the cushioned pews, or the silver communion tankards of the Congregational churches. I suppose the embroidered robes of the archbishop are more like the parted

garments and the allotted vesture of Calvary than is the *de rigueur* black coat of the Congregational minister. These things are absolutely human, matters of taste, choice, discretion, adding an acquired sacredness of years to what was originally in some cases but commonplace every-day custom, and in others the hallowed relics of an outworn and discarded faith. They are important, only in what they are not. They are merely interesting in what they are. It is suggestive, it is even thrilling to reflect that in looking upon what are sometimes uncivilly called the mummeries of Roman Catholic worship, we are beholding the last faint and fading traces of the worship of vanished peoples. If early Christians gathered into Christianity pagan rites which they could not wholly suppress, if they strove steadfastly to empty these rites of the old errors and fill and transfuse them with the new truths, who can say that they were not wise, as well as pious, in so doing? If those new truths are in time devitalized into new errors, is it not the way of the world? If, on the other hand, these ancient rites are quick with somewhat that answers to human need, an aid to devotion and reverence; if some souls are subdued to receptiveness, quiescence, submission by the solemn ceremonial of the Roman Catholic and the Episcopal churches, so that the bread of life is more readily assimilated thereby, pure and devout Congregationalism has with this no quarrel. Congregationalism denies only that these are divinely ordained to the divine exclusion of its own simpler rites and common garb.

Thus, also, Congregationalism recognizes the validity of immersion as a sign of adhesion to the person and teachings of Christ, while it rejects wholly the idea that immersion was ordained by Christ, that the sprinkling of water upon the forehead in the name of Christ is not an equally valid sign, or that any application of water is more than the mere outward token of inward and spiritual grace, accepted by Christ, and, therefore, out of love to Him, adopted by His church, but not enjoined by Him as an indispensable duty, or an incomprehensible mystery. The Congregationalist no more believes that it is necessary to be plunged into a tank in order to be buried with Christ in baptism than he believes a cup of wine to be the blood of Christ because He said at the last supper: this is My blood. He believes both constructions of Scripture to be forced; obstructions to truth and not truth itself.

Congregationalism, as I understand it, is founded on the nature of man as trained according to scripture, and marching in ecclesiasticism *pari passu* with its march in science, in politics, and in the common arts of life. Congregationalism, in the time of Christ, and in our own, is in some sense a reaction against a too elaborate and tyrannical organization, a return to nature after the fatigues of cumbrous form. The Hebraism of Christ's time was an intricacy of generations, and bound upon the shoulders of men burdens too heavy to be borne. Christ, not with violence, but with gentle insinuation of truth, unloosed those heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free. When a Jewish preacher was to be installed with whatever detail of their separating ritual and sacerdotal consecration, one of the charges to the pastor was: "Take thou liberty to teach what is BOUND and what is LOOSE." Christ formulated no argument against this as a usurpation of divine power, heaped upon it no denunciation, but to the little listening group of unlettered fishermen, learning of Him to be meek and lowly in heart, He said quietly: Whatsoever *ye* bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever *ye* loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. It was Christ's quiet but complete annihilation of all the arrogant pretensions of the Jewish Church, its priests, and rabbies. It was the unfrocking of the Jewish clergy. They had become an absolute hierarchy. They claimed authority over the Kingdom of Heaven, power to lay down its law, to open and to close its doors. All this Jesus swept away with the gentlest breath of His lips. In the Kingdom of Heaven the greatest is not he who claims the most; but the greatest is as a little child. You, little ones, He seems to say to His disciples, you ignorant but knowing Me, you are the real priesthood of My spiritual kingdom. You, without synagogue, or ritual, or birthright of Levi, but taught of Me and teaching Me as the Saviour of the world, you are the ones who have the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.—The Catholic Church, founding on this its claim for priestly absolution, takes up the exact idea which Christ indirectly condemned; builds up its close-fitting and far-reaching organization on the very plan of the rejected Jewish priesthood. Because Christ denied to any hierarchy the control of the Kingdom of Heaven, making it the vested right of Peter and of the disciples, uneducated fisherman, unconsecrated by form; the vested right of any two or three who should be gathered together in His

name; the vested right of any congregation of believers, or, indeed, of any single believer, praying to the Father in Heaven,—I am a Congregationalist.

Congregationalism thus interposes the least possible machinery between man and his Maker. The constant tendency of mankind is to sacrifice unto the net and burn incense to the drag—and a very good reason the prophet gives—because by them is their portion fat and their meat plenteous. If, in addition to this, the net and drag are made æsthetic, sonorous, magnificent with all the splendor of wealth and culture, music, art, and architecture, the danger of remembering the net alone and forgetting Him who giveth all is greatly increased. It is the aim of Congregationalism to use only such and so much netting as may be necessary to catch men; so much form and ceremony as may be necessary to the preservation of values, to the dissemination of truth; as much as is hinted at in the words and deeds of Christ; as much as is demanded in the Pauline requirement that all things be done decently and in order. Congregationalism would have no organization for organization's sake, but only so much as shall best secure the preaching and practicing of the gospel. It sees in all Christ's teachings a steadfast tendency against the machinery of the Jewish church, a steadfast endeavor to place religion upon a spiritual and practical basis. Humanity is constantly asking: Shall we worship the Father in this mountain or in Jerusalem; by the Greek or the Roman, or the English, or the Presbyterian church, with priest or minister, with a white neck-tie or a white surplice? And Christ ever replies: Neither here nor there, neither in one church nor another, neither with robes nor bells, nor pulpit nor order. All this is not Christianity. It is only custom, convenience,—temporary, incidental, and altogether changeable. Real worship is in spirit and in truth. If the elaborate ecclesiasticisms of the world claim that they are necessary to keep alive in men the sense of Divinity; that the world needs, still, machinery even if it tends to superstition; that promulgation of the gospel must be by intricate politics, checks and definitions, ranks and orders, changing robes and sounding services—wheels within wheels of command and subordination—why still has Congregationalism other work to do than dispute with them. I think they are mistaken. I think a good deal of their effectiveness is in danger of becoming sacrifice unto the net and burnt-incense to the drag. I

think it is sometimes worshiping and serving organization more than God. I think that as a direct result, the church which is the furthest removed from Congregationalism, which is, perhaps, the most powerful, compact, complete organization on the earth, reveals a tendency to sacrifice principle to power; not simply by the fact that its children commit sin against its teachings as Congregational sinners do, but that it throws so ample a shelter of ecclesiasticism over individual responsibility that it sometimes lulls the conscience to stupor, where it should, instead, sting to renewing vigilance and vigor. As a result, side by side, hand in hand with its Christian teachings, its saintly lives, its heavenly charities, go—not as in other churches, dishonored and dragged, a body of death, but unnoted, practices which a freer inward development under a less rigid external imposition might reveal in their true light, might detach and destroy. As a political force, as an ecclesiastical principality, as a kingdom of earth, that church might thus become less powerful, but by the Christ standard it would be greater in the Kingdom of Heaven.

In all time-movements we must recognize the Divine hand, and Congregationalists bid God speed to those who follow the Master, even though they follow not us, even though they sometimes double and turn upon us; but much of enginery seems not only to belong to and to build up a kingdom of earth, rather than the Kingdom of Heaven, it seems also to have a tendency to conceal the real nature of the Kingdom of Heaven. Christ, leaving the earth as a person, to remain forever upon it as a presence, as the Holy Spirit, emphasized but one mode of evangelization: Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations.

Whenever an idea is sent fresh into the world, the tendency is for it to stiffen at once into forms. The foot-fall of Christ had hardly ceased upon the hills of Judea before His spiritual church was loading itself down with prescripts. Reason is constantly breaking forth into revolution against prescription, and is no sooner free than another system of prescription is constructed. It is the mission of Congregationalism constantly to antagonize this constant tendency—not to malign or traduce it, but to moderate it to the lowest advantageous point. It is the mission of Congregationalism to keep as close as possible to the Christ-idea. When the rest of the world is swinging its censer and broidering its gar-

ments in the name of Christ, it is the part of Congregationalism to remind the world, by example indeed rather than by precept, that this is not Christianity. It may accompany worship, but worship is other than this.

Congregationalism can make no greater mistake than to erect its simple and sensible forms into as rigid a framework as that which encases, and sometimes imprisons, other churches. As formalists, Congregationalists are weak. There is no comparison between our severe services and the sonorous, spectacular, and impressive ritual of what are called the historic churches. Our strength lies only in keeping close to the spirit and the teachings of Christ. Art and science and culture have done their utmost to produce the solemn forms of a thousand years' growth. We can have no hope of improving on that. These churches *are* historic because they have cultivated those qualities of human nature, love of beauty, music, sentiment, which answer most easily to cultivation. Our church has been relatively inconspicuous in history because its chief appeal is to the reason, upon which indolent human nature is loth to rely, from whose cultivation it largely shrinks. Christ makes a man judge for himself. Man greatly prefers to put upon some one else the responsibility of judging for him. The history of Congregationalism is a history of New Departures. It began fresh, pure, strong with the inspiring words of Christ. It has begun afresh many times since under the bold and lofty impulse of clear thought and holy aspiration. It is continually hardening into limits, fixity, death, but it rises again with newness of life, and each time a little higher, with a little more life than before. It will prevail only with the prevalence of reason.—Because I believe that mankind is on the road from tutelage to self-government, from the dominion of the animal to the dominion of reason, and that man can best learn to use his reason by using it, I am a Congregationalist.

It will readily be seen, as it naturally follows, that while other churches may, in seasons of torpor, fall back upon the embodied truth of their forms, Congregationalism, which has no embodied truth, must have its truth always fluent to be vital. The historic churches may afford to sleep, strong and confident behind their barrier of sentiment, their record of power, their store of litany and liturgy and ritual, feeling that the wheels are still turning while they slumber. But Congregationalism has no such barrier against

the steady tide of advancing thought; has no such substitute for the steady working of the ransomed and regenerated reason. Unless one is free-minded, active, receptive, with the windows of his soul —be they large or small—wide open to the rays of the ever-rising sun of righteousness, a Congregational church is no place for him. Nothing is more unattractive, I might almost say more repulsive, than the meagre formulas of Congregational worship in the hands of a pastor without thought. If one's mind has touched its limits, if he is settled immovably on any creed whatever, if he pins his faith to Scott, or Edwards, or Calvin, or Athanasius,—to any other than the one only name given under heaven among men whereby we can be saved—Congregationalism is not for him. Let him go into the historic churches, and sleep on there, and take his rest. In the Congregational church, he is losing all the good of their beautiful and imposing ritual, of the obedience and decorum which they command. He is missing all the good of the free mental play, the untrammeled spiritual growth, the incessant search for truth, the development of the whole man which constitutes the sole "reason to be" of Congregationalism.

Congregationalism is valuable only as it keeps the human reason in close, sensitive, loving contact with the Divine Reason. In constructing houses of refuge for the repose of reason, it is the weakest of all earth's architects, building but booths, always slight, sometimes uncouth, which every wind of heaven may rock and rend.

Nor is this a discourteous reflection upon other churches. That would be as foolish as un-Christian and false. Great men have been nurtured in them all, but is not greatness always Congregational? Great men rise above all denominational limits and appeal to the great congregation, to the universal reason. The great man is, I think, never great as a churchman. He is great outside and above his church. Nay, he is even generally at odds with his church. Its bonds hang loosely on him, and they who are held together only by bonds fear his bold, free flight. His constituency ceases to be denominational, ceases to be evangelical, ceases to be ecclesiastical, becomes the congregation of believers throughout the world, whether Jew or Romanist, or Calvinist, or Scientist,—men who keep bright the lamp of thought, feeding its perpetual flame from that central light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. GAIL HAMILTON.

OPERA.

THE form of Drama called Opera was invented about two hundred years ago. It reached its zenith of popularity during the first half of the present century, but during the last twenty or thirty years it seems to have declined in favor, if we may judge by the failure of those managers who have devoted themselves to its support. Paris, London, and New York have recently left Opera more or less "out in the cold." Sundry reasons have been given for this condition of affairs, but no one contends that it is not so. This kind of entertainment has never been thoroughly popular, because it is of foreign extraction, it is exotic, and found no root in the heart of the people. It has been sustained by government aid, or by private subscription. It has never been, like the Drama, self-supporting.

It is not in any spirit of depreciation of Music as an Art that I permit myself to discuss how far the Drama can be made, properly made, a vehicle for music, as it is used in opera. Whatever charms this thing may display; whatever merits it may claim, I protest, as a Dramatist, against its pretension to be a drama in any form or shape. It may be something finer, better, more ethereal, more divine,—I concede all the superlative adjectives,—but it is not a Drama.

It is no more a Drama than a mermaid is a Woman!

It is no more a Drama than a Centaur is a Man!

The Sphinx and the Satyr do not belong to the Human Race. And Opera like these monsters presents an incoherent form. It is a misconception produced by the improper association of two Muses.

I protest, as an actor, against the pretense of opera singers to be regarded as actors and actresses. They are not so. Their art is not mimetic, it is a conventional parade.

I have seen but one actor on the operatic stage deserving of

the name, and that was Georgio Ronconi. And he could not sing. When old Lablache began to act in opera, he stopped singing, he talked. But these men knew well that operatic acting is ridiculous sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Let us inquire precisely what a Drama is, what matters are essential to its form and existence, without which it can have neither the one nor the other.

A Drama is an imitation of a human suffering by persons skilled in counterfeiting emotions, so the spectators may be led to sympathize with the feelings they witness, and thus a species of illusion is created in their minds to the extent of believing the scenes they behold, and the feelings in which they share, are real.

To create this illusion is the great object of the poet and of the actor. The mirror they hold up to Nature is so fine and delicate that an untoward word or incident may shatter it.

There are three forms of Drama: the transcendental: which is regarded as the highest form, in which the personages are grander than Nature, their acts more important, their sufferings more heroic. As the human figure in the paintings of Buonarotti is represented of Titanic size, so the great poets give heroic proportions to their characters. But to render these heroic proportions acceptable, they select distant periods in which to place their plots, they magnify the characters of the past, relying on the imagination of the audience to assist in the illusion.

If another Shakespeare arose in this day, and placed "Hamlet" in 1880, and in Edinburgh, or "Romeo and Juliet" in New York, these plays, however poetic in treatment, would appear absurd in modern attire, because it would be impossible for the spectators to maintain the illusion that such people, speaking such language and acting in that manner, exist in Scotland or in the United States at the present day.

The second form of Drama is the natural and realistic. Here the personages are life size, their language and acts are not exaggerated nor heroic; the object being to present a faithful copy of our daily life as it is, or might be.

In both forms, the action must be profluent, coherent, consistent, for life is such.

The third form of Drama is the romantic, into which the supernatural may enter,—spirits of Good and Evil, scenes in which the poet relies on our superstition to raise the illusion,—but he

must, even in this supernatural world, make his action coherent, continuous, and profluent. So in the "Tempest," and in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," the admixture of the fanciful is in pursuance of the action, not at war with it, arresting or diverting it. It is brought into familiar association with the characters, to aid the belief in the existence of such sprites. Such means Shakespeare uses in the ghost scene in "Hamlet," and Goethe uses constantly in "Faust." Some dramatists consider the romantic to be a part of the transcendental Drama.

Now let us turn to Opera and compare that production with the Drama. The first kind of Music-Drama that became popular was what we call Italian Opera. The action of a play was taken and reduced to its simplest form. All the fruit and foliage was stripped off the tree, its trunk alone was retained. On this form was wreathed a string of melodies, in a particular order, something after the following fashion: Chorus—aria—trio—scene and cavatina—septette and chorus. The music rarely betokened the sentiment or the action that upheld it. It had little to do with that. The music was the food and the scenes were the plates and dishes on which it was served.

As this performance was sung the audience would be naturally unable to catch the words of the singer, which must be distorted in articulation. But still less could they understand what was going on when three, four, and six actors were all speaking at once, and a chorus of thirty or forty more were shouting at the same time. To enable the spectators, therefore, to discern what the Drama was about, a very popular subject was taken, in which every incident was known, and to give fuller aid and light to the obfuscated spectators they were liberally supplied with books. Against the Italian Opera, with its wreaths of impertinent melodies, there arose a protest in Germany, and the school which eventually produced Wagner insisted on regarding this Italian mosaic of melodies as a trivial composition. It claimed that a musical language exists which can interpret the feelings and passions with deeper eloquence than vulgar speech—a grand universal tongue, such as might have existed before Babel—such a vernacular as angels use in their Heavenly intercourse. They contend that this language applied to Drama raises Opera to the level of Tragedy, and Music becomes as immortal as Poetry. Can this be so? We should not dismiss lightly a claim

so earnestly made by the great thinkers. Can the sense of sound be so cultivated and developed? Let us remember that Music contains no great abiding truths: we may be momentarily the better for it, but it is evanescent,—it loses its charm by repetition, it becomes old-fashioned. The new music of to-day obliterates the old music of our fathers. Rossini and Donizetti put Mozart and Cherubini on the shelf. These were set aside by Gounod and pelted into a corner by Offenbach and Sullivan.

It is not so with Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Molier, Sheridan, Burns, or Goldsmith. We never tire of their music—they never become old-fashioned, these great high priests of Human Nature! They do not pretend to have discovered a new language —the last of them does not efface his predecessors.

Art is not a delirium; but music seems to unsettle by intoxication the brains of its lovers when indulged in to æsthetic excess.

Let us return to Earth.

If from the whole of an opera we remove the words, and leave the music to stand alone, we find it incoherent, confused, without symmetry, or direction, or completeness. Let this wordless opera be compared with a symphony, and its imperfection as a musical form will be apparent.

If from the whole we take the music, and allow the words to stand alone, we reveal the meagre, weak, and wretched frame called a libretto. We find a grand dramatic work of Shakespeare murdered for the use of its bones, of which we take up one like an osteologist, and say, "This once belonged to *Hamlet.*"

Let us ask ourselves frankly: If Beethoven had published the score of his great work as simply a piece of music, and had called it, as Mendelssohn might have done, "an opera without words," could any musician have discovered the plot, character, and passions in "Fidelio" by means of the music alone? Could he have imagined what it was all about? If Wagner had done likewise, would any Wagnerite pretend to say he could have had the remotest idea of "Lohengrin?"

Music, in its simplest form, may be called a sensuous art acting upon the nervous system; it appears to be, to a great extent, a physical faculty of appreciating the quality and consonance of certain fine vibrations of the air. It excites passions and emotions, especially an excitement which might be called "*hysterica musica,*" but it cannot describe or bring form or action to the

mind. It is, as it were, color without outline. It emits joy, grief, triumph, despair, love; but unless we are helped to the knowledge by explanation, we fail to understand what it is joyful, plaintive, triumphant, or despairing about! It is a language of vowels without consonants. It is inarticulate. Among the arts, therefore, it is the most sensuous and the least intellectual. Being understood without effort, it gratifies equally the savage and the child, and the reptile; it inflates us with volatile emotions, requires no brains to enjoy its charms; it makes us dance without cause, and cry without reason, and so it is the most popular of all the arts.

The recent representation of an opera composed by M. Verdi, entitled "Otello," and the criticisms on the work, brought forward in my mind these reflections, and caused me to put to myself these simple questions:

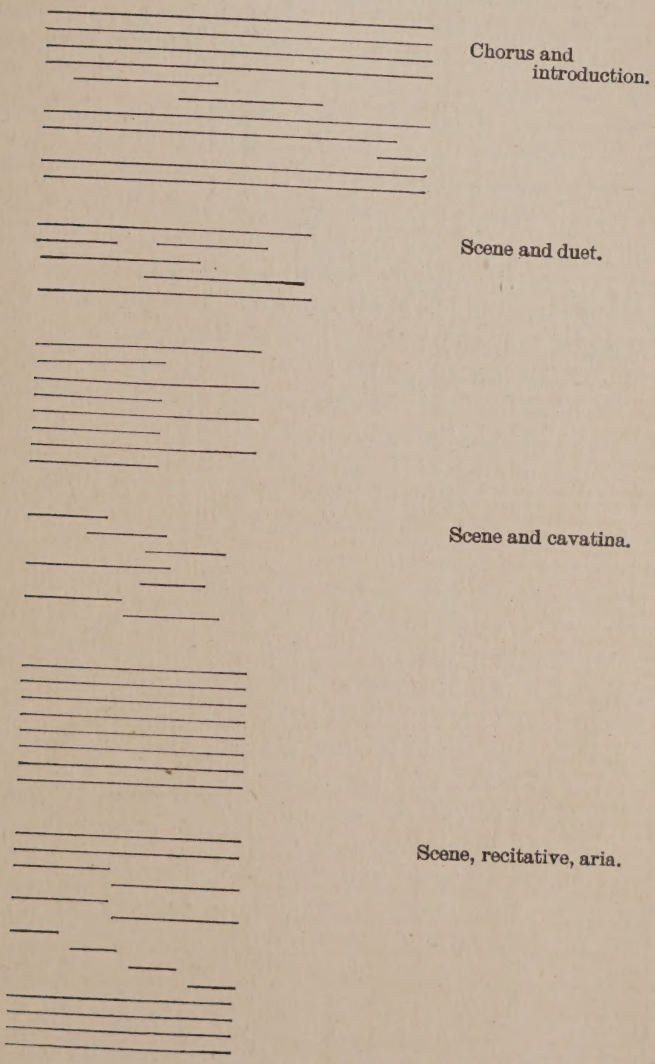
What position does Shakespeare hold in this work. "Othello" is a purely domestic tragedy; it is one of the best constructed of all the poet's works. The prefatory action in Venice, and up to the arrival of the wedded pair in Cyprus, is managed with great skill. The play really commences with this attitude, but the characters have been so skilfully developed in the first act that, as instruments, they are ready and familiar. The musical composer sweeps away the Act 1st and begins with Act 2d. He then strips the remainder of the piece, using it as a form on which to arrange his music, as the sculptor twists a frame of iron rods into a suitable shape to support the figure he is about to model in clay. One rod passes into the arm, and another up the back through the neck into the head, and so each limb depends on some internal stay of this kind, which is covered up by the figure, but without which it would fall to pieces. The frame is previously bent and its parts inclined to follow the intended subject. Shakespeare served as the iron frame—the skeleton form—on which M. Verdi shaped his music.

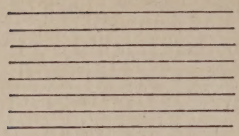
Some years ago Balfe asked me to write the book of an opera for him. We selected a subject and I went to work. I remember the summer evening, in 1843, when we met to read over my first act.

It would not do at all. I was ignorant of the musical plan on which an opera is constructed. Balfe was writing at this time for the French opera with Scribe and St. George, past masters, as librettists, so it is needless to describe the respect with which I

listened to the information Balfe gave me, as to their method. I kept for many years the diagram he furnished on that occasion. It is reproduced from memory, but it is correct in all the essential points.

ACT I.





The Dramatist is invited to put flesh on this skeleton—he must subordinate his drama in every respect to the necessities of the musical form! Feeling unable to accomplish the feat, the work was abandoned.

Some years afterwards Sir Julius Benedict asked me to give him the "Colleen Bawn" in operatic shape. I related my experience with Balfe, over which we laughed together very heartily, but Benedict clung to his affection for the Irish play, and we took John Oxenford into our counsels. Our names are coupled on the title page of the libretto, but all my share in the business consisted of witnessing how my lamb was butchered into a marketable shape, and called the "Lily of Killarney." All the sentiment, all the tenderness, all the simple poetry was swept away. We attended the first performance and I could have cried over it, but it was so drolly burlesque that as I sat and witnessed the attempted murder of *Eily*, laughter got the best of us both. "Yes," said John, "but listen to that!" The house was on its feet, and amid enthusiastic shouts the singers were called out to receive an ovation.

The glamour, the intoxication produced by the music not only covers and conceals the wretched thing on which it rests, but it transmutes the poorest acting into admirable effort. The most wooden of tenors becomes a miracle of tragic passion when he pronounces an upper D from the chest.

Let us take one of the best of the operas, "Lucia di Lammermoor," and select the most dramatic scene in the work, which occurs at the end of the second act, when *Ravenswood*, who has received the plighted troth of *Lucy*, returns from abroad to discover that she is about to wed his rival, *Bucklaw*. He appears in the midst of the marriage ceremony. The family, consisting of *Henry*, with the guests (basses), *Arthur Bucklaw*, with his friends (tenors), *Lucy's* friends (soprani), are struck with dismay and rage when *Ravenswood* tears his betrothal ring from *Lucy's* hand, an assault which neither *Lucy's* lover nor her brother see fit to notice excepting by making an abortive rush of two steps, and

then returning to their places in the sistette and chorus that follows in this manner :

Raimond.—Hence, begone ! or sure thoul't perish.
Arthur and Tenors.—Madman, hence ! our rage exciting. } All together.
Henry and Basses.—Madman, hence ! our fury fearing.
Raimond.—Life and rank thou holdest, cherish.
Arthur and Tenors.—O'er thy head thy fate suspended. } Together.
Henry and Basses.—O'er thy head thy fate is pending.

After more of this, *Lucy* and *Ravenswood* address each other simultaneously.

Lucy.—God protect him in this moment.
Rav.—Let me die before this altar.

Before they can complete the rest of their feelings *Raimond* interferes, and the three are crying together.

Lucy.—My prayer will never be rejected.
Rav.—Hour of vengeance now fulfilling.
Rai.—Hence betake thee.

Then in comes *Alisa* to the hubbub, and we find *Lucy, Alisa, Ravenswood, Arthur, Henry, Raimond,* all raging at each other in line, with the choruses behind them. Here is the dialogue :

"Go ! or thy blood shall quickly flow.
Go—yes—flow. Yes—yes—shall flow.
Thy blood. Go—go—go hence ! Yes,
On thy head. Go—go ! Yes—yes—fall.
Shall fall ! Vanish ! Yes, shall fall.
Go ! Ah, yes ! Ah, yes ! Cease, oh, cease !
Madman ! Our rage exciting, on thy head
Shall fall. Yes ! Go ! Thy head—ah, yes !
Shall fall—shall fall—Thy blood.
Yes, on thy head shall fall. It shall
Fall ! Thy blood it shall fall.
It shall fall. Hence, then hence !
Then thy blood shall fall. Yes,
Thy blood shall fall !"

During this, the six characters are charging the audience in line, all ejaculating together, all repeating again and again what they have said, until *Lucy,* in despair, seizes hold of *Ravenswood,* who drags her about the stage. Her lover and brother make a plunge at them, but remembering they have more to say they return to the charge at the audience without accomplishing their purpose, which, indeed, would have interrupted the sistette, and therefore was not to be thought of. So they allow *Lucy* and *Ravenswood* to struggle it out. He ends by throwing her in a heap, and rushes

out on the last note, which, of course, is his upper C, if he has one, and the curtain falls on this supremely ridiculous scene amid the enthusiastic plaudits of an unreasoning public.

With the music, which forms, of course, the greatest part of this exhibition, I have nothing to do. With the singers, as singers, I have no concern. But with the Drama that is degraded, and with the actors who present the figures in this performance, I have some business. The more so, as the press (who know better) have encouraged this misbegotten thing to assume a royal place in the theatre, to which it has no title. If the press has a vocation, so far as art is concerned, it is to guide and admonish the public, of which it is the brain. It has failed conspicuously in its duty in this respect to the Drama. Let us ask the wildest melomaniac on the press this simple question: If any of your tenor *Romeos,* or your soprano *Lucias,* should lose their voices, and find themselves obliged to tender their services as juvenile tragedian or leading woman in any dramatic company, where would they stand? Do you think Brignoli could have replaced Irving in a satisfactory manner? Do you think that Gerster or Adelina Patti could take the place of Ellen Terry or Ada Rehan? Divested of the glamour of the music, in what shape would these operatic artists appear?

You know that this is so, and knowing it, you write in the Parisian journals, in the London press, and in the American papers, in a strain of ridiculous extravagance concerning the dramatic powers of the singers! Why must I read with contempt of your pens that "Signor F., in the character of *Othello,* attained to such ideal perfection, in the scene of the bedchamber, that the artist had to repeat the *morceau* again and again amidst a *furor* rarely paralleled?"

And you fail to perceive the astounding absurdity contained in all this! *Othello* is called on to play a scene over again, and this is paraded seriously by you as evidence of his ideal perfection in the character! You cannot find adjectives in our language adequate to glorify this solemn buffoonery!

Either I am suffering under an aberration of mind—an artistic and literary cecity—or there is an idol in the sacred precincts of our Temple which diverts the worship of a portion of the people from their true and pure devotion to the drama.

Out with it!

DION BOUCICAULT.

GRANT AND MATTHEW ARNOLD. "AN ESTIMATE."

MR. ARNOLD introduced General Grant to the people of England in the January and February issues of "Murray's Magazine," and his articles have since been published in book form by Cupples, Upham & Co., of Boston, and entitled, "An Estimate."

As Grant had visited England and received the most cordial welcome from all classes, there is no conceivable reason for Mr. Arnold's *post-mortem* introduction of him, unless it be that Grant never lectured in Great Britain.

It is not necessary to introduce Mr. Arnold to the people of the United States. We know him by his distinction in the fields of learning, and besides that he has lectured to us. Indeed, if we may judge by his "Estimate" of Grant, he is not likely to lose any opportunity to lecture us. Perhaps we need it—certainly we can bear it. But we must be permitted a little hero-worship, though our idol be a man of the sword, not of the pen.

Having been General-in-Chief during a great war, and twice President of the United States, Grant's career is open to the closest scrutiny and the most rigid public judgment; and having published a book, he is amenable to the strictest rules of fair criticism. We should have no right, to be sensitive concerning Mr. Arnold's "Estimate," if it did not do injustice. Mr. Arnold has presented a weak and incorrect abstract of our hero's literary, as well as of his military work. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to assume the task of setting that right. The world will judge for itself of General Grant's *Memoirs* and of his public services. Beyond commenting upon a few general points, the only purpose of this article is to make some comparison between the literary work of the distinguished but matter-of-fact American soldier and the learned British critic.

It must be remembered that General Grant never posed as a scholar, and that he wrote his *Memoirs* in the throes of death, with no time to choose words.

Mr. Arnold says of Grant's *Memoirs*: "I found a language all astray in its use of *will* and *shall, should* and *would*—an English without charm and without high-breeding." This expression implies the assumption on Mr. Arnold's part that he is master of pure English. Does his article sustain that pretension? High lights in literature express their meaning accurately. When Mr. Arnold says that Grant's English is without "high-breeding," he does not mean that Grant himself is without "high-breeding." He uses the term high-breeding in relation to language, not on the sly in relation to the man. We understand high-breeding in men, in cattle, in dogs, etc., but Mr. Arnold will have to tell us what high-breeding in language is.

Mr. Arnold says that "in the rage for comparison-making the Americans beat the world." That shall not deter us from comparing the English of the American soldier and the British scholar. Grant says of his tiresome life at the Military Academy: "The last two years wore away more rapidly than the first two." Mr. Arnold, putting this into high-bred English, says: "His last two years *went quicker* than his first two." Grant says: "I had grown six inches in stature;" Arnold says, "with a stature that had *run up* too fast for his strength." Speaking of a large public meeting, Grant says, "In the evening the court-house was packed." Arnold says, "In the evening the court-house was *crammed*." Grant says: "My opinion was, and still is, that immediately after the fall of Fort Donelson the way was opened to the National forces all over the Southwest without much resistance. If one General who would have taken the responsibility had been in command of all the troops west of the Alleghanies, he could have marched to Chattanooga, Corinth, Memphis, and Vicksburg with the troops we then had, and, as volunteering was going on rapidly over the North, there would soon have been force enough at all these centres to operate offensively against any body of the enemy that might be found near them." This clear statement, when put into Mr. Arnold's high-bred English for the British public, comes out as follows: "He thought both then and ever after, that by the fall of Fort Donelson the way was opened to the forces of the North all over the Southwest without much resistance, that a

vigorous commander, disposing of all the troops west of the Alleghanies, might have at once marched to Chattanooga, Corinth, Memphis, and Vicksburg, and broken down *every* resistance."

Grant says: "On the 22d of August, 1848, I was married to Miss Julia Dent, the lady of whom I have spoken. In April following, I was ordered to Detroit, Michigan, where two years were spent with but few important incidents. . . In the spring of 1851 the garrison at Detroit was transferred to Sackett's Harbor, and in the following spring the entire Fourth Infantry was ordered to the Pacific Coast. It was decided that Mrs. Grant should visit my parents at first for a few months, and then remain with her own family at their St. Louis home until an opportunity offered of sending for her." Mr. Arnold converts this plain, smooth narrative into the following high-bred or *hybrid* English: "When the evacuation of Mexico was completed, Grant married, in August, 1848, Miss Julia Dent, to whom he had been engaged more than four years. For two years the young couple lived at Detroit, Michigan, where Grant was now stationed; he was then ordered to the Pacific Coast. It was settled that Mrs. Grant should, during his absence, live with her own family at St. Louis." If there is any "charm" in the construction of the foregoing statement by Mr. Arnold, or in his use of the words *now, then,* and *settled,* it is well concealed.

Grant says: "The enemy occupied Grand Gulf, Haines' Bluff, and Jackson with a force of nearly sixty thousand men. Jackson is fifty miles east of Vicksburg, and is connected with it by a railroad. My first problem was to capture Grand Gulf to use as a base."

Mr. Arnold's version of this is as follows: "The enemy had at Grand Gulf, at Haines' Bluff, north of Vicksburg, and at Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, in which all these places are, about sixty thousand men."

Of his efforts to earn a living after he resigned from the army in 1854 Grant says: "My wife had a farm near St. Louis, to which we went, but I had no means to stock it. A house had to be built also. I worked very hard, never losing a day because of bad weather, and accomplished the object in a moderate way. If nothing else could be done, I would load a cord of wood on a wagon and take it to the city for sale. I managed to keep along very well until 1858, when I was attacked by fever and ague. In

1858 I sold out my stock, crops, and farming utensils at auction, and gave up farming."

The English with "charm," into which Mr. Arnold throws this frank and pathetic part of General Grant's story, is as follows: "First he tried farming on a farm belonging to his wife near St. Louis; but he could not make it answer, though he worked hard. He had insufficient capital and more than sufficient fever and ague." Aside from the flippancy with which Mr. Arnold treats Grant's poverty and sickness, the last sentence just quoted entitles him to credit for a fair share of the "smartness" which he attributes to Yankees.

The foregoing are examples of the English of the man of the sword and the man of the pen. In no instance does Mr. Arnold's change in General Grant's English improve it.

But Mr. Arnold's failure to improve General Grant's English, in translating it for the British public, is not the only particular in which his article is defective. In some instances he fails to express the General's meaning. For example, speaking of the preliminary operations of the Mexican war, Grant says the occupation of certain territory was, apparently, "to force Mexico to initiate war." "We were sent to provoke a fight, but it was essential that Mexico should commence it." Surely that is plain enough. But Mr. Arnold renders it as follows: "Ostensibly the American troops were sent to prevent filibustering into Texas; really they were sent as a menace to Mexico, in case she appeared to contemplate war." Again, Grant says of his appointment to the Military Academy, Mr. Hamer, the member of the House of Representatives, "cheerfully appointed me." Mr. Arnold, observing, perhaps by a careless reading, that a Senator from Ohio was addressed upon the subject of the appointment, says: "The United States Senator for Ohio procured for young Grant, when he was seventeen years old, a nomination to West Point." The error in this instance is not serious, but as Mr. Arnold must know that every State of our Union has two Senators, his use of the definite article *the* in the sentence, "the United States Senator for Ohio," suggests that misuse of the definite article is not set down in his linguistic category as an offense. In fact, with some Englishmen the importance of scrupulous care in the use of *will* and *shall*, *would* and *should*, seems to overshadow many other things in letters. Nor is Mr. Arnold more particular with his pronouns than

with his articles. In speaking of Meade and Grant, he says: "Both Meade and Grant behaved very well. Meade suggested to Grant that he might wish to have immediately under him Sherman, who had been serving with Grant in the West. *He* begged *him* not to hesitate if *he* thought it for the good of the service. Grant assured *him* that *he* had no thought of moving *him*, and in *his* Memoirs, after relating what had passed, *he* adds:" etc.

It is not worth while to multiply illustrations, but it may be noted that Mr. Arnold's vocabulary is large. He has more words than he needs, and he appears to throw in the surplus to get rid of it. Possibly, however, the mystery of English with "charm" and "high-breeding" may lie hidden in the distribution of this surplus. Here are some examples: "The afternoon of *that same* day;" "he says with *perfect* truth;" "*high* genius;" "the United States Senator for Ohio procured for *young* Grant when he was 17 *years old;*" "*from this time* he was *always* the same strong man," etc.; "*almost exactly* the *same* strength as at the beginning of the campaign;" "if the South could succeed in prolonging an indecisive struggle year after year *still*, the North *might probably* grow tired of the contest;" "in the field there was some sharp fighting *for a day or two still;*" "but the Mexican war came *on* and kept him in the army;" "Grant declined because he was to go *off* that evening to visit his children." Perhaps *on* and *off*, as they stand in the last two sentences, are not as bad as they would be if they changed places, but they are unnecessary, unless it be that they give "charm" and "high-breeding" to the English.

Without making more comparisons between the English of General Grant and Mr. Arnold, the following may be taken from Mr. Arnold's article as fair examples of his English with charm and high-breeding. Comparing Grant before he went to West Point with English school boys, Mr. Arnold calls the latter "*our young gentlemen;*" and speaking of the way Grant was reared, he says: "*The bringing up* of Abraham Lincoln was, also, I suppose, *in this wise.*" Two more examples must suffice. Mr. Arnold says: "After Grant had, after a hard and bloody struggle of two days, won the battle of Shiloh, in which a ball cut in two the scabbard of his sword, and more than 10,000 men were killed and wounded on the side of the North, General Halleck, who did not love Grant, arrived on the scene of action and assumed the com-

mand." "And, therefore, crossing the James River he invested, after failing to carry it by assault, Petersburg, the enemy's stronghold south of Richmond. . . Finally, Grant, resuming operations in March, 1865, *possessed himself* of the outer works of Petersburg. . . Then Grant proceeded to *possess himself* of the railroad by which Lee's army and Richmond *itself, now* drew their supplies."

Under cover of a statement made by Grant, Mr. Arnold assumes the defense of the sympathy for the South shown by England during the rebellion. Grant says: "It was evident to my mind that the election of a Republican President in 1856 meant the secession of all the slave States and rebellion. Under these circumstances I preferred the success of a candidate whose election would prevent or postpone secession, to seeing the country plunged into a war, the end of which no man could foretell."

Upon this Mr. Arnold remarks: "I am not concerned to discuss Grant's reasons for his vote, but I wish to remark how completely his reflections dispose of the reproaches addressed so often by Americans to England for not sympathizing with the North attacking slavery in a war with the South upholding it. From what he says, it is evident how very far the North was, when the war began, from attacking slavery."

Did Mr. Arnold have to learn from Grant's book—"from what he says"—that the North was very far from attacking slavery when the war began? History abounds in proof of that. Our Congress, after war broke out, passed a resolution saying that "the war was not waged for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the permanency of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity and equal rights of the several States unimpaired;" and about the same time the Confederate Commissioners, Yancey, Mann, and Rust, said, in a letter to Earl Russell: "It was from no fear that the slaves would be liberated that secession took place. The very party in power has proposed to guarantee slavery forever in the States, if the South would but remain in the Union." That Mr. Arnold should discover these historical facts by drawing an inference from General Grant's book is as surprising as his discovery of General Grant in 1886; but his conclusion from the discovery is more surprising still. From the fact that Grant in 1856 held the

opinion that the election of a Democratic President would prevent or postpone a civil war in his country, and voted accordingly, Mr. Arnold draws the conclusion that Americans were unjust, or at least inconsistent, in reproaching "England for not sympathizing with the North attacking slavery, in a war with the South upholding it." The meaning is that as the North was not attacking slavery at the beginning it had no claim to English sympathy. This is a weak defense. According to the morals of England, slavery was a monstrous evil; and in this judgment a large part of our Northern people heartily concurred. But slavery, having been found by us as it was left here by England, was imbedded in our constitution; and our Government from the beginning had been part slave and part free, with the free part located in the North, growing in moral strength as well as in proportional numbers. The necessity for subjection of the slave-owners' will to the will of the Union after political control had passed to the North in 1860, the unwillingness of the North to have slavery extended, and a violent resentment by Southerners of abolitionism in the abstract, caused the Southern States to secede from the Union, and proceed to set up a government of which Mr. A. H. Stephens, its Vice-President, said in a public speech, March 21, 1861: "Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physiological and moral truth." Mr. Arnold tells us that "admiration and favor are not compellable; we admire and favor only an object which delights us, helps us, elevates us, does us good." The government described by Mr. Stephens, based upon slavery, is the one which Mr. Arnold admits many Englishmen, for whom he now offers a poor excuse, admired and favored, as against the government of the Union, founded upon the principle of human freedom, and composed largely of men devoted to the general enforcement of that principle. It is true that the Union, choosing between evils and trusting to the appearance of some peaceful process for eliminating slavery, was willing, at first, to let the evil alone where it existed, rather than enter upon a bloody civil war, the end of which, as Grant says, no man could foretell. But this dilemma of the North affords no excuse to Englishmen, who were not in the dilemma,

for taking sides with the South; nor does Grant's action in 1856 "dispose of the reproaches addressed so often by Americans to England for not sympathizing with the North" in the civil war of 1861–5. If English lack of sympathy for the North had been, as Mr. Arnold intimates, because the North did not attack slavery at the beginning, then surely, as soon as the Government did attack it, early in 1863, they would have been with the North heartily. But the abolition of slavery did not divert English sympathies from the South to the North.

Mr. Arnold himself probably has some love for Americans in general, for he uses the lash freely, and we are told that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth. Grant, Mr. Arnold tells us, "is boastful, as Americans are apt to be, for his nation?" "The Americans are too self-laudatory;" "Grant was boastful only in circumstances where nothing but high genius or high training, I suppose, can save an American from being boastful;" "The United States would be more attractive to us if they were more backward in proclaiming themselves the greatest nation on earth;" "The Americans in the rage for comparison-making beat the world; whatever excellence is mentioned America must, if possible, be brought in to balance or surpass it. That fine and delicate naturalist, Mr. Burroughs, mentions trout, and instantly he adds, British trout, by the way, are not so beautiful as our own."

Mr. Arnold shows a keen perception of the fitness of things by closing these extravaganzas with a *fish-story*.

It is to the chance by which "some documents published by General Badeau in the American newspapers first attracted his (my) attention to Grant" that the British people are indebted for Mr. Arnold's discovery of the American soldier, and it must be admitted that the treatment of General Grant in Mr. Arnold's so-called *Estimate*, though patronizing, is quite commendatory. Indeed, having caught from America "the rage for comparison-making," he compares Grant to the Iron Duke, saying: "But he certainly had a good deal of the character and qualities which we so justly respect in the Duke of Wellington." . . "Surely, in all this he resembles the Duke of Wellington." Englishmen are not boastful. They merely set up one of their own heroes as the standard of human greatness, and measure other men by that standard.

So, too, Mr. Arnold does honor to Grant's *Memoirs*. Not-

withstanding they are in language "all astray in its use of *will* and *shall*, . . an English without charm and without high-breeding," Mr. Arnold comforts us by saying, "surely the Duke of Wellington would have read these Memoirs with pleasure."

But having lifted us above the American level by admitting that Grant "had a *good deal* of the qualities" of the Duke of Wellington, and that the Duke "would have read these Memoirs with pleasure," Mr. Arnold drops us back by saying, "Cardinal Mazarin used to ask concerning a man, before employing him, *est-il heureux?* Grant was *heureux;*" and there he leaves us. How deeply are we indebted to him?

JAMES B. FRY.

LETTERS TO PROMINENT PERSONS.

No. 6.—To Hon. James Russell Lowell.

Sir : As a representative of the highest culture, a stern advocate of the loftiest moral principles in politics, this Republic welcomed your advent into the public arena. Of a family respectably known in the literary and theological world, a graduate and a professor of Harvard, a patriot by inheritance, and both patriot and poet by occupation, you had ever been forward to serve your country by the frankest disapprobation of those whose action was not impelled by your thought. Poetry, learning, satire, and denunciation you had brought to the establishment of righteousness and to the dis-establishment of mere expediency in the administration of government. No hand was swifter than yours to "hurl the contumelious stone" against such stalwart men as those who are "mere pegs to hang an office on" —phrases which you will recognize as your own. No voice sounded louder than yours in scorn of time-servers, who sacrifice principle to place ; who betray the people ; whose practical position is that stigmatized by your own Hosea Biglow that

> "Constitooents air hendy to help a man in,
> But arterwards don't weigh the heft of a pin."

Your keenest ridicule was poured out on those who consider the offices of the country as merely the means of private emolument ; who with your own "Pious editor,"

> "Du believe its wise an' good
> To sen' out furrin missions,
> Thet is on sartin understood
> An' orthydox conditions ;—
> I mean nine thousan' dolls per ann.,
> Nine thousan' more fur outfit,
> An' me to recommend a man
> The place 'ould jest about fit."

Of slavery you had proclaimed yourself the eternal foe ; you had taunted your countrymen with their submission to it. With jeer, and sneer, and scoff, and argument, you had striven to rouse men to resistance. You had indeed apparently not contemplated so fierce an antagonism as was subsequently developed. The large National idea was not within your scope. The moral wrong of slavery filled your vision to the exclusion of its essential treason. It had evidently not occurred to you that the true part of a heroic Nation is to gather itself for a mighty deed and strike out the life of its foe. Yours was the milder suggestion of hari-kari. You proposed to leave slavery in full blast, white and black equally under doom in the riven South, while the riven North should drag lamely along a strange and devious way. The grammar and orthography were the least "structural weakness" of your plan :

> " Ef I'd my way, I hed ruther
> We should go to work an' part,—
> They take one way, we take t'other,—
> Guess it wouldn't break my heart ;
> Men hed ough' to put asunder
> Them thet God has noways jined ;
> An' I shouldn't gretly wonder
> Ef there's thousands o' my mind.

Happily there was a stronger spirit in the thousands than you thought. They believed that God had joined them in a Nation, and they forbade slavery to rend the nation asunder. But in saving the Nation they crushed the economic, political, and moral wrong with whose infamy you had not ceased to sting them. In their rebound of relief from this overwhelming evil, they remembered only your valiant words against its toleration, and forgot your feeble words as to the method of its removal. You cannot wonder that they took your homely and vigorous verses as the guarantee of right-mindedness, the sign manual of a man whose keen eye might be depended upon to observe the pathway to National honor, and whose untiring feet would be sure to follow it. They conferred upon you the first office to which your country had ever called you, that of Presidential Elector for the first civic President after the re-established Peace. You were chosen by the Republican party, which had carried on the war to a triumphant close. You represented the district and the University in which centred your pride, your ambition, your life. You represented a corporation which had assumed a higher standard of political

morals, a higher measure of public faith, a more delicate sense of the honor which binds people and representatives than it could find beyond its own limits.

Still quoting your own words, I ask :

> " To what end. How yield you back
> The trust for such high uses given ?"

But one President had been chosen since his grave was made who had been struck down by slavery's dying blow ; one President had been chosen, and he the General whose fame was born of the deadly war between Slavery and Nationality. The party had again selected for its standard-bearer a man of unblemished character, a man who had risked life and limb on his country's side, against slavery. You were made Elector by your constituency for the purpose of casting their vote for the Republican candidate. You accepted the office without protest against the action, or manifest dissent from the opinion of your constituency ; yet, before the Electoral College had assembled, the air was sharp with suspicion that you meant to prove false to those who had trusted in you, by voting for their opponents. On one vote hung the fate of the election ; that casting vote you held. One hundred and eighty-four men, besides you, held a casting vote, but your fidelity alone was suspected. One hundred and eighty-four men, chosen from the profane ranks of politicians, bore themselves above temptation. Over your head alone, chosen from the walls of lofty Harvard, hung the dark cloud of doubt. One word, one decisive assurance from you, would have turned all these suspicions into apology ; but that word was not spoken, that assurance was not given. On the contrary, the newspaper organs of your known friends and intimates defended such action. They confirmed and inflamed suspicion by referring to and arguing from the old days when Electoral Colleges assembled " to elect and not simply to certify elections." As well might it be urged that because the word *let,* which now means *permit,* once meant *hinder,* a free man is to-day by law a slave. Your countrymen were not yet far enough from the war to be beguiled by such adroitness. Real swords leaped at you ; constituents you found were not only handy to help a man in, but had also some weight afterwards. You voted for the Republican candidate, as it would have been unprecedented baseness not to vote ; but it was not your own incorruptibility which bore off the

palm. It was one great man, a politician and an office-holder, of higher purpose and stronger principle than you, who in the inner political circles which your faction affects to despise, had the credit of restraining your feet and holding you to the plain path of duty. Can your wavering resolution ever permit you to be quite free from the stain of having waited like your own Birdofredum Sawin' to see,

"Wich way the tide that sets to office is aturnin'?"

The tide that set to office swept you in on its crest. Whether to fix your loyalty, or, remembering only your early principles and forgetting or mis-interpreting your later hesitation, the still victorious Republican party sent you to represent it abroad. The manner in which you accomplished your mission it is not my object now to discuss. Suffice it, that the story of your triumphant sallies upon London society penetrated promptly and frequently our American wilderness. Successive glows of pride thrilled the heart of the Republic at learning, from time to time, the important feats of your official life—that you had dined with a duke; that you had gone down to spend Sunday with an earl at his country seat. It was echoed with awe that you could accurately tell when the Aubrey de Veres were to be found at Redbourne Hall, and when at Bestwood Park; how your "engaging" friend, Lord Granville, was connected on one side with the Duke of Sutherland and on the other with the Duke of Devonshire—thus classifying even the august corpuscles of the blood of Gower and Cavendish. It is true that ever and anon some traveling countryman of your own came home laughing at a certain juvenility in your bearing towards him, at a simplicity that apologized for a lack of entertainment not required at your hands, but which gave you opportunity for exploiting the number and grandeur of the social engagements which prevented your hospitality; and some, it must be confessed, came swearing at a certain air of high distinction, caught, no doubt, in your hob-nobbing with the "quality," but which they profanely called your "—— snobbery and nonsense," your "—— provincialism and tomfoolery;" and sometimes cold shivers ran down even the back of London at your little lapses from etiquette.

Your own Birdofredum Sawin could hardly have perpetrated a grosser breach of courtesy than was whispered, I might

almost say snickered, against you in a certain English circle. They had been told that Mr. Evarts, soon after his appointment as Secretary of State, found you in what seemed a semi-relapse into literary but innocuous desuetude. Mr. Evarts elevated you at once into notice by appointing you to the Spanish mission, which had before been bestowed in recognition of literary merit—the mission to which Secretary John Quincy Adams sent Alexander Everett in 1824, to which Secretary Webster sent Washington Irving in 1842, the mission urged upon the historian Prescott by Secretary Clayton in 1849. The honor of the position tendered you by Mr. Evarts was greatly enhanced by the literary predecessors who had dignified and characterized it.

At the end of a year Mr. Evarts transferred you to the Court of St. James, thus bestowing on you the same compliment received by Richard Rush, Edward Everett and George Bancroft. If it were possible for distinguished tribute to establish a sense of gratitude or a claim to fidelity, you surely owed fidelity and gratitude to Mr. Evarts.

In turn you had a slight opportunity to show your appreciation of Mr. Evarts's intelligent friendliness. At the close of his service as Secretary of State, he visited London with his family. It was—I can hardly say noised—I should rather say it was silenced among Americans in London, that you failed to pay him, not only the respect of an officer to his chief, but the courtesy of one citizen of the world to another. Eminent Englishmen sought him out, against—it was whispered with dismay—your rather provincial efforts to keep him in the background. It was reported, in English diplomatic circles, with something between a grin and a groan, that an invitation left by Lord Salisbury at the American Legation for Secretary Evarts and his wife and daughter to spend some days at Hatfield, was suffered to lapse so grossly as to be conveyed for Mr. Evarts only, —thus depriving his family of the pleasure of a visit to the historic house of the Cecils, of seeing the State papers of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Burleigh, and of witnessing the highest form of English country life; and also depriving our English friends of the pleasure of knowing an American family, whose privacy I dare not invade, but the gentle grace and charm of whose inner life are as irrestible as the wit and wisdom and eloquence by which it is known to the world.

If this blunder had been an unintentional *gaucherie* on your part, it would have been bad enough, but it might have been classed and pardoned with the hundred other *gaucheries* committed by men intelligent, even cultivated, but not bred to diplomacy, and not, therefore, always skilled in the severe laws of its social etiquette. But in the strict privacy of diplomatic *coteries*, you were charged with even a more rustic blunder than this. It was remembered that when Mr. Evarts was urgently trying to induce you to push England to the payment of the Fortune Bay claims, you had so little comprehension of the scope of an American mission that you wrote naïvely to Mr. Evarts that Mr. Gladstone's Ministry would be embarrassed by yielding to any American demand just at that time. A smile flickered over averted faces in the diplomatic circles of both countries at Mr. Evarts's dry response, that, in his judgment, you would find it very difficult to adjust the interests of your own country to the shifting exigencies of political parties in England! That world within the world saw that you had keenness enough to detect the satire, but not high breeding enough to hide the smart. So, like the rural lass resenting her slighted charms, you sulked visibly, and thus confessed your snub.

The world outside of yours, however, knew nothing of this. The country at large could only see its representative visiting the English peerage, and had small sympathy to waste on the wrath or the raillery of individuals—mere Americans, even though they were recognized at home as your social or intellectual superiors. You fulfilled, so far as can be seen, to the general satisfaction of English society, and to the entire satisfaction of your own ideal, your official duties. You had, without protest, accepted high office at the hands of the man whose election you had been hardly restrained from opposing. No symptom of restlessness in your position escaped you; no evidence of antagonism to the principles or the methods of the party that appointed you is on record; no discontent with the duties or the emoluments of your position, no conscientious scruples concerning the men or the measures of Republicanism ever wrung from you a token of desire to resign your office. You kept it cheerfully through the whole term of the administration which appointed you. Through all the stress of the election which decided its successor, you held your peace. The silence of the grave was not

more profound. When the Republican succession was assured, your spirit was still unbroken. The files of history will be searched in vain to find any anxiety recorded by you as to the policy to be pursued by the incoming administration of Garfield. Reform or spoils, free-trade or protection, territorial expansion or naval construction, South American trade or decaying ships, hard money or soft, bribery and coercion at elections, or a free vote and a fair count—all these things you silently relegated, with touching trust, to the party in power. The sole point on which you were known to desire reassurance was whether you, yourself, were to be continued in office. On this point I suppose you were reassured. I do not know. Certainly you were continued in office. Through another four years of Republican Administration you were smoothly piloted. In the next, as in the preceding election, you gave no sign. Your legs rested tranquilly under English mahogany, while the struggle went on between your party of liberty and the party of slavery; between the party that fought and the party that forced the war; between the party which organized your idea of progress and reform and the party which your comrades have stigmatized as the party of spoils and obstruction. But when the struggle was over, when your party was defeated, when your office was irretrievably gone from you and you had nothing to lose, then, as unexpectedly, though not as pertinently, as Balaam's interlocutor, you opened your mouth and spake—not simply in courteous welcome to your successor, but in contumely of the hand that had fed and led you, and that you had followed with docility for six years. I do not say that because it fed, you followed; but certainly while it fed, you followed; and when it had been struck away you sprang to repudiate it. Publicly you regretted—so flashed the uncontradicted wires across the sea—that you had not been privileged to cast a vote against the Republican party and for the party which had overthrown it. No loyalty to comrades with whom you had long and willingly served, no stanchness to principles which you had warmly and publicly advocated; no quick instinct of self-respect, of the reticence due to your own dignity; no chivalric impulse of fidelity in defeat, forbade you instantly to transfer your sympathy from the vanquished to the victors.

Even your regret, though indecent, was impotent. What hindered that you were not in a position to cast the desired vote? What hindered the sixty days leave of absence which your diplo-

matic colleagues obtained—who came home, and openly exercised the freeman's privilege of the ballot? What could have been easier than seasonably to resign the office of representing the offensive party's policy and go home to vote against it? What, at least, would have been easier than to express your wish while, as yet, it might have an effect upon the election? What can your countrymen infer but that you occupied the position of your own Birdofredum Sawin; that public office meant for you,

> "Nine thousan' dolls per ann.,
> Nine thousan' more fur outfit,
> An' me to [represent the] man,
> The place 'ould jest about fit.
> This doth my cup with marcies fill,
> This lays all thought o' sin to rest,—
> I don't believe in princerple,
> But O, I *du* in interest.
> It ain't by princerples nor men
> My preudent course is steadied,—
> I scent wich pays the best, an' then
> Go into it bald-headed.
>
> "An' then another thing;—I guess, though mebby I am wrong,
> This Buff'lo plaster ain't agoin' to dror almighty strong."

When your "mebby" turned out to be right, when you found that the Buffalo plaster did draw "almighty strong," that it had drawn you out of office, out of your nine thousan' dolls per ann., nine thousan' more fur outfit,—then, in violation of all official and personal courtesy, you betook yourself to

> "Praise
> To him that has the grantin'
> O' jobs—in every thin' that pays,
> But most of all in cantin'.

During your occupation of the English mission under the Republican party, you had so discharged its duties toward Ireland as to earn the flaming hatred of every Irishman in America. No sooner were you launched into the Democratic party at home, than, forgetting the fastidiousness of your English affiliations, you began to touch glasses with any McTom, O'Dick and Harrigan, that Democratic Boston chose to summon to its municipal banquets; and the telegrams that had blossomed erst like Aaron's rod with your revelings at the Duke of Omnium's, now sadly drooped under the burden of municipal festivities with Hugh O'Briens.

Of what sort was the President to whom your praise was supererogatively offered? Who was the man who thus lured you into your fatal infidelity, who led you thus to debase your elegant culture, your moral elevation, to the sordid demand of dollars and cents? The candidate of your party, the party which was yours until it was defeated, was far and away the leader of the Republican organization. An advocate of other policies, I feared his nomination and opposed his election, but every honorable Democrat recognized him as the able and adequate exponent of his party. Whether the party were right or wrong, he fitly represented the party. Born and reared like yourself from generations of refinement and culture, long a prominent and familiar figure in State and National legislation, where his opinions were always sought and always fully and boldly set forth, skilled in administration, on terms of intimacy with the public men of both parties, known on the hustings probably to a larger voting population than any other man in this country, and supported always by the popular vote, a logical thinker, an eloquent speaker, an elegant writer,—perhaps no man ever more amply gathered within himself alike the purposes and the aspirations of his party than did the candidate against whom you were careful to say nothing, so long as it was possible that he might have it in his power to continue or remove the Minister at St. James, but whom, after his defeat, you hastened ostentatiously to abandon.

And you, of the faction that cleaved off from its party on the question of fitness for office; you, a man of learning, a citizen who had taken large part in discussing the most important, the highest moral politics of your country; you, who had shared her honors and emoluments;—you regretted that you had not been able to assist in elevating to the highest position in the country a man, not simply without learning, but ignorant of the ordinary political history of the nation he was set to govern; a man who had never been in her councils, who had absolutely no experience in legislative assemblies or in national affairs; a man who, as I have previously taken occasion to say, had passed through exciting years that heralded our civil war, had passed through the civil war itself, had passed through the eventful years succeeding the civil war, without uttering one word that could be recalled to indicate preference for either of the contending forces, knowledge that there was any war in progress, or any opinion whatever in

the equally momentous conflict of opposing theories after the re-establishment of peace. You thought it a wise and lofty thing, an intellectual feat and moral victory, to put at the head of this great country, this vast, noble, and advancing nation, a man who had never uttered a word for his country, nor ever lifted his hand in her defence higher than the hangman's rope. You hastened to transfer your allegiance to a man of brutal manners, of stolid instincts, of vulgar associations; a man who was a stranger to polite society, unacquainted with public men, ignorant of human nature, ignorant of politics as of letters—a man whose elevation to the Presidency of Harvard would have amazed and disgusted every alumnus in the country, would have offended and alienated every professor and tutor in the University; a man whom a brilliant member of his own political party declares to be "a wooden image, of dull self-sufficiency and cold stolidity, as incapable of receiving impressions as of returning warmth, sensible of criticism only to the point of resenting it."

In all this I have not one word of blame for the President of your choice though not of your choosing; he did not make himself President; he but accepted what no man ever refused. As President, he has fulfilled every reasonable anticipation; he has executed the duties of his high office precisely as was to be expected of an executioner. But what can be thought of the culture of Harvard, what can be thought of her fitness for training young men to citizenship, when, at a crucial moment, she deliberately pronounces for ignorance, for inexperience, for indifference, and a rude morale, as proper pre-requisites to the greatest honor, the most arduous duty, the most weighty responsibility? With higher hope, with more palpable appropriateness, might you have elevated to the Presidency of Harvard the sheriff who hung your own professor for the murder of his friend. Your sheriff did his duty; so did Grover Cleveland his. But it is not the duty that best prepares a man to direct the education of young men, or to guide the policies of great States.

Once, you wrote in the promising spring-time of your manhood,

> "Once to every man and Nation,
> Comes the moment to decide,
> In the strife of truth with falsehood,
> For the good or evil side."

Such a moment came to you! On one side stood the memories

of your aspiring youth, the impulses of your matured strength, the claims of learning, character, statesmanship, faith to the traditions of your Alma Mater, opportunity to bind your country to spiritual progress and material advancement. On the other side were retrogression, incapacity, the neutralization of your early influence, the practical contradiction of your high verbal morality, the rule of the low, the crowning of the evil. And deliberately you chose the evil. You yielded your country to the hands of the party that had sought to rend her beautiful seamless robe, against your own party that, with whatever blunders, had secured at infiinte cost its integrity. You were fain to deliver your government into the coarse keeping of ignorance, rather than into the expert hands of culture. What words better strike the note of our inevitable lament than your own measures of a happier time :

> "O utter degradation ! Freedom turned
> Slavery's vile bawd to cozen and betray
> To the old lecher's clutch a maiden prey !"

By what token then do you stand in the place of the fathers, with two hundred and fifty years of noble sacrifice behind you, fronting a future of noble endeavor, and assume to speak for the better part, for the higher life ? As between an education which develops character or personal availability, you said loftily before the citizens of the world, at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of your Alma Mater, as between the effect of education "in the conduct of life, or on the chances of getting a livelihood, I should choose the former."

"The devil you would !" blurts out your Democratic ally, scorning while accepting such help. When would you ? Was it when, in the uncertainty of a great crisis, you hesitated between truth and treason to your own party, not knowing which way the tide that sets to office was "a-turnin'"? Was it when your party had secured the fruits of victory, and had therefore secured you, for the remainder of its term of ascendency, by giving you an

> "Office that includes good easy-cheers and soffies ?"

Was it when the party, having lost its "easy-cheers and soffies" with its ascendency, lost also you, and for thanks or good wish from you in its defeat received a parting kick—was that the hour when you chose character rather than personal availability, the

conduct of life rather than the chances of getting a livelihood? Surely at those significant moments culture showed its height by the same tokens that greed of office and mercenary politics in a vulgar Democracy employ.

When you affirmed at Harvard that the highest office of a University is to distribute the true bread of life, you must, with Hosea Biglow, have stipulated a mental reservation that the bread should—

> "Come back in many days, an' buttered tu, fer sartin."

You argued that our ancestors believed in a college education, —that is, in the best education to be had; that nothing is so great a quickener of the faculties as the frequent social commingling of men who are aiming at one goal by different paths. You expressed the belief that Harvard would speedily take on the form and functions of a great University, "And whenever that does happen," you said, "it will be due, more than to any and to all others, to its able President, who, by a rare combination of eminent qualities, would carry the work forward without haste and without jar." You announced it as one prime weakness of a Democracy to be satisfied with the second best. You pronounced that the only way in which our civilization can be maintained at its present level,—still more, be raised higher,—is by bringing the influence of the more cultivated to bear with more energy and directness on the less cultivated, for refinement of mind and body. You declared that Democracy must show its capacity for producing the highest possible types of manhood, must satisfy the inextinguishable passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from the common and the vulgar. You declared that the most precious property of culture, and of a college, as its trustee, is to maintain higher ideals of life and its purpose. You pointed out that we are dealing with a time when the belief seems to be spreading that the better mind of the country is growing more and more alienated from the highest of all sciences and services,—the government of it. You implied that the work of a college is to make a man of culture, a man of intellectual resources, a man of public spirit, a man of refinement, with that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and that conscience which is the good taste of the soul.

These be parlous words. But you did not teach in parables

alone; you brought your object lesson with you; you proffered yourself as an object lesson. "I stand here as a man of letters, and as a man of letters I must speak." Were you satisfied to present your political ideals in person? Did you feel that you had so borne yourself as to convince the ignorant Democratic politician that Harvard culture fits a man for delicate political discrimination, for sound public judgment, for lofty fidelity to duty? Did the President at your side point your moral and adorn your tale? Did the Alumni who heard, or the wider congregation that read, your words make an application, the stronger for being indirect, to the Nation's head, by attributing whatever national advance is made, to the rare combination of eminent qualities in the able President for whose election you had secretly agonized, and at whose election you had publicly rejoiced? Did you feel that you were honoring the belief of your ancestors in a college education, by placing in the highest office a man who had disdained a college education; or by what process had you discovered in him natural administrative or intellectual traits so strong as to make the lack of college training insignificant? Was this President of your choice a man who has widened his views and quickened his faculties by social commingling with scholarly and intellectual souls? "Unless Democracy," you said, "know how to make itself gracious and winning it is a failure." This man of your æsthetic choice, "this wooden image of dull self-sufficiency and cold stolidity, as incapable of receiving impressions as of returning warmth"—is his the gracious and winning demeanor which proves Democracy a success? Did your great audience in Sanders' Theatre, and your still greater audience outside, instinctively discern in your advocacy of the President your patriotic and cultured way of antagonizing the prime weakness of a Democracy in being satisfied with the second best? In holding up your President before the ingenuous youth of Harvard and the learned gentlemen from abroad, did you feel that you were displaying your country's first best, and your own superior vision in discerning it? Did you impress his image, his "wooden image," upon your audience as that of the only available man in the ranks of the Democratic party, by whose influence civilization could be maintained or elevated, whose refinement of mind and body could be brought to bear with more energy on the less cultivated and refined, whose high type of manhood could satisfy the inextinguish-

able passion of your soul for what is away from the common and the vulgar? "The measure of a Nation's true success," you had averred, is "its contribution to the thought, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation of mankind, let our candidates flatter us as they may." Did your candidate ever flatter us that way? Did you glow with the consciousness that in maintaining him for the Presidency you had been maintaining the highest ideal of life and its purpose; that you were enlisting the better mind of the country in the government of it, and were so commending Harvard to the nobler aspirations of the land? When the President of your choice, your hero of the rare combination of eminent qualities, and of the culture of high social commingling, your first best and last best product of Democracy, the fine flower of your inextinguishable passion against the common and the vulgar, your measure of the Nation's spiritual, moral, and intellectual contribution to mankind—when he lifted himself on your pedestal before the assembled learning and wisdom and grace of Harvard, gathered from the old world and the new, and showed himself sensible of criticism, to the point of resenting it then and there, was your inextinguishable passion gratified? Did he evince the mental resource which needs no college lore, the refinement which is deeper than training, the good taste which is the conscience of the mind.

Here even you had the grace to falter. Confronted with your Frankenstein prodigy, your inextinguishable passion succumbed. You turned and fled to cover. The friendly Roman opened its arms to your shelter. But neither in Latin nor in English did you venture so much as to allude to the moral energy, or the intellectual resource, or the spiritual consolation, or the Democratic graciousness, or the high ideal which you had sought to saddle on the country. You prudently confined yourself to second-class traits, and those, even, of doubtful quality—courage, which is as often and as correctly counted insensibility or ignorance; strength of purpose, which in the lack of reason is but foolish obstinacy, and breaks before selfishness and intimidation into equally foolish surrender; fidelity to duty, which in the earlier days of your ideal leader seemed to have a vague existence, though it was fidelity to duty dimly seen and stolidly construed, and even that, the stress of political pressure soon shattered and scattered as dry leaves that before the wild hurricane fly. Ability

to withstand the "*civium ardor prava jubentium*," is the special quality with which Matthew Arnold credits President Grant; but to that faction of one party and dissatisfaction with all parties which your Holiness represents, no man was more obnoxious than President Grant. You and the English poet may share the honor of a Latin quotation, but that the two Presidents do not share the trait to which it points, thousands of facts testify.

Even had these qualities indisputably existed, they are qualities which equally fit a man to be a hod-carrier or a President; they qualify and disqualify for no station whatever, but belong to all stations, and consist with every disqualification as well as every qualification for high and *exigeant* office. You brought Seneca's pilot to your aid, but you dared not aver that Seneca's pilot was a good one, only that he would keep his rudder true. True to what? Seneca's pilot may weld himself to his rudder, but whether his stanchness is valuable or not depends upon whether he understands navigation. If he had never before done anything but row a skiff down your Charles River, sticking to the rudder would not keep him off the rocks of Cape Hatteras. You left your party and abandoned even the etiquette of diplomacy, to exalt to the chief command of this great ship of state, the greatest on the high seas, a man who had no experience whatever in ocean sailing, and but the slightest accidental experience in river craft; whose duties on river craft had been chiefly below stairs, and who, even as steerage cook, had preferred to be his own scullion. If you did not know this, where is your intelligence? If you did know it, where is your honor?

And after these political tricks before high heaven you dare stand up as a man of letters, and claim to choose the conduct of life rather than the chance to get a living; claim to advocate the first best as against your country's low democratic lurch to the second best; claim to be setting your shoulder to the wheel of our political civilization to raise it to higher levels! As a man of letters you must speak, and you clamor to your gods to "give us first of all and last of all the science that ennobles life and makes it generous." I, too, stand here as a man of letters, and as a man of letters I speak; and looking around upon the noble men of both parties, Republicans and Democrats, men of learning and accomplishments and achievements; men of great ideas and high ideals, whom you have passed by to laud a man who has neither;

men of direct purpose and simple faith and unwearying patience; men who transact their country's business as if it were their own, erring sometimes it may be, not assuming a monopoly of moral purity, or mental discernment, or political knowledge, but doing man's work in modest, manly way—and I refer your petition for an ennobling science to your own earlier words:

> "Look inward through the depths of thine own soul;
> How is it with thee? Art thou sound and whole?
> Doth narrow search show thee no earthly stain?
> Be noble, and the nobleness that lies
> In other men, sleeping but never dead,
> Will rise in majesty to meet thine own.
> Then wilt thou see it gleam in many eyes;
> Then will pure light around thy path be shed."

ARTHUR RICHMOND.

SOME MORE WAR LETTERS.

I.

This second installment of war letters will further serve as side lights on some of the events of the Rebellion. There are fewer purely official letters here, perhaps, than among the first ones printed, but they are not for that reason of less interest. The more than twenty years that have passed since the war, the public events to which these letters relate, and the death of many of the writers, is a full justification for publishing them. They contain few personal reflections, or, where they do, time has modified some of the opinions, as it has cooled all the passions of the war.

When the subjoined letter of General Bragg to General Sherman was written, he was one of the board of the military school where Sherman was a tutor. Sherman had heard the "secesh" cry of the South, had resigned his post, and was going North. The letter is of extreme interest, showing, as it does, how the great State of Louisiana was to be dragged out of the Union by "political hacks" and "bar-room bullies." The *people* of Louisiana, on a fair vote, would have given fifty thousand voices against secession. The "bullies," however, and the "political hacks" determined in mock convention that Louisiana must go, and she went. All old soldiers will remember how common a thing it was to hear captured prisoners of war from Louisiana exclaim: "We never wanted to secede. I went to the war because my neighborhood drove me to it. Individually, I am a Union man, but I couldn't stand the rebuke and the ridicule of the Louisiana politicians and bullies." These were almost the identical words of two Louisianians, brothers and officers, whom the writer helped to capture at Vicksburg. "Couldn't stand the racket of the secesh bawlers," said the Captain; "and here I am —a leg off, my plantation in ruins, my negroes free, myself a

prisoner, and the bawlers still bawling!" "South Carolina is *gone,*" thought Bragg, "beyond recall." A little friendly recalling later on the part of Sherman's boys, and South Carolina came back.

"BATON ROUGE, *December* 26, 1860.

"MY DEAR SHERMAN: Your letter addressed to me at this place was forwarded and reached me just as I was about to leave here. The decision you have formed does not surprise me, indeed I do not see well how it could be otherwise under the circumstances in which you are placed; and you will yet do me the justice to believe it is most painful to realize the necessity. You are acting on a conviction of duty to yourself, and your family, and your friends. A similar duty on my part may throw us into an apparent hostile attitude; but it is too terrible to contemplate, and I will not discuss it. You see the course of events. South Carolina is gone, nothing can recall her: *the Union is already dissolved.* Mississippi has just elected a convention all the same way. Alabama the same. There will be a strong fight in this State, the city delegation will probably control the convention, and both parties are making great efforts there. But it all amounts to nothing, the Union is already gone. The only question now is, can we reconstruct any government without *bloodshed?* I do not think we can, and the question is momentous. Yet we find a few old *political hacks* and *bar-room bullies* are *leading public sentiment*, and will in many cases represent us in convention. They can easily pull down a government, but when another is to be built, who will confide in them? Yet no one seems to reflect that anything more is necessary than to 'secede.' Such a chaotic map to work on has never presented itself to my mind, and I can see nothing but confusion to come of it. We have had a preliminary meeting of our 'Military Board,' and laid down a plan for the formation of military companies. We have 5,000 stand of arms—muskets—are to proceed to New Orleans to-morrow to see what can be done in enlarging it. All received from the Government so far are gone, issued to volunteer companies and thrown away without the slightest accountability. Unless brought into service, and kept under discipline, how are we to prevent the same thing again? A regular force is the only alternative.

"I shall continue to hope, though without reason, that Providence will yet avert the great evil. But should the worst come, we shall still be personal friends. What are we to do to keep up our Bouturn? Is either of your professors fit to take your place? Can we get a suitable man elsewhere? Confer freely with Gen. Graham on the subject. We all have full confidence in your judgment, and it will go far in deciding our course if you leave.

"The trouble about your salary was an oversight in not amending the estimates after the bill was passed. No appropriation was made. There can be no difficulty in getting it through the next session. I will try and get it done early in the session.

"Whenever a supply of arms are sent to you the Board will employ a man as armorer, or authorize you to do it, for their preservation.

"Very truly and hastily yours,

"BRAXTON BRAGG."

Here is what it all brought to Bragg. The fleeting honors of commandership of armies only involved one of the best-souled men of the Confederacy in poverty and the humiliation of

being compelled to sue for favors from the one who had beaten him in his greatest battle. It was an old-time friend, however, to whom he addressed the following—one, too, whose attachments for his misguided friends in the South were not destroyed even by the bitterness of war. The letter is not less pathetic than the oft-recurring scenes of later years at Army Reunions, where ex-confederates join hands with the victors, and unite in the applause over a restored Union. It is one of the blessed signs of the times that gladdened the heart of the hero of Appomattox, before death closed his eyes at Mount McGregor.

"ST. LOUIS HOTEL, New Orleans,
"*January* 25, 1867.

"DEAR SHERMAN: Your kind and not unexpected offer of services, whenever you could aid me, induces me to address you on a matter of great private importance to me. I do so more to elicit your opinion and advice than to ask any action. Impoverished by the war, I am seeking some employment by which I may secure an honest and decent living for myself and my wife in her old age.

"When Butler's forces, under Weitzel, took possession of this country, you are aware I was absent in Kentucky. My wife was at home on her plantation. It was a property purchased with her means, and, by the laws of this State, could not be made liable for my debts or any acts. Of these two facts you have some personal knowledge. She was expelled from her possessions, the real estate was seized and used for military purposes, and all the movable and personal property was taken for the use of the troops or destroyed.

"Included in that seized and used by the troops, I remember 300 hdds. sugar, 1,000 bbls. molasses, 8,000 bu. corn, 50 head beef cattle, 50 head horses and mules, wagons, hay, etc., etc., etc. It has occurred to me, that as these stores were taken for and used by the supply departments of the army, and both in law and in fact belonged to a party in no way involved in the controversy, but who was living quietly at home, that possibly *her* claim to some compensation for supplies absolutely used might be recognized by the departments. Can you aid me in coming to a conclusion on this point, and suggest the best course for me to pursue? If it should invoke the necessity of an application to Congress, of course I shall not attempt anything.

* * * "Are you able to enlighten me on this point, or can you aid me in getting the subject properly before the department whose province it is to decide it?

"You know me too well to believe for a moment that I would allow you to involve yourself in any way with the government, or that I would accept services which you could not render with perfect delicacy and propriety.

"With sentiments of old, I am truly yours,
"BRAXTON BRAGG.

"GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, U. S. A. Direct to St. Louis Hotel."

II.

We can only guess if Thomas is the "*solid*" man referred to in this little note from Bragg to Sherman. The letter shows what

sort of confidence business men had in Tecumseh Sherman long before the world heard of him as a soldier.

"MOBILE, Alabama, *June* 3, 1855.

"MY DEAR SHERMAN: * * * * * * * * * * * T—— is not brilliant, but he is a *solid*, sound man; an honest, high-toned gentleman, above all deception and guile, and I know him to be an excellent and gallant soldier.

"So far, I have been unable to find a bargain in a plantation to suit me, but I am still looking out. There is much property in the market, but it is held too high. A short crop this year will bring it down.

"The progress of affairs in California has interested me no little, and though I felt that you were safe if energy, foresight, and decision could save a man, yet no one can be always ready to meet these sudden fancies. You have a substantial reliance in your St. Louis house, which cannot well fail whatever may be the atmosphere about you. I heard of a remark made by Mr. Lucas which, I was told, was characteristic of him and not intended for you. A meeting of bankers in St. Louis was considering the crisis which was upon them there, and Mr. L., in conversation, remarked that he cared nothing for matters in St. Louis—for that he was ready, but that the house in California gave him great anxiety; that he had induced a young man to leave the army, where he was safe, and embark in a business which might ruin him, and that he would rather suffer $200,000 himself than see such a result. With such a *backer* you are in no danger. I do not know where I may be next. From here I go to Washington.

"As ever, your friend,

BRAXTON BRAGG."

When General Thomas was in front of General Bragg at Chattanooga, he sent the latter a package of open letters from some Northerners to friends in the South, with the request that they be forwarded as addressed.

Bragg immediately sent the package back to Thomas, with an indorsement written on it to the effect that he declined to have any communication with a General who had betrayed his own State (Virginia). Thomas, in relating the incident afterward, got greatly excited, "fired up," and declared to Sherman he would some day be even with Bragg. Here is a word from General Garfield on the incident:

"HIRAM, O., *August* 1, 1870.

"DEAR GENERAL: Accept my thanks for your very interesting letter of the 28th ult., in regard to General Thomas. The incident concerning Bragg was characteristic of Thomas, and yet but few knew that he *could fire up* in that way.

"I am still in want of some one who was with him at Carlisle Barracks.

"With greatest respect, I am, very truly yours,

"J. A. GARFIELD.

"GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Washington, D. C."

III.

One would imagine that if anything in the world would lead

a commander to prompt action, the following letter from General Grant to General Granger, after the battle of Chattanooga, would have had that effect. It seems it did not in this case, for Grant, to secure haste, found it necessary, almost at the start, to supersede Granger by General Sherman.

"I was loth to send Sherman," says Grant, in his Memoirs, "because his men needed rest after their long march from Memphis [four hundred miles forced march] and hard fighting at Chattanooga, but I had become satisfied that Burnside *would not be rescued* if his relief depended upon General Granger's movements." . . . "Granger had not only not started, but was very reluctant to go."

What excuse General Granger ever made for this disobedience of an important order has never yet leaked out. It might have cost the Union the capture of Burnside's army. It is safe to say, had the boys of the 15th Army Corps known the cause of their extra march to Knoxville, General Granger would have been in an uncomfortable position. Alas! were all the story told of disaster in our war, and of the hecatombs of lost through ignorance of generals, through disobedience of orders, and through being "reluctant to go," men would wonder sometimes if, after all, the good achieved had been worth the sacrifice. The bloodshed that was not of war, but of incompetency and disobedience, forms a dark picture of the great contest.

"HEADQUARTERS MIL. DIV. OF THE MISS.
"CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., *November* 29, 1863.

"MAJ.-GEN. G. GRANGER, Comd'g 4th Army Corps:

"GENERAL: It is now ascertained that up to the 26th inst., Longstreet had not abandoned the siege of Knoxville. Now, that Bragg's army has been driven from Chattanooga, there is no reason to suppose he will abandon the siege until forced to do so by re-enforcements sent to Burnside's aid, when he will probably take up his march eastward to rejoin Lee about Richmond, or halt where he comes to railroad connections with Richmond, but where he can still threaten East Tennessee. On the 23d inst., Gen. Burnside telegraphed that his rations would hold out ten or twelve days. At the end of this time, unless relieved from the outside, he must surrender or retreat. The latter will be an impossibility. You are now going for the purpose of relieving this garrison. You see the short time in which relief must be afforded, or be *too late*, and hence the necessity for *forced marches*. I want to urge upon you in the strongest possible manner the necessity of reaching Burnside in the shortest time. Our victory here has been complete, and if Longstreet can be driven from East Tennessee, the damage to the Confederacy will be the most crushing they have experienced during the war.

"This important task is now intrusted to *you*, and it is expected that you will do your part well.

"Use as sparingly as possible of the rations you take with you. Replenish all you can from what you find on the road, giving receipts in order that settlements may be made with loyal persons hereafter.

"Deeming what is here said as sufficient to show you the importance of *great promptitude* in the present movement, I subscribe myself,

"Very respectfully, your obd't s'v't, U. S. GRANT,

"*Maj.-Gen. Comd'g.*"

IV.

That corrupt politicians of both parties were using the press for their own selfish purposes in certain districts of the North during the war, was as fully realized then as now. The evils described by the lamented General Ord, in his letter to General Sherman, are probably not exaggerated. It was as common a thing then as now for politicians to own an "organ," and there were not a few generals in the field who, in a sense, did the same thing. Those who did not do it, or who, forgetting that the newspapers proposed to be their masters, drove the worst of the correspondents to the rear, were answered by a howl of calumny, the echoes of which have lingered through twenty years. It was the abuse of the press, permitted by lax laws, even when the assassin had the nation by the throat.

"CINCINNATI, O., *March* 6, 1863.

"MY DEAR SHERMAN: Yours of the 24th ult. I did not receive till the day before yesterday; the previous letter in regard to Macfeely was not received at all. Macfeely has joined you by this time, I presume. I agree with you cordially in regard to the power of the press, only I go *much further*. The press is under the control of the politicians, and the latter are unscrupulous when power is in demand. They would slaughter in cold blood, as Nelson was slaughtered by them, every general from McClellan down who stood in their way—and as far as concerns the present, *they can do it*. While the two parties divided the spoils and worked together, and our forces were a unit at home, we were on the road to success in this war. As soon as they quarreled over the *spoils*, the fight became bitter throughout the North—got into the army through jealousy of politicians and perhaps *ambition* of generals. And now the two parties are trying to destroy each other as much as *we* wish to pull down the Rebels. "A house divided against itself can't stand," and until a man arises independent of parties and crushes out the fighting antagonism of *both*, we at the North are *weaker* than the South, and they know this.

"As for newspaper correspondents, and supplying or driving them out, they and the politicians who employ them are *our masters now*. The Ohio and Indiana newspapers of that party are *owned* by M—, H—, J—, & Co. They actually own such large portions of the types, presses, etc., that only *their* articles are published. I found this out in California, through Judge Thompson and others, when the Democrats were waning, their whole effort was to start presses in their interest. And now the correspondents are not only the furnishers of news, which is the moral—

or rather immoral—food of the nation, but they are in many instances the secret and confidential agents of these same politicians.

"The amount of the spoil is now so much more immense than it has ever been before that the competitors for it are resorting to the most desperate, and, in some cases, criminal means, to obtain the whole. I am, as are you and all of us, only their tools. Now this state of things cannot last in time of war. We know that; the politicians do not, for war is a new game to them. So that, although we are *not* succeeding in the war, yet it is better that it should go on than that the present state of the government should exist. It will not be long before the present or recent laws will bring things to a crisis. In the meantime save, or don't needlessly expose, yourself; you are one of the men I look to to help bring order out of this cauldron, but you are beginning at the wrong end by fighting the correspondents. Buell is another. He doubtless has done you unintentional injustice. And I can well understand, as a *gentleman* who witnessed it said to me, that when General B. and people saw the *immense* crowd of terrified, crouching, loafing, indifferent, etc., etc., etc., fugitives and *spectators* of the fight at Shiloh, he thought the whole army was there, and forgot that the small party who still *did the fighting*, and their generals, deserved all the more credit in proportion to the large number and bad condition of those who did not. But he is a true man—nerves of steel, heart of iron, and, I think, means to do right. The Lord help us all in the effort, for we make some awful blunders in trying it sometimes.

"Good-by! We used to write regularly in old times, when cares and families did not monopolize us. Now that troubles encompass us, and it needs that men who know each other should work in common, keep writing. I don't know the use in these days of doubt of *talking* or *writing* assertions of friendship and confidence. I don't think you want any from me, nor do I from you.

"Present my regards to General Grant, to General McPherson. McArthur, who is with you, is a trump, I think. Remember me to him. I took quite a liking for General Ross. Colonel Deitchler, and others; if you meet, give my regards.

"Yours truly, ORD."

(*To be Continued.*)

S. H. M. BYERS.

DESTRUCTION OF ART IN AMERICA.

THE importance of carefully preserving valuable oil paintings can hardly be overestimated, and the neglect of those persons having public collections in their charge to take reasonable precautions for their proper protection and careful preservation ought not to be forgiven. In the United States there are but two public collections of any particular value. The first and most important belongs to the New York Historical Society, and the second is in the Corcoran Gallery, at Washington. The custodians of both are serious offenders against the welfare of the property intrusted to their care.

In Europe, particular attention is paid to what Mr. George Wallis, resident keeper of the art collections of the South Kensington Museum, characterizes as "The health of paintings." In a conversation I had with him last autumn, he said :

"There is nothing more delicate than oil paintings ; they need as much care and attention as young children ; they should be looked after every day, carefully dusted, and, when necessary, washed with cold water. The air of the rooms where they are hung should, if possible, be perfectly pure ; and in my opinion nothing can be worse for them than the effects of illuminating gas and furnace heat. We never allow either in this gallery. Our heating is by steam, and we never permit the thermometer to get above sixty degrees in any of the rooms where paintings are exhibited."

In a letter of February 18th, 1887, that gentleman gives a fuller and further expression of his views, founded upon his many years of valuable experience :

. . . . "There can be no doubt that a low quality of gas is injurious to pictures. Our experience proves this. I have had charge of the art collections here 23 to 24 years. During the early years of that period the gas supplied to the museum was kennel or kannel gas, comparatively pure and of high illuminating powers. I had grave doubts at that time about the effects of any kind of gas upon pictures, but never discovered any ill effects from the kennel coal gas. Later, for economy's sake, I suppose, the ordinary coal gas was substituted, and depositions on the surface of pictures not glazed, and on the glass of those glazed, were quite

sufficient to show the difference in the quality of the gas supplied, and this has resulted in our adoption of the electric light. I should consider that any system of furnace heating which carried the temperature up to 75 degrees or 80 degrees, would, ultimately, and that at no very lengthy period in what may be considered as the *life of a picture*, result in its destruction, by drying up all the paint and canvas, tending to their parting company by cracking. Our galleries are, as far as possible, kept at a uniform temperature of 57 degrees to 60 degrees; never, except by accident or from negligence, is the temperature allowed to rise to more than 60 degrees.

"I may as well add that at the Nottingham Art Museum, of which my eldest son is Director and Curator, he never allows the galleries to be heated higher than from 57 degrees to 60 degrees. The same rule is followed at the Birmingham Art Gallery, of which my youngest son is the keeper. In fact, the experience of both these young men is sufficient to prove to them what is best to be done and what ought not to be allowed."

Mr. Charles L. Eastlake, who has charge of the National Gallery, writing under date of December 20th, 1886, says:

. . . . "I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion that gas-lighting, under ordinary conditions, has an injurious effect upon oil paintings, and that the temperature which you mention (75 degrees or 80 degrees) is far too high to be safely maintained in rooms where pictures, especially those painted on panel, are exposed. In this (National) gallery, which is warmed throughout the winter by hot water service, we endeavor to keep the temperature at from 58 to 60 degrees Fahrenheit."

As a further precaution against dust and foul air, the oil paintings in the South Kensington Museum have all been placed under glass, and the National Gallery, in this respect, as fast as practicable, is following the footsteps of the South Kensington.

Sir Richard Wallace, in his new house in Manchester Square, has given to the world the most perfect private gallery for the exhibition of paintings erected in our later times. It has neither facilities for artificial heat or lighting; it is lofty, filled with light, and has an atmosphere of its own, quite as pure as can be obtained in London.

In the Louvre the old openings from the calorifère (a mild sort of hot-air stove) are being gradually closed, so that in the long hall, where the majority of the old paintings are hung, and the connecting octagon room where the Raphaels, the large paintings by Paul Veronese, and other celebrated works of the old masters are kept, the two being fully one thousand feet in length, now have only seven registers. The new gallery erected by the French Government for the Luxembourg collection, opened April 1st, 1886, consists of eleven rooms for oil-paintings, and a long one for stat-

uary. The eleven have ten registers for the emission of heat; the one for statuary has twelve, and the thermometer in the former is never allowed to rise above fifteen centigrade. These openings are in the middle of each room under a ventilator in the skylight extending through the roof—an arrangement adopted for the purpose of carrying up and out in a vertical column the heated air, so as to prevent, as far as possible, its getting near the line of the paintings. Among the public and private galleries I have visited in Italy, upwards of sixty in number, I do not remember one that has any facilities whatever for night lighting; and almost all are provided with the old style large fire-place for burning wood, no other method of warming having been introduced.

Further testimony proving the necessity of pure air and moderate temperature in rooms where oil paintings are hung would seem to be quite superfluous, as enough has been shown to prove that properly educated custodians of European collections are fully alive to the importance of preserving the valuable works intrusted to their care. In the United States it is quite different: we have but few collections of any value, and they are rapidly going to destruction.

Among the most culpable offenders may be named the New York Historical Society and the Corcoran Gallery at Washington.

It may be asserted, without the least fear of successful contradiction, that the rooms of the New York Historical Society contain the most interesting and valuable collection of oil paintings on this continent. There are among them examples of many of the most famous European masters of the acknowledged great schools; and, in any other country than this, they would be intelligently cared for and receive the high appreciation to which they are entitled. There are also in the possession of that Society many portraits by the better native artists, of eminent Americans, which are of considerable artistic value and great historical importance. Taken by themselves, they form the most notable collection of its kind in the United States. But the most attractive and interesting of the whole are the examples of the old masters left to the Society by the late Thomas Jefferson Bryan, of Philadelphia, a liberal gentleman of culture far beyond his time and countrymen generally, who spent the better part of his life and fortune in bringing this collection together, then brought it to his

native country, offered it first to the City of Philadelphia, and then New York, and in each instance his offer was refused, because the *art authorities* of those cities did not regard the paintings as being worthy of house-room. Mr. Bryan then deposited them in the Cooper Union, where several were stolen, and students amused themselves in making chalk and charcoal drawings upon the painted surface of others, and punching holes in the canvas. This was during the owner's life, who, when he became aware of the vandalism which was being perpetrated in an institution devoted to "Science and Art," and to save the results of his labor of love from total destruction, personally, in a moment of despair, removed them to where they are now. The new place of deposit has turned out to be a mild sort of a frying-pan to a rather fierce fire; for furnace heat and combustion of the very impure and low grade illuminating gas with which New York is supplied, are completing the work left unfinished by the Cooper Union students. These two elements are slowly but surely doing their work, and the decomposition of colors and fading out of these paintings, the result of chemical action upon the pigments used, is only a question of date.

By the time this destruction shall be completed there may exist in this country intelligence and courage enough to ask why a wealthy association did not adopt proper measures for the preservation of art. As to the legal right of the authorities managing the affairs of that Society to care for so negligently as to bring about the destruction of valuable property, placed under their control for a public purpose, there can be no reasonable doubt. But, as to their moral right to do so, there may be some question. Clearly, Mr. Bryan orginally intended his paintings to form a free public gallery. The depositing of them with the New York Historical Society was in the main compulsory—"Hobson's Choice," —and he did it not only with the hope, but the expectation, that that Society would within a reasonable time carry out his intention; and, therefore, there exists a moral obligation carefully to preserve and publicly exhibit, and there can exist no reasonable excuse for not carrying out both conditions.

The Society cannot plead poverty, since it numbers within its organization many of the very wealthy men of New York city. Disposition and intelligence are the only qualities wanting; one day's income contributed out of the yearly revenue of each member

would purchase the land needed and pay for erecting an appropriate building. If this Society is unwilling to charge itself with the moral obligation imposed by the act of Mr. Bryan, it is its duty to the public to turn the collection over to some association having a higher regard for the solemn obligations and public rights which are clearly suffering in consequence of its negligence. And, as a last resort, public opinion ought to compel the authorities of the Society to comprehend the difference between a dog-in-the-manger policy and an enlightened public-spirited course of action.

While the offense of the New York Historical Society is very great, and calculated to deprive our people of the means of a better appreciation of art, it is nothing when compared with the negligence that has obtained in the management of the "Corcoran Gallery" at Washington. Nearly all the paintings in its large room are affected, even those of the lower line, but none so seriously as those forming the top line. Among the latter are three important works of considerable value—one by Ary Schaffer, another by Jerome, and a third by Cabanal, all large and characteristic examples of the work of the artists who painted them.

The better known of the three, and most notable, is Jerome's great historical canvas of the "Death of Cæsar," which has ever been regarded as one of the finer works of that artist. When I saw it in February of 1886, I could hardly believe that it was the same painting I had seen in April, 1877. Upon examination, I found a very great change had taken place. Some of the body colors had gone quite out of sight; the dark pigments appeared upon the canvas like daubs of bitumen or tar; the whites had changed to a dead, dirty, brownish yellow, while the tints and light shades which originally produced the delicate gradations of color were entirely wanting. And what has been written of the Jerome will apply with equal force to the other two. The Cabanal, if anything, is worse off than the Jerome. In this instance chemical action has gone to the extent of changing the character of the color of the whole canvas. And generally, in relation to the three paintings in question, we may say that while the work of destruction is not complete, it has gone so far as to render the possibility of successful restoration an open question. It is doubtful if any restorer, however skillful, could repair the damages which ignorance and negligence have wrought.

Such are the facts. Now where is the remedy?

Far off, I fear; in fact, so very far away that it may only come with a better civilization, characterized by more knowledge and less conceit. But in the meantime the work of destruction goes on, and those who have the will are without the power to stem the disastrous current. A vigorously aroused, enlightened public opinion could possibly accomplish something. Mr. Corcoran is still alive, and it might cause him to make inquiry concerning the competency of the custodians having in charge the valuable property he has presented to the nation. But it is doubtful if it would move the New York Historical Society to erect a suitable building wherein to preserve the rare and valuable works of art, intended for the public, but, by an unfortunate series of circumstances, confided to the charge of that institution.

But, after all, the harm done to works composing public collections in the United States amounts to very little when compared with the destruction which is going on in the private houses of our wealthy picture-owners; and the worst phase of this whole matter consists in the fact, that exceptional objects of great intrinsic and art value, which are being destroyed, can never be replaced.

I happen to know of a very valuable and charming collection, possessing many modern gems of the first magnitude, painted by Meissonier, Fortuny, Jerome, Vibert, Alvarez, and others, which, taken as a whole in relation to color, has, within ten years, materially changed for the worse. This collection is in a house which contains a very liberal supply of the three most potent factors in the way of manufacturing foul air and promoting disease, —the furnace; means of an unlimited outpour of illuminating gas; and many pots of damp-producing plants. The owner of these paintings could not have brought together within one suite of rooms three elements better calculated for insuring the results which are so painfully apparent. Another ten years of deterioration equaling in intensity the ten just past, and the financial as well as the art value of these paintings will be among the unknown quantities. And what has been written of this collection will apply with equal force to many others now contained within the walls of the average city-house.

What can be done to rescue the fine works in private hands? The answer can be given in very few words: Give them pure air

and intelligent care. It may be insisted that neither of these conditions can be attained in a private house; and it must be admitted that, as city residences are now constructed, heated, and divided, it would be extremely difficult. But, on the other hand, it may be insisted that persons who are able to invest large amounts of money in works of art of great merit and exceptional value can usually well afford appropriate and suitable rooms for their exhibition and preservation—rooms erected with special reference to an abundance of light and pure air, and set apart for the special purposes of art, not for every-day family use. Until some common-sense measures insuring proper protection shall be generally adopted, the work of destruction must continue, with this difference only between the present and future :—as the wealth of the country increases, the yearly average of the valuable works destroyed will become greater.

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

PROFIT-SHARING.

THE theory of wages is that competition will adjust them so as to make a perfectly fair division of products, not only between employer and the wage-earners, but also between the producers and the consumers. But among the many elements which come in to disturb this simple proposition, there are two which totally upset its equilibrium,—the excessive storing up of supplies for future use, and the combination of producers to regulate supply and prices. The former we know as over-production, the latter as pools. When we have accumulated a surplus in the hands of manufacturers and traders, we stop the competition for labor, and pay it our own price or stop it entirely. In prosperous times we pool our business and raise selling prices without raising wages. The enhanced prices are an indirect reduction of wages. The results of this process are to bring on periodical depressions in trade, fix wages which barely enable the workman to live when he has work, make him a tramp when he has none, and finally drive wage-workers into counter combinations for self-protection. Strikes, lockouts, violence, and class antagonism are the symptoms which urge upon our notice this social disease.

It is not necessary to elaborate the process by which our complex system of factory production and commercial distribution has forced the great body of mankind into working for fixed wages. The advantages of aggregated capital and facilities under a single arbitrary management, controlling a highly specialized body of workmen, is so great, that a single mechanic working on his own account cannot compete. Machinery has driven hand-shops out of existence.

This condition implies that a considerable accumulation is already in the possession of the factory principal, and that wages are paid out of the capital already in hand, instead of the product itself. It follows from this statement that workmen are de-

pendent on the capitalist class for the opportunity to earn a living. If then, by tacit understanding or express agreement, employers fix certain rates of wages which represent only a part of the product, the workmen must accept.

Capital is generaled and intrenched. It has supplies to withstand a siege. It has a community of interest which insures concurrent action. By limiting wages to an amount considerably short of the whole product, accumulation of surplus proceeds at a rapid rate until it must be curtailed. Consumption is regulated by the ability to buy. The commercial system is an extended and interdependent one. Wages being relatively low, and many consumers being idle, demand is restricted. The depression is cumulative.

We thus trace depressions in trade directly to the unelastic wages which at one time reserve a large surplus of the factory product, and subsequently curtail production until the surplus is disposed of. Carrying the examination farther, we find that the surplus has been in part diverted to unproductive investments, or to excessive capacity in certain lines of manufacture. The trouble lies in the rigidness of the wages. If these bore an elastic relation to the quantity produced and the market value of the product, the advantages of machinery and division of labor in large factories would result in affording a much larger share of comfort and leisure, and would at the same time afford continuous work and uniform demand. The economic effect is very similar to that of slave labor, with the added difficulty of uncertainty on either side.

In addition to wastefulness of undue accumulation which falls into unproductive channels, and the wastefulness of great numbers thrown wholly out of productive employment, it is manifest also that work will not be so energetic or so painstaking when done for a fixed price per day as if it were done for a fixed proportion of the value produced. This is fully realized by the economy which all manufacturers recognize in piece-work as compared with day wages.

Mechanics object to piece-work on the ground that employers take advantage of it to enforce a more inflexible minimum of wages; but that the system yields far greater efficiency is well known. The proof is clear that a man working for himself will be the more efficient. The principle involved is precisely the

same as that which makes free labor more valuable per man than slave labor.

Simple co-operation, by which every participant in work should participate equally in the product, would appear to be the natural remedy. But this ignores the wide divergence there is in qualifications, and ignores the value and self assertion of energetic spirits, whose exceptional ability, or industry, or energy enable them to earn more, and by their tact to get more, of the product than their fellows. Co-operation, with graded wages and graded interests, has met with measurable success. It has much to recommend it. It labors, however, under two serious difficulties—lack of capital, which is required to afford competing facilities, and lack of concentrated authority in management. It is probably true that autocratic government, when its head is able and devoted to its task, is more efficient than a representative government. Upon this head Herbert Spencer has made an elaborate and conclusive argument in favor of representative government for doing that which he thinks government should do—securing justice; but in favor of an autocratic form for doing that which he believes government should not do—the conduct of community business.

The administration by one permanent head is a necessity, if the best results in manufacturing are to be attained. Such heads, as a rule, will be an evolution of the fittest. They are most frequently drawn from the rank and file, promoted by reason of adaptability to their station. The relation of master and servant appears historically to be itself an evolution: first, as slave, without rights; then as serf, with certain personal, but no property, rights; and, at the present time, wage-workers, nominally free, but in reality dependent.

Differentiation into classes as master and man is a natural one in any state of civilization yet attained. It cannot be alleged that in any stage of this development the relation has been one of harmonious interests. The innate disposition of every individual to look primarily to his own advantage leads logically to antagonism. It is true this egoism is modified very largely by enlightened altruism; but in the main issues the man who pays wages and he who draws them will each take the largest share he can get. The highest advantage would evidently accrue if a labor system were devised, whereby these adverse interests should become identified.

Such a system should be evolved from that which has preceded it. It should retain the strength and coherence of a single head and authority, the recognition of superior ability, and of the mainsprings of human motives. It should discard as unworthy of our civilization the commercial maxim of supply and demand, as applied to human beings in common with goods and chattels. It should build up an ambitious self-interest by enabling every man to benefit by his exertions and good conduct.

Such a system would derive a direct and important advantage by reason of its immunity from strikes and forced stoppages from dissension. It would obviate depressions in trade by paying out to those who would legitimately consume it the surplus remaining after allowing a proper accumulation of productive capital.

Profit-sharing, in the hands of men who properly comprehend the duties which pertain to power, seems to meet the requirements suggested. Under this plan it is assumed that the capital invested has been earned by those who own it. It is therefore entitled to interest at current rate as its wages. The customary salaries, wages, expenses, and interest having been paid, the remainder is a surplus to be divided ratably between those who have produced it. The wages paid are assumed to be adjusted to the relative value of each person concerned. By adding together the entire amount of wages paid for the fiscal year, including interest as the wages to capital, the per cent. of profit is ascertained, and by applying this percentage to the wages of each man his share is arrived at.

If it is objected that in a new country like ours there is required a larger accretion to productive capital than mere interest, and that it would impair the development of an enterprise if so large a portion of its earnings were at once distributed, the division may be made in certificates in lieu of cash. These certificates should be placed on a par with the initial capital, having all its advantages and subject to all its hazard, thus adding a new bond and increased incentive. The plan may diverge materially from the formula here given without impairing its efficiency. The division may be made upon wages and capital instead of wages and interest, thus giving a larger share to the owner of the capital, or a fixed portion of the profits may be given the managers, and the remainder divided. The beneficiaries may be classified as to length of service and special faithfulness.

By reason of the advantages offered, and this premium for continuity of service, there would be evolved a force comprising the best of their class. The shiftless would be displaced by the thrifty, who appreciated such benefits. The superior quality of men, their direct interest in producing the most and the best work, the immunity from strikes and stoppages, would give such a factory advantages which would more than compensate in dollars for the dividends, not to mention its important social and ethical function.

The plan is applied with equal facility to every class of business, as it rests automatically upon conditions already in effect. There is no change in management, none in ownership, nor in wages. It is not new and visionary. It has been in use for many years in great iron foundries, in piano works, and in house building trades in France and Germany. In collieries and woolen mills in England and in this country, there are to-day a considerable number of factories, large and small, employing profit-sharing in some form.

The most developed example of profit-sharing is that of Mons. Godin, at Guise, France. Godin is a student and writer upon sociology as well as a successful manufacturer. He employs about 1,000 men in making stoves. Forty-five years ago he started in a small shop, now standing in the centre of the present extensive grounds. About fifteen years ago, acting as well upon social as upon commercial grounds, he adopted the plan of sharing profits with all his permanent workmen.

At the same time he began organizing a complete society of those connected with his works. He erected a commodious apartment house, capable of housing comfortably one hundred families, and provided with ample corridors, stairways, and a covered court. Within it were his own apartments, his newspaper and printing office, a co-operative store, and adjacent to it was a day nursery for children, a gymnasium, amateur theatre, school, play grounds, and park. This "Familistiere" he placed in charge of a board of control, elected by the occupants to administer all its joint affairs, but leaving each family entirely independent, rent being charged according to the quality of the suites, and at such rate as to pay expenses and interest on capital. Subsequently, he erected two similar flats, and some smaller ones. On the writer's visit, he found an unusual degree of comfort, cleanliness, and brightness.

Godin organized his entire force into four classes, the first consisting of himself and the heads of departments, who constitute the Board of Directors, the other three classes being graded by length and value of service. After paying usual salaries and wages and interest on capital at five per cent., twenty-five per cent. of the profits goes to the first class, of which the Director General, Godin, receives twelve, a certain portion goes to educational, provident and other community objects, and the remainder, about fifty per cent., is divided upon the total of wages and interest fund; the three classes of workmen receiving in the proportion of 2, 1½, and 1.

Fifteen years have yielded dividends on wages amounting to $650,000, most of which the workmen have invested in shares of the corporation.

Two per cent. of the profits is reserved as a premium fund for inventions and labor-saving improvements.

Whatever may be the state of trade, Godin can keep in full blast. He has the best appliances, the highest organization, and the best men. If the dullness of trade forces others to close, Godin can make such prices as will secure orders, because his men are active partners, and will rather keep at work than stop.

An unsuccessful experiment was that of the Messrs. Briggs, owners of an English colliery, employing several thousand men. They had been involved in strikes, and profit-sharing was resorted to as a compromise. Bad blood and distrust existed. The Briggs were conscientious men, but they proposed profit-sharing rather as an expedient than as a principle. It happened that the price of coal advanced abnormally. Enormous profits were made. Their men were of the most ignorant, and fully identified with Unions. It was charged that undue scaling down of the plant was resorted to for the reduction of dividends, and when in the midst of dazzling prosperity a great miners' strike was organized in that part of England, the Briggs men yielded to the persuasions of their less fortunate fellows and struck. This ended the experiment, but in a published letter the surviving partner states that he believes under ordinary conditions the plan is practicable.

At the beginning of last year one of the manufacturing corporations under my control issued the following announcement to its employés:

"Beginning with January 1st, 1886, we propose to divide the profits made in

our business upon the following basis : After allowing seven per cent. interest on actual capital invested, the remainder will be divided *pro rata* upon the total amount of wages paid and capital employed. Each employé will get his proportion according to the amount of wages paid him for the year. This will apply to all persons who have served the company six months or over, within the year, and have not been discharged for misconduct. You may select from among yourselves a custodian to hold an agreement of the foregoing purport, and he may examine the closing of our books at the end of the year." * * *

The early half of the year was especially full of agitation and strikes. When the eight-hour movement was in progress, we, in concert with kindred manufacturers, adopted fifty-five hours as a week's work, at full pay. Finding later that the movement had failed, and our competitors had not adhered to the reduced hours, our men unanimously requested a return to full hours.

At the close of the year we declared a dividend of five per cent. on wages, and left it optional to draw this in cash or in certificates entitling the holder to the same rate of interest and dividend for the coming year which our own capital might receive. Less than one-tenth elected to take cash.

For the current year we place one-tenth of the profits in a permanent provident fund for disabled employés, and one-tenth in a surplus fund to meet possible future reverses. Twenty-five per cent. additional dividend is paid to such men as shall have been in continuous service as much as eighteen months at the close of the year, and shall be the holders of certificates for their last year's dividend, this being a premium on permanence and thrift.

We have taken pains to simplify every arrangement and avoid the possibility of suspicion. We announced our plan in the briefest terms ; imposed no contra conditions, and delivered to a custodian selected by the men a legal contract embodying the proposition made. The plan has worked to the satisfaction of ourselves and our men in the fullest degree.

N. O. Nelson.

METEOROLOGICAL PREDICTIONS.

TIME is the touch-stone of prophecy, and in many respects the only reliable test of all theories whatever. In the Court of Science no hypothesis, however plausible, can be definitely accepted till the unanimous verdict of experience has confirmed its claim, and the discovery of any new evidence, clearly at variance with those claims, at once opens the case for a new trial. A few years ago a champion of alcoholic beverages tried to establish his tenets by calling attention to the analogies of the human and simian organism, and the alleged fact that monkeys are naturally fond of ardent drinks, so much, indeed, that the Abyssinian mountaineers need only expose a pailful of plum brandy to attract and befuddle all the baboons they want to catch. The argument seemed, indeed, a valid basis for all sorts of inferences, till Brehm ascertained the circumstance that the seductive fluid requires so large an admixture of saccharine elements as to completely disguise its taste, and that a baboon, caged up within reach of raw brandy, will crouch down and suffer like an Iowa juryman, rather than quench its thirst with the obnoxious liquor. And even with demonstrably correct premises, the logic of the inference may be vitiated by the omission of recondite factors, as in the argument of Ehrenberg's "Parable for Dogmatists":—"Suppose that a limited acquaintance with mountain heights had given us reason to infer that highlands were warmer than valleys, would not a majority of natural philosophers promptly explain the assumed fact on a well-established rule of thermal phenomena? 'Warm air ascends,' they would argue, 'as you may see by lighting a fire under an open balloon, or by watching the sparks of the chimney flue. Cold air descends, as you may ascertain by lowering a thermometer into a well or cave. Therefore, valleys *must* be cooler than mountain peaks. Besides, the latter are so much nearer the sun, and catch its first and last rays.' Nine out of ten students,

not to mention the legion of repeaters (*Nach-beter*), would reverently admit the cogency of the argument till some irreverent investigator should happen to prove the existence of snow on the top of all very high mountains."

The suggestions of that parable are often recalled by the dogmatism of our meteorological and geological theorists. An influential faction of the inquirers—or inquisitors—of the latter class, for instance, have agreed to combine against every opponent of the "subsidence theory of seismic phenomena," the hypothesis, namely, that the more violent earthquakes are caused by the gradual contraction of the earth's crust and the consequent occasional collapse of subterranean rock-vaults,—in opposition to the view that the infiltration of water upon the furnaces of the interior earth and the dynamic omnipotence of expanding steam are amply sufficient to account for the upheaval of the superincumbent strata. An exponent of the latter theory suggests that all the conditions favoring the possibility of that infiltration would be combined at the bottom of deep marine basins, where the crust dividing the torrid *inferno* from the elements of the upper world is often from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand feet thinner than in the deepest valleys of terra firma, besides being subjected to the dissolving influence and the tremendous pressure of the superimposed water-masses. The subsidence theory still prevails; but it so happens that the volcanoes of the earth are all ranged along the shores of the deepest seas, and that earthquakes show a similar bias of topographical predilection. A coast-belt of fifty miles along the shores of the ocean and deep inland seas would comprise the scenes of all violent earthquakes: Lisbon, Messina, Lima, Caracas, Antioch, Batavia, Charleston, and San Salvador, the rare exception being limited to the lower valleys of deep rivers with a swamp delta of insignificant elevation above the level of its estuary. Hot springs and jets of vapor, bursting from the rocks of a coast-range, have often heralded the approach of an earthquake, and the emanation of pent-up steam, in a more diffused form, through countless fissures and caves, might account for that curious haze which has so often been observed on the eve of a seismic upheaval. On the day before the Charleston earthquake it clouded the Eastern Alleghanies from Georgia to Maryland; on the day before the last Mediterranean earthquake it clouded the Western Apennines and the Lepontine Alps. "Many

of the strongest shocks on this coast," says Professor Hittell (*Resources of California*, p. 44), "have been preceded by a condition of the atmosphere very similar to that which precedes thunder-storms in other lands. When the weather is sultry and oppressive in San Francisco, people say, 'Look out for an earthquake!' and it usually comes." "*La Niebla*," the Spanish-Americans call that condition of the atmosphere, and never question the theory connecting its origin with the influence of a subterranean hypocaust. On that theory earthquakes *might* be predicted. That they can *not* be predicted on any correlatives of the subsidence hypothesis, or of Kluge's "sidereal theory," is frankly admitted by Professor Montessus, of the meteorological observatory at San Salvador, Central America (*Revue Scientifique*, March, 1886). "But," he adds, "while I do not think it is possible in the present state of knowledge to predict earthquakes, I believe that their phenomena are connected with atmospheric conditions, which, subjected to a systematic study, might lead to the discovery of some law. This is so true that persons who have lived long in the country often say when they meet, without knowing why, 'there will be an earthquake to-day,' and they are seldom mistaken."

During the night before the catastrophe that convulsed the rocks of the Riviera, the waters of the Mediterranean suddenly receded *twenty-two inches* below their normal level, and the Genoese fishermen at once stood out for the open sea, rightly concluding that "there must be some trouble brewing." If that trouble had been caused by the subsidence of subterranean strata, a violent shock would immediately have followed that collapse, but if the recession of the sea was induced by an ingulfment of its deeper waters through a fissure in the bottom of the basin, the inchoate struggle between heat and moisture, and the momentary depressing thermal effect of the invading flood, could sufficiently account for a short delay in the crisis of the catastrophe. The utter fatuity of the "sidereal conjunction hypothesis" has been so clearly proved in the course of the last four years that neither Professor Kluge nor Mr. Wiggins are apt to found their future predictions on the claim of astronomical observations.

The rain and storm bulletins of our meteorological observatories are founded on less spurious data, but only a small minority of their readers may realize how rarely the correctness of their prog-

nosis can be guaranteed for a limited space of time or territory. Weather predictions, in their present form, are, in fact, mostly nothing but generalizations of an *ex post facto* inference. A humid coast-wind, or a polar wave, reach a given point, at a time, with a speed, and in a direction offering data for the conclusion that in a certain number or hours the same phenomena will be experienced at certain other points, and thus furnish a basis for more extensive prognostications, or that a cyclone, turning in the curve of an ascertained ellipse, will gradually work back towards its focus of origin,—always barring the possibility of unforeseen and unforeseeable counteracting influences. There are local as well as territorial causes of weather phenomena. A tendency to a change from dry to humid weather may spread from the valley of the Mississippi to Alabama, and justify the hope that in the course of a certain day a protracted drought will be likewise broken in the State of Georgia. On the morning of that day, the expected clouds, perhaps, actually appear on the horizon of Atlanta, and gradually overspread the whole firmament; but the expected rain may, after all, be vouchsafed only to regions where rainshowers have been of frequent occurrence all through the summer, such as the bottom lands of a large stream or the valleys of a humid mountain forest, while the arid plateaux, where rain is most sorely needed, may be disappointed in their hope of a single drop. Nay, in the treeless plains the drought may become more grievous, from the tendency of a cloudy sky to diminish the blessing of heavy night dews. Tornadoes, after following their curve for hours, may suddenly veer off at a tangent to their former course; in March, a sudden north wind may precipitate, in the form of snow, the atmospheric moisture of extensive woodlands, and thus rivet the fetters of winter for weeks to come, while a little further southwest the same wind may break the veil of light nimbus clouds and inaugurate a period of genial sunshine.

For the purposes of local vaticination, the science of meteorology, has, in fact, not yet reached the degree of exactness that would justify farmers and hunters in discarding the aid of our traditional weather rules, or diminish the value of an as yet unwritten work, combining those rules in anything like a coherent system. Nay, for domestic purposes the formulation even of unconnected, and apparently unexplained, weather maxims would often enable their adept to modify a programme based

upon the augurations of the city newspaper. No theorem of our Government aruspices has, for instance, as yet explained the curious fact that in nine out of ten cases a Texas "norther" prevails for exactly three days, and that in the Middle States three days of winter frosts, or winter sunshine, are as invariably followed by a protracted rain. Dove's rule explains, or at least records, the fact that in the Northern Hemisphere the wind generally veers from left to right, thus (with occasional fluctuations) completing its circle from East to South, West and North, rather than in the opposite direction. But how does that rule, or any other known law of atmospherical tendencies, account for the circumstance that a polar wave following a period of rains and *south winds* is always more violent and chilly than a wave from the same direction following a period of rains and protracted *west winds;* in other words, that after a turn through the semi-circle of the compass, the fury of a blizzard is more outrageous than after a turn through a quarter segment? The evidence of the thermometer proves that the difference is not due to an apparent effect of contrast, and there is no imaginable clew to the causal connection of the consecutive phenomena, yet the fact can be verified a dozen times in the course of any North American winter. A chilly rain may set in with a west wind (as in Kentucky with the moist northwest gales from the Mississippi Valley), and continue for days, and the subsequent north wind will bring nothing but a welcome change to clearer, though slightly cooler, weather. But aftar a south-wind rain, often attended with positively sultry weather, and even with thunder showers, the ensuing north wind is sure to stampede the cattle in every direction and make the elated mercury shrink with the suddenness of a bribed quorum.

Again, who has not often noticed the fact that, on a murky winter's day, swift-driving white clouds bring rain, but lowering, dun clouds snow? "Look at those slate-colored streaks, we'll have another big snow before long;" "There's that smoky sky again, we'll get another week's sleighing before the end of this winter," are familiar phrases all over the North States of our Union.

> "Evening red and morning gray,
> Helps the traveler on his way,"

says an old adage, and I have often suspected that the second half of the first line has been added merely for the sake of the rhyme. A bright day begins with a bright, as often as with a

cloudy, morning, but a ruddy sunset is an almost infallible fair weather omen, though it is a singular fact that rain does not follow upon a cloudy evening half as certainly as upon a pale bright, or yellowish bright, evening. A reddish, transparent evening sky, or often yet a sunset sky streaked with crimson, thin-drawn clouds, means fair weather in nineteen out of twenty cases, and the rule holds good in the sierras of southern Mexico, as well as on the plains of the upper Missouri and the highlands of the southern Alleghanies. *Latet causa, res tamen notissima,* and the scientific progress of the next seven centuries may fail to furnish a plausible explanation, but that does not impair the practical utility of the rule.

Storms, too, are heralded by all sorts of portents not mentioned in the index of General Myer's manual, such as the soughing, intermittent gusts of a warm night wind, sudden dust whirls breaking the lethargy of a sultry afternoon, and a peculiar, diffused appearance of the above-mentioned saffron colored sunset, which often causes the schooners of the Caribbean Sea to reef their sails in wild haste, before there is a single cloud in sight. Not every calm portends a storm, but in cloudy weather sailors dread that heavy and breathless torpor of the atmosphere that gives the surface of the sea a *leaden* appearance, and the herders of the Mexican sierras hurriedly drive their flocks to shelter if they find that the approach of night fails to lower the temperature of the highlands, or that a blast of wind sways the treetops of a special hillside, while not a break stirs the forests of the surrounding mountains. The latter phenomenon may be analogous to the approach of what sailors call a "white squall" ploughing its way through a circumscribed tract of the sea, but squalls are often the concomitants of thunder showers, which, in the Cordilleras, are as rare as in upper California.

The general rule, that evaporation causes a decrease of temperature, is curiously modified by the thermal influence of large freshets following a heavy fall of winter rains. In the Ohio Valley, for instance, the devastating floods of the last ten years nearly invariably inaugurated a period of mild, moist weather, often strangely confined to the neighborhood of the submerged districts. Wave after wave of cold currents might sweep down from the north, and prevail for an hour or two, but the contact with the atmosphere of the inundated lowlands at once seemed to temper their

force and mock the persistent display of a "blizzard signal." Floods are but rarely checked by protracted frosts, and if sea water has an analogous influence, the irruption of the Zuyder Sea might really account for that series of mild winters which the chronicles of North Holland associate with the submergence of the coast districts, though Camper ascribes both the effect and its alleged cause to the disappearance of the woodlands, sacrificed to the naval enterprises of the same century.

But there is no doubt that forest destruction, on a large scale, tends to aggravate the severity of summer droughts and winter floods, and if unvaried analogies of cause and effect can furnish data for a long-range prognosis of meteorological events, we might venture the prediction that before the end of the next century the uplands of all our Southern and Western cotton States will become dependent on irrigation, and that in the Ohio Valley the alternative of protective forest laws will be the construction of protective dikes from Pittsburgh to Cairo. On the Atlantic coast, too, many navigable rivers will become fordable brooks in September and raging seas in March; the summers of our entire Atlantic slope will become dryer, and the winters rainier and milder.

For the purpose of such forecasts the study of international weather charts might lead to less popular predictions than the calculation of local horoscopes for the next twenty-four hours; yet an impartial comparison of the results would, on the whole, justify the conclusion that meteorology, as a science, can discern the portents of the sky from a distance too misty for the optical resources of the unaided eye, which, nevertheless, may read the presage of the day by omens not dreamed of in the dogmas of telescopic philosophy.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM.

TRANSPORTATION, previous to the present time, was a matter of muscle, of currents of wind, of currents of water ; it lacked the unifying element that is attached to steam, to electricity, to gas. Wherein does this unifying element consist ? It is in the limitless nature of these expanding and propelling forces. They can be supplied inexhaustibly, and the cost of their production is no gauge whatever of their value. Wherein, then, is the limitation in their use ? It is in their plant, in the right to use a plant, and in the demand for the services they can perform. The plant, on the ground of its cost and the right to have a plant, practically gives to the possessors of this plant the possession and control of these forces that exist so inexhaustibly in nature ; if some one by some unusual and extraordinary means makes the lodgment of another plant or fraction of a plant, it soon becomes incorporated and unified with the other, and the matter stands as before, controlling and administering the forces of nature in the services which they perform for humanity. Up to a certain point additions, perhaps by encroachment or competition, are made upon the plant, but a point is at length reached where wants are fully provided for, and from this point the possessors of the plant are in full possession of administrative powers of very important natural forces, and of forces that have come to be part of the existence of people living in society.

The use of these forces in this way has become so great that they seem almost half of our modern life, and they are indiscriminately classified with other activities.

What are other activities of ordinary life ?

Production of articles of human necessity from the soil.

Raising raw articles to higher values by manufacture.

Trade (excluding transportation as above described), part of

which is the function of the merchant, and part the function of the banker.

Communication of intelligence without reference to form, as elemental, business, artistic, spiritual.

In these four classes of activities there is no permanent unifying element. The man or the firm is a unit, acts for himself or itself, and is in competition with others of the same class. These four are competitive activities, while those springing from transportation are non-competitive, or are only temporarily competitive.

In these non-competitive activities is the basis of innumerable lives of ease, of luxury, of indulgence, of indolence, of non-activity. It has been the thought and hope of many that there would be a regulative influence upon large fortunes of this kind in the death of their possessors and the distribution which would then take place; that among the successors there would be a rapid decadence of the spirit of thrift, through ease, and indulgence, and lack of incentive, and that the original fortunes would soon pass to new holders, and so there would be an avoidance of any excessive number of great fortunes, which we have been taught to believe in this republican country is an evil. This matter has not had time to work itself out; we are yet in the first generation of most of the great fortunes, and so can only take an *à priori* view of the later distribution. It is idle for us to try to be very wise upon this point; to know whether the distribution talked about will work any serious corruption in society through degeneracy of the distributors, will breed in juxtaposition with the deprivations of others any serious tumults, whether there will not be a considerable number who will not squander but will hoard, whether great fortunes will not come together by marriage and descent, and whether each generation will not add to the number by fresh creations, and so the evil, and embarrassment, and departure from the traditional *régime* of the country which this generation has seen be maintained and perpetuated in other generations.

The menace and the danger and the injury to the institutions of our country and the happiness of our people that come from fortunes, come chiefly from those fortunes that rest upon the non-competitive activities that distribute nature's forces by means that cannot be duplicated, either by reason of no necessity for more

means, or because the State is not willing to put up with the inconvenience and injury to other properties which such duplication would imply, or because additional means would be swallowed up by existing ones.

As the creation of the means of transportation has been the great feature of active life of the past twenty years, so the control of these means, quite different in character from the creation of them, has been the chief prize that has been struggled for.

The great instrument for securing this control has been the Stock Exchange of the City of New York. Here have been focused the railroad properties of this country. It is easy enough for one who has the money to go where they have articles for sale and buy anything there, but this goes a very little way towards describing the transactions of a stock exchange. The chief indices of a stock exchange, and differentiating it from ordinary places where buying and selling go on, are the "margin" and the "short sale."

The two following tables illustrate what can be done on a stock exchange starting with a capital of $100,000 and with uninterrupted progress either on the bull or the bear side, the earnings being reinvested at each three per cent. advance or decline. The effect, of course, is precisely the same whatever may be the value of the stock at the outset—$100 being taken as an illustration—and whether the dealings are in one or a number of stocks. We see how a change of fifteen per cent. either way with $100,000 invested makes nearly $1,000,000, from which is to be deducted the brokerage, and on the long account the interest on the money invested, and on the short account the money paid for the use of shares borrowed to deliver, and of which the operator becomes "short," and which consequently stands in lieu of the interest expense on the long account.

THE LONG ACCOUNT.

Capital.	Margin. Per ct.	Value of stock purchased.	Price per share.	Number of shares purchased.	Total of purchase money and margin.	Gain by 3 per ct. advance.
$100,000	5	$2,000,000	$100	20,000	$2,100,000	$60,000
160,000	5	3,200,000	103	31,067.9	3,360,000	96,000
256,000	5	5,120,000	106.09	48,260.9	5,376,000	153,600
409,600	5	8,192,000	109.27	74,970.2	8,601,600	245,760
655,360	5	13,107,200	112.55	116,467	13,762,560	293,216
1,048,576	5	20,971,520	115.91	180,920	22,020,096	629,145

THE SHORT ACCOUNT.

Capital.	Margin. Per ct.	Value of stock sold.	Price per share.	Number of shares sold.	Money invested, margin only.	Gain by 3 per ct. decline.
$100,000	5	$2,000,000	$100	20,000	$100,000	$60,000
160,000	5	3,200,000	97	32,987.7	160,000	96,000
256,000	5	5,120,000	94.09	54,415.9	256,000	153,600
409,600	5	8,192,000	91.27	89,755.6	409,600	245,760
655,360	5	13,107,200	88.54	148,037	655,360	393,216
1,048,576	5	20,971,520	85.89	244,167.1	1,048,576	629,145

In the last of the transactions recorded on the short account, the number of shares sold can be seen to be 244,167, and on the long account the number purchased 180,920. This would be no very surprising amount of business with an aggregate say of 700,000 to 800,000 shares traded in per day, and which the New York Stock Exchange has shown in an active season many days in succession, and with business one day last December amounting to 1,200,000 shares. The thing is to have the market in your favor, and this is what the business of this country has greatly hinged upon during the last twenty years. To the fact that certain men have been able to have the market in their favor we can ascribe very largely the present distribution of wealth. This advantage rests upon superior knowledge and the power of manipulation. Some fluctuations are natural in their character, and he who has the advantageous point of observation can anticipate them and act accordingly, and, occupying a point from which he can observe all facts, with the power of great capital, with facilities for "rigging" the market in its various forms by lying reports, by withheld reports, by deceptions in regard to earnings, by making money plentiful or scarce in the loan market, he can produce his own fluctuations, and get the benefit of them. Of course, it is "Napoleons" required to do this, but Napoleons arise in the emergencies that give them opportunity to work. The railroad management of this country is not yet solidified, and the gravest jealousies exist, but they are becoming less. Families and individuals gorged with wealth may not enter the struggle, they may prefer repose to new ambitious schemes, and again, others in this position are still insatiate.

The construction of railroads is not alone the opportunity of egregious wealth.

Let us summarize the excessive weight and accompaniments of the transportation magnates in the affairs of this nation:

They have captured many choice transportation properties; the

properties run on assessments, on receivers' certificates, on promises to pay, they are not known to be much interested in; they do not care to interfere with the perfect liberty of the public to hold these properties.

Their properties grow apace; see the progress from the first to the second Vanderbilt, $100,000,000 grown to $300,000,000 in less than ten years, and the second Vanderbilt with no record for ability until his accumulations clearly evinced themselves.

The very laugh of the augurs regarding the political issues; the one political issue that they know is not to have their franchises impaired.

Their wealth and the political weight it carries with it on the side of the *status quo* in economics and politics. Controlling important commercial affairs through transportation, and eliminating competition here as well as in transportation itself.

Impairing the influence of the vote and of the patriotic voice and energy of the individual, the unit on which must rest the safety of popular institutions.

Clogging the wheels of parliamentary, which is, or should be, free government.

Throwing suspicion upon, and impairing the impartiality of, the courts.

Becoming the governors and dispensers of patronage of the nation.

Lack of sympathy with the average man, who lives by his competitive labor.

Establishing sycophancy by means of their untrammeled power as an important element in political, business, and social life. By the excessive accumulation of themselves and of those near them reducing the possible accumulations of multitudes of others, and so impairing the consumptive power of the nation and consequent demand upon production. (This point is becoming a controverted one by the friends of the present system of distribution of wealth and a new special school of political economists, they claiming that free consumption is waste and that it is better the power of consumption should be limited through restricted means of gratifying it on the part of the many.)

Beyond acting as administrators, or quasi administrators of the property they represent, contributing nothing to the social economy proportionate to the power lodged with them.

Establishing a taxing and administrative governing power entirely independent of and beyond the reach of the people.

Corrupting political life in its source, the suffrage power, and in all its ramifications.

Impairing the traditions of the nation, violating the most accepted ideas of justice, and leading us to we know not what, but threatening of anarchy, despotism, or a complacent loss of liberty and independence.

The railroad system of the country works toward a single management, an entirety, a pool. The telegraph system has almost reached it. The gas service of cities has reached it, or is rapidly reaching it, and the same is true of the street car systems. They follow the precedents of the postal service, the water, and the sewerage systems of cities. Except in the case of the post-office, water, and sewerage, these are new facts—new economic facts—none of them had hardly revealed itself longer ago than ten or fifteen years, although we had from the first the prophecy of Stephenson regarding railroads, that where combination is possible competition is impossible. The political economy of Great Britain that was rounded and perfected as a science after the repeal of the Corn Laws, but has since been so demolished in its wage fund theory, that now rests so unsteadily on its premises in the theory of Malthus, and that in general has suffered rack, had incorporated nothing on the unity of transportation, and it is a fresh subject for this generation with which to deal.

This country has been singularly destitute of any economic regimen. Our health has been so rude and strong that we have needed none. We could look to our Western domain and bid defiance to the economies practiced by the old and the circumscribed nations. Turned in upon themselves they have studied things that we have not studied ; we have almost thought that there were new laws of humanity for us. We are becoming somewhat rudely aroused to the fact that there are laws for the government of our constitution, nor can we hardly believe that they are a different set of laws from what govern our fellow mortals in other lands. One thing stands out: the authorities of other countries have had some system, some policy in regard to railroads,—we have had none except to let them take care of themselves. We find ourselves now, however, in the presence of a problem in connection with them.

One thing it is well to bear in mind—there is no fore-ordination in national affairs. A nation can be wise and it can be foolish. Providence takes no more recognition of fifty millions of people than of one, and its laws are alike immutable for bumble bees, associations of men, the earth's crust, and the sidereal system. We have felt so assured of our political future that we have chiefly regarded politics as a play, something to be perfunctorily gone through with as a pleasure, and for the glory of it, and to which only slightly differing degrees of prosperity attached; serious national life has not penetrated, or has only just begun to penetrate, our politics. Our Civil War itself, exceedingly serious before its close, had not a serious inception in the minds of any great number of people. Each side, in its way, looked for only a flash of powder and "glory," and American optimism saw nothing serious or evil to come from it.

Other nations have grown apace in the governing function with the railroad development; we have not.

One thing we are beginning to recognize—that there are great economic advantages in a centralized management. We see an immense evil in too many railroads: the country cannot assimilate them. Financial skill directed to railroads, as now developed, is to enable them to live on almost nothing; is for one railroad to get the better of another railroad; is to wipe out indebtedness and to start anew; is to be able to borrow money on shadowy prospects of being able to repay it. No railroad financier, or scarcely any, creates business for his railroad; the best he can hope for is to get a lion's share of what there is, and after everything is considered, circumstances generally make the financial position of the road. Financing in railroads, aside from economy in construction and management, is mostly pure friction, in which innocent parties are the sufferers. All this is greatly eliminated by the pool. The argument that favors an East and West-bound pool, a Pacific pool, a Southwest pool, a passenger pool, favors, a step further on, a pool of all sections, of all roads, and of all divisions of the business; we then reach the result to which we are now tending. It is not in legislative bills, nor in the American Eagle, however high he may soar or excitedly he may flap his wings, to keep this back. The impotence of this nation regarding railroads may be added to

by obstruction, power developed by action harmonious with manifest destiny.*

The question of the future of railroads in this country is not in regard to a growing centralization of management; that is already provided for by natural laws of association that have a higher charter than those that can be put upon statute books of states or nation. What concerns us now to consider is, how the centralization is to be superintended and guided, whether with an evolution favorable to us as a people, or favorable to private wealth and the violence to common prosperity which that implies.

It is not to be denied that great national prosperity can exist with wealth and power in few hands; it is almost the history of advanced nations and of civilization that it is so. With leaders that can wield the power of the nation, with a learned class to absorb the knowledge and the arts of the time and to advance them, there are possessed all the conditions necessary for a strong, advancing, and wise nation; but we, the United States, claim to be on higher ground and to have drawn, and to be able to draw, other nations to higher ground; we claim that we are a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people, and will make others such; but with a powerful organization or a few powerful organizations controlling the railroads of the country and in great measure only under nominal subjection to the power of the people through their representatives in legislative, executive, and judicial positions, we have made a distinct movement backward; we are going backward while other nations are going forward, and

* This was written before the recently enacted Inter-State Commerce Law had been proposed in Congress. That law, in prohibiting "the pooling of freights of different and competing railroads, or dividing between them the aggregate or net proceeds of the earnings of such railroads" prohibits the main feature of the railroad pool, but it has other features. Those features pertain chiefly to the publicity of tariffs and the settlements of accounts and balances between railroads as by a clearing-house. One railroad, as the business is now developed, and except in the case of a few leading lines, without dependence upon other roads, would do almost exclusively a local business, and would be, either in one or both extremities, "from nowhere to nowhere." This community of interest is likely to hold together in any event a joint agency of the railroads. It now remains to see what will be the result of the prohibition of the main feature of the pool, and inasmuch as the new law can be accepted as the highest wisdom of the chief law-makers of the nation on the subject of Inter-State commerce in their collective capacity, it is the duty of all to accept it in good faith, and to rest assured that the period of Congressional neglect on this subject is over, and that if it proves imperfect, it can be readily amended.

J. C. W.

we stand guilty at the bar of national jurisprudence of infidelity to the principles we have so flauntingly proclaimed.

The very exigencies of an equitable public control of these properties of the nation and of cities may bring about, in greater or less degree, national and municipal ownership. In that case is the individual as such enfeebled by deprivation of power or of fields of activity? No! There still remain the four classes of activities laid down earlier in this article as the province of the individual, viz.: Production of articles of human necessity from the soil; raising new articles to higher values by manufacture; trade (excluding transportation as described), part of which is the function of the merchant and part the function of the banker; communication of intelligence, elemental, business, professional, artistic, and spiritual. The race has developed and thrived with individual activity in these spheres. The new function of transportation is a centralizing function, and the administration of it, not absolutely, but in a degree depending upon circumstances, is an office of the government.

JOHN C. WELCH.

A CHAPLAIN'S RECORD.

On the 13th of July, 1877, the writer was elected Colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment, Second Division, of the National Guard of the State of New York. The regiment had been greatly reduced in numbers, but the men composing it were earnest, active workers, full of spirit and enthusiasm. An attempt was made to increase the size and efficiency of the organization, and the first step was to constitute a staff adapted to the requirements of the service and to give us popularity. Among many questions, this one came up: Whom could we find for Chaplain, to aid in securing for the regiment a high standing? My wife heard this question, and, with woman's intuition, her prompt reply was, "Why, Beecher, of course." The suggestion was accepted at a venture. Some of Mr. Beecher's friends were consulted, and the tender was officially made on the 10th of January, 1878. This was the reply:

Brooklyn, *January* 21, 1878.

Col. David E. Austen:

Dear Sir: Your esteemed favor of January 10th, tendering me the office of Chaplain in the Thirteenth Regiment, N. Y. Infantry, should have been acknowledged earlier, but continuous absence from the city, and some uncertainty as to my own course, has delayed a reply. I desire to thank the members of the regiment and the officers for their proffer of this honor, and have resolved to accept it, provided its duties, of which I am quite uninformed, are not so onerous as to interfere with my other labors. I shall be happy to render to your command any services within my power.

Henry Ward Beecher.

Mr. Beecher's reasons for acceptance were submitted in detail to his congregation at a Friday evening prayer-meeting in the Lecture Room of Plymouth Church, in the following words:

"I did not accept, as you may readily suppose, because I had nothing to do and because I wanted to fill up vacant time. It was not because I had any special military gifts, or that any special military proclivities led me to delight in such a position. I was as much surprised as any one could be, when a request was made by Colonel Austen that I should become the Chaplain of the Thirteenth Regiment, and

I was informed that it was the unanimous wish of the officers of the regiment that I should accept the place. And the first impulse I felt on receiving the invitation was to say *no*, but the second impulse was in the nature of a query, whether there was not some duty here. The question was not exactly, 'Should you accept the place?' but it was rather, 'Why should you not accept it?' Is it not eminently wise that a body of young men, organized as a force of citizen soldiers, should have a Chaplain? In an organization of this kind, made up of young men exclusively, is there not a peculiar kind of peril? Is not a body of this kind, resembling in some respects a social club, unrestrained, and, perhaps, uncivilized, by the presence of women, fraught with great danger? Is it not liable to become a veritable maelstrom, in which young men may be sucked down to destruction? It seems to me there is no question that they should be surrounded by some kind of moral influence, and it seemed to be a pertinent question, whether, if some one should respond, I was not the one to do so. In my case, there seemed to be special reasons why I should respond. I was always among the foremost in the matters that led to thewar, and was forward in upholding the various measures of the war, and it hardly seemed wise or proper for me to turn away from the citizen soldiery, after they had done their duty in that war, thus tacitly saying that they were of no further consequence to the nation or to the community. And even more than all this was the consideration that many of the young men of the regiment are members of my own flock here. And if it is wise and prudent to have a citizen soldiery, properly equipped and ready at all times to serve as a background of support for the civil authorities, it is certainly well to have them fortified and strengthened by all the good influences it is possible to throw around them. I go not for pleasure, but hoping to do them good. I want to help them as soldiers, as well as individuals, for I don't like to have anything to do with a thing that doesn't go. The regiment has entered on a new life, and it will be rendered more prosperous than ever. At any rate, I hope you will have its well-being at heart, if for no other sake, at least for my sake, for I should not like to do anything in which I should not have the prayers and sympathy of my people."

The occasion of the official muster into the service of the State was an assembly of the regiment for dress parade on the 1st day of March, 1878. In the presence of 5,000 people, on the large floor of the armory, Chaplain Beecher was called to the front, and the official oath was administered to him:

"You do solemnly swear that you will support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of New York, and that you will faithfully discharge your duties as a soldier in the National Guard to the best of your ability. So help you God."

With right hand raised very high, the response came: "I do." Then, on being formally introduced to his "Fellow Soldiers of the Thirteenth Regiment," Mr. Beecher said:

"I am not now for the first time made acquainted with this organization. The Thirteenth Regiment has a name belonging to the city of Brooklyn which is an honor to the city, and in which the city rejoices. I, therefore, deem it an honor to have been selected as your Chaplain. The duties of the position are, to be sure, not onerous; they are more honorable than burdensome, but such as they are, I

shall endeavor to discharge them faithfully, and to be, so far as in me lies, in my own narrow sphere, all that which I suppose every honest and honorable man among you means to be in his sphere. Time was when these regimental formations were regarded somewhat in the nature of sports, having in them more of show and the gratification of vanity than of serious work, but we have in the last twenty years passed through scenes which have sobered the minds of our people and educated them to the value of our soldiery. And only within the last year we have passed through intestine troubles which have taught us the lesson, or should have taught us the lesson, of the great value of citizen soldiery. In Europe the interests of nations have demanded standing armies, and from the nature of the people, and fromthe nature of their institutions, and from the long influence of historic association, the standing armies of Europe have been a perpetual menace to the liberty of the people. To-day Europe expends three hundred millions of dollars a year in the support of her standing armies. They are a moth, a waste, and a corruption. In our land there has sprung up from the very beginning a great prejudice against a standing army; we have permitted only a small one to be formed that we glory in and honor, but we depend upon our citizen soldiery as our main instrument for intestine defense of the country at large, and whenever foreign invasion is threatened. Let us hope that all these troubles which lie in our horizon will pass away, and that if there be any storm it shall be one of those refreshing ones which clear the air and leave things better afterward than they were before. Already the Brooklyn Thirteenth has won a name to be honored. Let it grow more and more illustrious. I shall be subject to your call in any way in which I may serve the interests of this city."

The parade was over. But the heart of every man went out to the Plymouth pastor as to a father, and, as cheer after cheer rent the air, the resolve to make an enduring fame for the regiment was implanted in the breast of every soldier in the line.

Mr. Beecher entered heartily into the spirit of regenerating and rebuilding the command, and in May, 1878, a meeting was called in the lecture-room of Plymouth Church to organize what was to be known as Company G in the service, and as "The Beecher Company" by the people. From the platform, Mr. Beecher appealed to the young men present to enroll, and, the requisite number being immediately secured, the company was mustered into the service of the State on the 27th day of June, 1878. This company has always been main tained at the maximum number, and, in point of drill and discipline, has been equal to any company of the National Guard.

Mr. Beecher's first participation in a parade of the regiment was on occasion of an escort to Post Rankin No. 10 of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to participate in the decoration of the Martyrs' Tomb, at Fort Greene, on Thursday, May 30th, 1878. I had been requested by the Chaplain to send a notice a few days in advance of any demand upon his time, so as to enable him to

arrange his lecture and other engagements not to interfere with military duty. An order was accordingly forwarded, to which a jovial reply was received the next day :

BROOKLYN, No. 124 Columbia Heights.

MY DEAR COLONEL :

I will be present, as requested, fully armed and equipped as becomes a Chaplain of the Old Thirteenth. Yours, ever,

HENRY WARD BEECHER,

Captain Secular and Chaplain Spiritual of the Old Thirteenth—God bless her !

Mr. Beecher had secured a spirited horse, which I had been advised was a Kentucky thoroughbred, and which he proposed to ride. In reply to a suggestion made by me that he might have trouble in the control of so spirited a steed, Mr. Beecher said that *he* could "stand any demonstration, as long as the horse was pleased to enjoy himself."

The order to march was given, the drums rolled out their first notes, and the horse, unused to such martial sounds, reared and plunged so that I made an effort to have the music stopped. But Mr. Beecher himself immediately discountenanced it. The Plymouth Pastor firmly held his seat, his horsemanship exciting general admiration. He soon brought the steed under complete control, and, in passing me, on the way to his place in the Staff line, he said, quietly : "I guess this horse was unaware of the fact that I had my training in Indiana. Out there, when I went to visit my parishioners, in my younger days, I didn't follow the roads, and the rail fences didn't stand in my way. The horse knows all that now, and will march in line in proper order."

Our Chaplain was right. His bold Kentucky thoroughbred had been instantly and utterly subdued. Not once again did the animal leave the line ; but the fire of his eyes showed that it was the master mind and master hand alone that held him under control.

On the march, the rain began to fall, and, apprehensive of Mr. Beecher's health, I urged him to leave the line and return home. "Are *you* going to leave ?" he inquired ; and, when I replied in the negative, he said : "A soldier desert in his first parade ? Oh, no ! I never do anything by halves. I have enlisted for the war, and my maiden battle must be fought out, even if the big drum has bursted !" (The drum-head of the firmament seemed to be broken just then, and the rain had caused the heads of all

the drums in the band and in the field music to burst, and the drummers were beating the marches on the shells.)

The following day I called on Mr. Beecher, and found him in his usual good health.

Mr. Beecher's first sermon to the regiment was preached in Plymouth Church on the 12th day of May, 1878. The main points, addressed to the regiment, were these :

"God bless the Thirteenth Regiment of Brooklyn! Gentlemen of the Brooklyn Thirteenth: There are special duties separating you from the rest of this audience. You are the citizen soldiers, you have the virtues of a citizen, a lover of peace, and of the soldier, a defender of order. Both belong to you; and it is your duty to prepare yourselves for efficient service. Not to holiday show or glittering gymnastics are you called; you represent the reserve force of the civil law. That disorder which the self respect of men cannot repress must be restrained by the police, and and when the police cannot repress it it must be overruled by the citizen soldiery. The whole body of society can control the whole procedure of society by patience, and those who think themselves wronged can change the law. Speech is free, the press is open to all, and the whole community is a jury before which a man may plead his case, and if he cannot win a verdict then he must patiently submit. No man or class of men can have to wait long for redress. Society is, in such sense, an organized unit among us, that things needful for the public good can be secured in a free republic by patient discussion, and violence is a remedy worse than the disease.

"To our immigrant population we are indebted for a thousand excellent things ; for wealth, for labor, for men of learning, for skill and industry ; but our foreign population cannot teach us some things. We admit ourselves students in some things, we assert ourselves masters in others. They cannot teach us citizenship, they cannot teach us to build a State ; and while we give welcome to such ideas as may be congenial to American habits, we utterly abhor those heresies brought from abroad that are fruitful of disorder and are in antagonism with the rights of man which they assume to defend ; that are destructive of all that liberty which they pretend to seek. If any large body of men shall move to make a change in the settled habits of this free commonwealth, they will feel the energy of a free people, roused to defend the authority of law, and the inviolability of property, that is the fruit of labor. Gentlemen, in such an emergency it will become your duty to defend the commonwealth, and it will rest upon you confidingly, trustingly, and you will not betray the confidence. While then you mingle social pleasures with your armory meetings and parades, it becomes you to remember that at the bottom a very grave responsibility rests upon you, and this should give you dignity. May God give to us prosperity and order, but should there come other days, may your ranks be the bank and shore against which the waves shall dash and be stayed. God prosper the old Brooklyn Thirteenth."

Measures were being discussed in June, 1878, between Chaplain Beecher, Gen. Horatio C. King, and the writer (Gen. King having been elected to the position of Major in the Thirteenth Regiment), when I said to Mr. Beecher : "We must keep the wheels of the Thirteenth Regiment revolving—the men must have

something to think about. Can you suggest anything absolutely new that will be an incentive to recruiting, and also to greater excellence in drill and discipline?" Mr. Beecher, who had but recently returned from Montreal, gave an account of the brilliant reception given by the Canadians to the Barlow Grays, from St. Albans, Vermont, on its visit in May, to participate in the celebration of the Queen's Birthday. "Why not take *our* regiment there?" asked the Chaplain. Thus originated the memorable trip of the Thirteenth to Montreal.

The trip was not to take place until the following year (1879). Meanwhile, recruiting rapidly increased, Mr. Beecher frequently visiting the armory during the drills of instruction, and adding to the enthusiasm of the men by his many words of encouragement.

On the 19th day of May we left for the City of Montreal, the only regiment that has ever visited foreign shores. Five hundred and thirty-seven men were present in the ranks. Mr. Beecher met the command in Montreal, and was on board the steamer "Fillgate," which had been engaged to take the regiment through the Lachine Rapids. He said he "was waiting for his boys." Mighty cheers went up for the Chaplain, which were taken up again and again.

Landing on the wharf in Montreal, a magnificent standard was presented to the Regiment by Mayor Rivard, emblazoned on one side with the Stars and Stripes, and on the other the flag of the Dominion of Canada, magnificently embroidered and set with pearls. Mr. Beecher accepted the standard on behalf of the Regiment, and said:

"We accept this flag in that spirit of amity which inspires its giving—may the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack, now for the first time so happily blended on one flag, float always side by side. For whatever the flags of other nations express, ours stand for the expression of the literature of liberty and religion of liberty and progress. May our flags never be found against each other in war. May they ever go together, but never against each other. We shall place it in the most prominent place in our armory, and when in the future we shall be favored with a visit from you, we trust to be able to show that your flag has never been dishonored."

Mr. Beecher participated in the review of the Dominion forces on Fletcher's Field. Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. Selby Smyth, K. C. B., an officer of the English regulars, was in command, and the review was witnessed by the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise. There were about 5,000 troops under arms, and Mr. Beecher was the central object of interest.

A banquet was tendered to the officers at the Windsor Hotel by General Smyth, who presided with the Marquis of Lorne. In the early part of the evening I had been requested to say to Mr. Beecher that he would be called upon to respond to the toast of the City of Brooklyn. Later in the progress of the banquet, with an uneasy expression of countenance, Mr. Beecher beckoned to me, and I went to his chair. He whispered, "Colonel, I do not like that toast and will not speak to it. Brooklyn is the best city in the world to live in and to hail from, but to be the subject of an international toast is not hot enough or brown enough. It will hardly melt butter enough to make it taste good to our Canadian friends."

I reported this to the Marquis and General Smyth, and they said that the Dominion officers would not be satisfied if they could not hear Mr. Beecher speak. So, without Mr. Beecher's knowledge, it was quietly arranged with the United States Consul-General, Mr. Smith, to whom had been assigned the toast, "The President of the United States," and who had said that he could not do full justice to his subject, that he would officially acknowledge the compliment, and then call on Mr. Beecher. This he did, concluding a most eloquent address by saying: "I ask Mr. Beecher to join with me in acknowledging the compliment to the President of the country we love so well." Mr. Beecher had not been consulted in this flank movement, as he afterwards termed it; but, with not a moment for preparation, he held the assembly spellbound by his words for more than three-quarters of an hour. In the course of his remarks, he referred to our late President as follows:

"Four years is not more than sufficient to learn how to govern, and another four only gives one an opportunity of displaying some knowledge in the management of governing. When Mr. Lincoln was elected President it was on the eve of the greatest civil war that the world has ever known. It burst out like the Southern tornado, and the whole country leaped into war, and along one thousand miles of coast its desolating ravages were made familiar. It seemed as though Lincoln should have a second term in which he should not be distracted. But it pleased God to give him the crown of martydom and take him out of his troubles. Mr. Johnson, who succeeded him, was a man of honest intentions. But he was a man too literal and too obstinate, and did not know how to change front on the battle-field, nor adapt himself to the soil over which to march; so he set himself against his party and went out of office—more welcome than when he went in. General Grant has been called a man of luck—he was lucky—in his father and mother—lucky in the body and the mind that were given him as a birthright. For two terms Gen. Grant succeeded in having good

luck, and now, having gone abroad from his country, he has good luck abroad, and if the cheers with which he has been greeted could be linked together, it would encircle the globe in one polyglot cheer, for no man has succeeded so well in cheers, in the circumnavigation of the globe, as Gen. Grant. Contrary to the course of the sun, he rose in the West. After Grant, President Hayes was called to the chair as First Magistrate. His task of peace has not been an easy one ; his, no bed of down. He has lain upon the thorns, but with great pugnacity, great patience, great gentleness, and gentlemanliness. He bids fair to come out, in the judgment of the whole nation, second to no single President they have had in the last 40 years. The United States desires to express, and upon every occasion does express, the mighty principle of good will towards all nations of the earth."

Mr. Beecher returned home with the regiment, and I had reserved a state-room for him in the officers' palace car. When shown to his traveling quarters, he said, "No, sir ; none of that for me. Too old a traveler. That is over the wheels. I wish to *sleep*, if you noisy fellows will permit such an idea to be entertained. Give me the upper berth in a centre section ; they are the best—more elasticity to the motion, and better ventilation than the lower." He retired as he desired, and crawled to the upper berth with greater agility than many of the younger officers.

After this trip the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the regiment became vacant, and General C. T. Christensen, who had for many years been Clerk of the Plymouth Society, was chosen to the vacancy. In the summer of 1880 an election was held for Brigadier-General of the Fifth Brigade. I had declined to become a candidate, preferring to remain with my regiment, and General Christensen, my Lieutenant-Colonel, was chosen. Mr. Beecher wrote to me on the subject, as follows :

"PEEKSKILL, *July* 14, 1880.

"MY DEAR COLONEL : I was heartily glad that you discouraged the putting you into a brigadiership. You would certainly make a model general, but just now, what of all things is wanted, is *regiments in the National Guard that exhibit perfect drill and conduct.* The guard is in danger of running out through slack organization, loose discipline, and slip-shod soldiers, making the whole thing weak and contemptible in the eyes of the community. But a regiment that is raised high and exhibits perfect discipline is *wholesome to the whole system.* You would make a good brigadier, but we want good *colonels* more than good brigadiers, and they stand more nearly related to the usefulness of the whole system than brigade commanders do or can. I am sorry that you should lose Christensen as a right-hand man, but I am glad, if it must be, that he is in a position where he can greatly aid the Thirteenth, and that, too, without any undue partiality. For one I am glad that the old Thirteenth has not lost its Colonel !

"Yours in the bonds of chaplaincy,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

The inspection and muster of the regiment in 1879 showed a

strength of 610 men. In 1880, there appeared on the rolls a total of 718 men. In September, 1880, the regiment visited Boston, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the foundation of that city. Mr. Beecher went to Boston from the White Mountains, and met the regiment. I had suggested the propriety of his giving a lecture in Boston, and that it be under the auspices of the State, in order to identify the regiment with the occasion. Chaplain Beecher, with his usual good nature, agreed to do anything to serve the regiment, and wrote me this funny little note :

"BROOKLYN, N. Y., 124 Columbia Heights.

"MY DEAR COLONEL : The deed is done. I have *writ*. Governor Claflin has been affectionately poked in the direction of memory. Yea, I have conveyed to him your letter, that he may see the very inwards of the scheme.

"Your fat Chaplain,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

Governor Long was then in the Executive Chair, but Ex-Governor Claflin was selected as the medium of communication. The scheme was given up owing to the succession of courtesies extended to the regiment by the 5th Massachusetts, and a banquet to the officers, at Parker's, in the evening.

In October, 1880, the regiment was called out for review by Governor Cornell, and, as was customary with me on all special occasions, I sent a letter to the Chaplain to remind him of this duty. Promptly came the reply :

"BROOKLYN, N. Y., No. 124 Columbia Heights,

"*October* 8, 1880.

"MY DEAR COLONEL : I absent ! sooner the sun by day, the moon by night!—Perish commerce, perish agriculture, and even mining, but spare the glorious old Thirteenth. No politics, no election, no ecclesiastical meetings shall hinder me. Even sickness must stand back, or, if it visits, I will come in an ambulance, vial and syringe in hand. I feel ashamed of you that you should have thought it necessary to plead the case. Next, I shall expect a warm appeal to eat my dinner, to kiss my wife and children, to love my country, or to vote the Republican ticket.

"Your Warlike Chaplain,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

The regiment paraded on this occasion second in strength only to the Seventh—such had been the remarkable growth of the command in two years. Mr. Beecher's presence was the occasion of a marked ovation on the entire march, and his spirits were of the best order. Returning on the ferryboat, we were all placed, mounted, on the forward deck, my back toward the front of the boat, but my face to Mr. Beecher. He was entertaining us all with bright sallies of wit, when suddenly he said : "Come, Colonel,

turn about; back your horse in here with us. Remember, back to the wind means face to the coffin."

Later in the season I conceived the idea of having Gen. Grant review the regiment, keeping up "the boom," as it was termed among the boys. I took Mr. Beecher into my confidence, and he was to use his discretion as to how it might be brought about. In a few weeks, the plan bore fruit in the following letter, which is not dated, but written, I believe, in the latter days of November, 1880:

"No. 124 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS, SUNDAY.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: Grant readily said that he would review the Thirteenth sometime to be agreed upon after the holidays. He required no persuasion, asked no questions, but instantly answered my request by saying, "I should be happy to do it." So then, you've got another lever to pry up the regiment with. I attribute his whole gracious disposition to the fact that he had been to Plymouth Church and heard a good sermon. Yours in the bonds of Chaplaincy,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

The formal invitation was extended, and the following reply received.

"NEW YORK CITY, *December* 2, 1880.

"COL. DAVID E. AUSTEN:

"DEAR COL.: I accept your invitation to review the Thirteenth Regiment on Wednesday, the 12th January, 1881. Very truly yours,

"U. S. GRANT."

Mr. Beecher paraded with his fellow officers. After the review there followed a working drill of the regiment. An effort to induce General Grant to address the regiment proved futile, and he retired from the floor with the brief remark: "Colonel, you have given me the best drill I have ever seen, and I am not in the habit of saying a thing like that without reason."

The following letter refers to a visit of the regiment to Yorktown. Mr. Beecher did not go. His letter touches also a rumor that I had resigned, by reason of supposed displeasure in connection with a drill.

"BROOKLYN, 124 Columbia Heights,

"*April* 6, 1881.

"DEAR COLONEL: As to Yorktown, don't know. Am not very good at a spree. The boys who go with you will not need a Chaplain for that. Couldn't have come last Monday night. [This referred to an entertainment at the armory.] Could not have danced if I had come. Somebody said that things were badly managed at one of your late show-drills, and that you were resigned. How is that? Resignation is a Christian grace. A woman, having lost her babe and giving way to excessive grief, was told by her pastor that it was the Lord's doing, and that she ought to be resigned. 'I am resigned,' she said, 'but I think I ought to show a proper resentment.' Is that your case?

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

Replying to an invitation to be present at certain athletic sports at the armory, and to a proposed date, he wrote:

"BROOKLYN, 124 Columbia Heights,
"*December* 2, 1881.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: I find, alas, the whole week is engaged! Out of town when the "Tugs" were to come. So I must say halt. But now for the new formation, so to say; I have no open date before December 29th. Will that do?

"Your Apostolic Chaplain,
"H. W. BEECHER."

An effort was made early in 1881 to secure the engagement of Dodworth's Band, at Brighton Beach, in order to keep everything regimental as much before the public as possible. Mr. Beecher had been asked to interest himself for Dodworth with some of the influential directors of the road, some of whom were attendants of his church. In connection with this matter, he wrote the following characteristic letter:

"BROOKLYN, No. 124 Columbia Heights,
"*January* 24, 1881.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: I do not think the band matter can be made to march—Brighton Beach folks are on their ear—they are going to have Levy, and their head is *sot* on having a *foreign* band, and they are in a tangle of negotiations. From the drift of things, as near as I can make it out, we shall not have much of a chance, if any. If being sorry would remedy the matter, tears should flow from both my eyes—until Jeremiah should envy me—who sighed, 'Oh that my head were a fountain of tears.'

"With captainly regards,
"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

I resigned my Colonelcy in 1883, by reason of removal to the City of New York. Mr. Beecher continued to serve with the regiment as its Chaplain during the Colonelcy of Gen. Alfred C. Barnes, my successor; but, as I am advised, there were few occasions calling for his presence. The most important was the anniversary parade of the regiment in celebration of its departure for the seat of war, which was held on the 23d day of April, 1886. This, so far as I am able to learn, was *his last parade*, although he was connected with the regiment at the time of his death.

Company G, of the Thirteenth, which had been organized inside the walls of Plymouth Church, paid the last tribute of respect to his memory, by acting as guard of honor over his remains, and, when I visited the church, I found that the great love which the Chaplain had inspired in the hearts of his parishioners had a no less secure resting place with "the boys," his boys, as he was pleased frequently to term them. So the great Chaplain has passed away.

DAVID E. AUSTEN.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

ECONOMIC OPTIMISM.

EVERY thoughtful man sees at the present time a great and growing body in our population, not only dissatisfied with their position in the social order, but determined, by one means or another, to change it. Groping their way in the dark, they are finding new power, and are beginning to use it. This phase of social science everywhere attracts attention as it never did before, and the natural result is a flood of economic discussion.

The contributors to this discussion may be divided into two general classes. There are, first, the true builders of our new political economy, who, endeavoring to find bed-rock, are laying the foundations broad and deep, and rearing a structure of enduring qualities. Next are those who build their house partly on the rock and partly on the sand, apparently as it may happen. Worse yet, as though building material were scarce, they often work in unsound timber, and sometimes make dry sand do for mortar. In the latter class, there are many divisions. A few treat of the awful darkness of the dark side of things. But our busy man of to-day has little to do with their ideas, because they do not come much in his way, and, if they do, they are not pleasant; moreover, he does not believe in that sort of thing. Then we have the sentimental economists, who give us extremely sympathetic articles on the sorrows of the poor—and the pity is, they find so much actual material for their work. But forgetting that a few cases cannot accurately represent a class, they often defeat their own object by drawing a picture so dismal that few will believe it true. Finally, in opposition to all these kinds and shades of our new economists, come the cheerful ultra-optimists—the embodiment of complacency. With brilliant rhetoric, or a bewildering array of facts and figures, these smug gentlemen show that the improvement in the condition of the poor is something quite delightful to contemplate.

It is to these smiling, optimistic philosophers that I wish to devote a few words. Not a little of their work is spread in the air at after-dinner speeches. Other parts of it go into type in small books, or in magazines, thence to be quoted in all sorts of talks, papers, and addresses, as though from the very oracles.

I am pained to see that it seems somewhat peculiar to this class of our public instructors that their efforts are turned, not so much in search of unalloyed, undivided truth, as of those disjointed and segregated parts of truth that can be bent to support optimistic propositions. By careful selection of even partial facts, with graphic methods of comparison, and a show of profound knowledge of statistics and things, one is sometimes able "to deduce therefrom conclusions which the business man can no more resist than he can deny the results of an accurate balance sheet;"* that is, unless he examines closely.

* These highly complimentary, though doubtless sincere words, are quoted from a recent prominent editorial in an excellent periodical, in connection with matters examined in this brief criticism.—D. C. S.

Again, optimism is generally grateful to the American mind—if the mind happen to abide in a well-fed, well-clothed body—and is, therefore, absorbed all the more kindly. It is, indeed, an agreeable occupation to drink in thoughts of our national greatness, and to dwell upon our magnificent future. But are there not other things now pressing hard for consideration?

"Labor," I know, does many things it ought not to do, and I clearly perceive that, with Demagogy mounting its shoulders and whispering in its ear, one of the dangers now threatening us is the pushing of class legislation too fast and too far. But, surely, these dangers cannot be avoided by our taking opiates, even the beautiful, sugary opiates of optimism. We must see things as they are. The day is forever past when we can safely rid our sight of unpleasant things by simply refusing to look upon them. Some very prominent people in France once made an awful failure in that way. We may be sure that in the end "right will prevail." But, if the present division of the fruits of labor between the brains and the hands —to borrow a figure from Mr. Lowell's "Democracy"—is not fair, and the brains, possessing every vantage ground, will not take the initiative, nor heed the signs of the times, then it will be only through great tribulation that the end will be reached.

I now propose to glance at one or two specimens of the present economic opiate. But, as I am permitted only a glance at this time, I must confine myself to the narcotic alleviatives of a single writer, but a writer who is, at once, the most prominent, the most voluminous, and the most largely quoted of all his class in America. I refer to Mr. Edward Atkinson, and especially to certain articles of his which have recently appeared under the titles of "The Food Question in America and Europe" and "The Relative Strength and Weakness of Nations." These are elaborate, if not careful, studies of the condition of our laboring classes. The author of them is called an "eminent statistician and political economist," and the articles themselves are said to "contain the most valuable study of the material growth of the country yet made by any single writer."

Here is the conclusion found at the end of the second of these articles:

"Is it not true that, while the rich may have become relatively no poorer, the poor have been steadily growing richer, not so much in the accumulation of personal wealth as in the power of commanding the services of capital in ever increasing measure at a less proportionate charge?"

It may be admitted that the condition of the poor has been improved in recent years, but has Mr. Atkinson made a fair summing up of the relative progress of both the rich and the poor?

I might not consider this question worth asking, but for the fact that I believe all such teachings to be not only erroneous, but exceedingly harmful. There is, it seems to me, in the whole range of that sort of work, a subtle philosophy that says: Don't worry about the poor laboring classes; they are really very prosperous. If that is not the practical impression conveyed, I fail to read English intelligently.

However, I shall not attempt to prove the incorrectness of the single conclusion quoted. That is not my design. I wish, rather, to point out some of the fallacies upon which such conclusions are based, suggesting thereby to business men the advisability of examining the economic gospel that is given them.

Mr. Atkinson's method, in general, may be briefly stated to be a comparison of statistics of 1865 with those of 1885, and from the results to argue the prosperity of all our people. It is even pretty clearly announced in the conclusions of "The Food Question," that if there is want in the midst of plenty it must be due to bad cooking.

In Mr. Atkinson's first article it is stated, of the arable land in the United States, that, exclusive of pasturage, only 265,500 square miles are yet put to actual use in the production of articles of food. Elsewhere in the same article, and also in the gentleman's second article, it is stated that the land thus in use amounts to 302,500 square miles. The difference is something larger than the State of Indiana, or all of New England, exclusive of Maine.

Hay is given a space of 40,000 square miles, but it is also allowed to appear among the miscellaneous crops, which, in the aggregate, are said to occupy only 30,000 square miles. These two errors are mentioned merely as evidences of carelessness ; no other importance is attached to them.

In showing the growth of our cotton production the table begins with 1865–6. Yet no allusion is made to the fact that the hard necessities of war had reduced that industry from a crop of 4,823,770 bales in 1860, to barely 500,000 bales in 1865.*

In all cases where the argument is helped by a reduction of the 1865 prices to the gold standard, for comparison with present prices, it is done, and properly enough ; but, in at least three instances, where it would hurt the argument, it is not done. Here is an inverse illustration, in aggravated form.

To show the greatly lessened charge for the use of capital, which, according to Mr. Atkinson's conclusions, and in harmony with some outside evidence, seems to be the chief element in the riches of the poor, he says :

"Another fact may be stated which fairly sustains the general statement, that those who do the actual work of production are now securing to their own use a larger share than ever before of the joint product of labor and capital. The earning power of $100 in gold coin invested in United States bonds of the best class was, at the highest point of paper-money inflation in 1864, 16.66 per cent. per year. At the present time the earning power of $100 in gold coin invested in 4½ per cent. United States bonds is only 2.20 per cent. per year."

We will pass the unreasonable assumption that investment in Government bonds at the present time fitly represents any of the enterprises in which labor commands the service of capital. But why go back to 1864, in the midst of the war, instead of starting with 1865, as in all other cases?—the gold premium being in 1864 (July), 222 to 285, while in 1865 it was only 138 to 146½ for the same month! But let us leave these little idiosyncrasies of a great economist, and consider this : The highest rate of interest ever paid by the Government on its Civil War bonds was 7.3 per cent. The bonds bearing that rate were withdrawn from the market in 1865, and so are not quotable for investment. The most desirable long-time bonds for sale in 1864 were the 6s of 1881. They sold above par throughout the year, and netted the investor less than 6 per cent. per annum. How then is it that 16.66 per cent. interest is obtained in the above statement? It is by a deliberate inflation of the interest to paper-money value, not inadvertently, but by mathematical computation! The covert allusion to paper inflation does not save it. If it be said that paper currency was the medium of the times, that does not alter the case a whit. Paper money would buy less bonds and receive less interest. "Money," whatever the medium—gold, paper or wampum—converted into Government bonds in 1864, produced of its kind less than seven per cent. per annum.

It is evident that Edward Atkinson does not look with too much favor upon Lord Bacon's inductive method of reasoning. Some instances of this disposition

* Estimated by Mr. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., in the Reports of the Department of Agriculture.

are not far from amusing, as when the annual value of our hens' eggs is estimated in this way :

"If each adult in the United States consumes one egg every other day, at only twelve cents a dozen, which is the proportion of the factory operatives of New England, the value of our hens' eggs is $91,250,000 per year, or twice the value of the product of silver bullion, 25 per cent. more than the value of our wool clip, and greater than the entire product of our iron furnaces," etc.

Surely this is beginning a long way from the hen, and somewhat arbitrarily fixes the standard, right or wrong, that she should live up to.

Mr. Atkinson has the distinction of being "graphic." We find this example of the graphic in the "conclusions" of the food question :

"The modern miracle of the loaves is this : One man working the equivalent of three hundred days in the year, or three men working one hundred days, in the harvest season on the far plains of Dakota, in the production of wheat, aided by one man working three hundred days in milling and barreling the flour, and supplemented by two men working three hundred days in moving wheat and flour from Dakota to New York and in keeping all the mechanism of the farm, the mill, and the railroad in good repair, four men's work for one year places one thousand barrels of flour at the bakers' oven in the city of New York—a yearly ration of bread for one thousand men and women."

"Miracle" indeed ! The modern miracle is that any man could make such a statement. It is "graphic" nonsense.

The inevitable "if" that haunts Mr. Atkinson's arguments is here laid aside, and we are given a positive statement. Now let us see what this statement will make the cost of wheat delivered at the railroad station in Dakota.

The highest wages for farm hands in Dakota during the past two years have not exceeded $26 per month for the summer season, or one dollar per working day. This gives us $300 as the entire cost of the wheat for the 1,000 barrels of flour, or for 4,500 bushels of wheat at the usual estimate of four and one-half bushels for a barrel of flour. The $300, then, would show six and two-thirds cents per bushel as the cost of raising wheat in Dakota. Mr. Oliver Dalrymple, the great wheat farmer of Dakota, now estimates the total cost at about fifty cents per bushel,—that is, more than seven times as much as it costs Mr. Atkinson's farmer —on paper.

Let me now call attention to Mr. Atkinson's transportation theories. There is in them such manifest bias that it is only with a severe strain on patience that they can be examined with decorum. Take a single one.

A great part of the argument in "The Food Question" is based on the showing of a vast saving to the people of the United States in the transportation charges for the year 1885 over those of the year 1865.

Mr. Atkinson says :

"If wheat had been subject in 1885 to the charge of 1865, the cost of moving 50,000,000 barrels of flour 1,000 miles (the estimated total consumption and average distance of transportation for all the people of the United States) would have been $172,500,000. At the actual charge of 1885 over the New York Central line, at the average traffic charge of the year on all merchandise of 68 cents, the cost was $34,000,000—a difference of $138,500,000 on the flour alone."

This makes a fair start for the suggestions that follow :

"If we then save $138,500,000 per year in the cost of transportation on our bread bill only, do we save tenfold on our whole food supply ?" . . . "In view of these data, if the gain compassed in twenty years in the cost of moving bread alone has been $138,500,000, how much do we now save on all the necessaries of life ?"

Now, let us see about this.

The transportation taken for comparison is that from Chicago to New York. Instead of taking the cheaper route over which the grain *actually came* in 1865, Mr. Atkinson has selected a more expensive one, over which the grain did *not* come. The grain came almost wholly by the Great Lakes, the Erie Canal, and the Hudson River; and yet he has everywhere in these articles completely ignored the existence of that great water-way. He has taken the aggregate charges on several independent roads—not consolidated into one system until four years later—which charges ($3.45 per barrel) were so high as to be prohibitory, and then he has assumed to believe that they fairly represent the cost of our flour transportation from Chicago to New York in 1865.

I have been unable to find any statistics of the volume of all-rail transportation of grain from Chicago to New York in 1865, for the sufficient reason that practically there *was* none. But we know about the Erie Canal. The receipts at tide-water of wheat, and flour reduced to wheat, via the Erie and Champlain canals in 1865 was 11,693,200 bushels. This was the bulk of all the wheat and flour received in New York that year. It could be shown that but a very small part of it came by the Champlain. According to the reports of the New York Produce Exchange, Mr. E. H. Walker statistician, the total receipts of all kinds of grain, and flour reduced to grain, by these two canals, that year, were 51,400,400 bushels. The total receipts via the Erie Canal that year of all products from the Western States alone, chiefly grain and meats, were 1,904,156 tons, equivalent in weight to 63,471,866 bushels of wheat. The total estimated valuation of all the transportation of the Erie Canal that year was $186,114,718.

These figures show that the Erie Canal did some business for the people in 1865. Even so late as 1884, Mr. Walker finds occasion to say:

"The Erie Canal delivers at New York in the navigation season, from May to November, more grain by nearly ten million bushels than all of the railroads terminating in New York deliver during the same period."

Let us now examine the rates charged in 1865.

At the estimate of four and one-half bushels of wheat per barrel of flour, the charges of $3.45 per barrel would equal 76.6 cents per bushel for wheat transportation. (It would be more yet if figured by weight, at the ordinary proportionate rates for flour and wheat.) The actual charge by water, including canal tolls, averaged 23.6 cents per bushel that year. Remarkable support as to the relative accuracy of this is found in the rates on all merchandise by the two routes within the State of New York that year. By the New York Central line they were 3.3 cents per ton-mile, and by the Erie Canal 1.1 cents per ton-mile. The proportionate difference in favor of the water route was still greater west of Buffalo, and was, no doubt, quite sufficient to offset the fact that the transportation was of somewhat higher class by rail than by canal in the State of New York. Thus, we surely find an error of 50 cents per bushel of wheat in Mr. Atkinson's figures. This will scatter to the winds $112,500,000 of the sum shown to be annually saved to us by the railroads. The remainder, as could be easily demonstrated, may be found in the paper money inflation of 1865, and in the reduced charges that have actually been brought about, not by the railroads, but invariably in the water transportation, the railroads respectfully following at as great a distance as consistent with their getting some of the business.

As for the rest of Mr. Atkinson's arguments, although some are tenable, many of them are like these I have analyzed. Thus, seeing grave defects in the foundation of his economic optimism, may we not reasonably doubt the value of whatever is built upon such a base?

I must add, however, that it is certainly not because Mr. Atkinson's hope is so bright that I have found occasion for this criticism. The hope of every American of healthy mind cannot *but be bright*. But, simply the truth regarding the resources and possibilities of this land of ours will amaze the world; while, as for ourselves, we should remember that no one is so greatly deceived as he who deceives himself. I would not repress optimism, but would have it conform, in a measure, to the proposition that two times two still equals conservative, old-fashioned four.

DATUS C. SMITH.

II.

STORM-EFFECTS ON MENTALITY.

IT has been argued, with more or less warmth, that one's disposition is largely affected by the kind of weather which prevails when one is born. While this is possible, it is also fanciful, and but few put any faith in it. There is, however, another weather phenomenon in which I believe: I am convinced that thought is influenced, in a very considerable degree, by the weather. My notice was first drawn toward this by a line in one of Voltaire's letters, in which he said: "My work has been murky, to-day, because the weather was murky." From this time on, I took close and careful account of my mental condition during various kinds of weather.

The result was a matter of great surprise to me, and it sometimes enforced deductions and conclusions which were almost startling. Though I seldom had sufficient time to profit by it, I found that the execution of plans, made during calm weather, was impossible during stormy weather, without the making of frequent changes—not only in details, but in general methods as well. Time and again, in some period of bright, sunshiny weather, I would lay out the plot of a novel, which would be full of the cheer and the joy of the smiling mood of nature. I would begin writing, full of the encouraging impetus which the weather gave me, and glad that I was able to do something which would be apart and separate from my nervous, dismal self; and then a storm would swoop down upon me, and with dolorous scratch, my pen would clothe dolorous thoughts in even more dolorous words. When the storm was cleared, and the sun shone again, I would once more find myself able to make the things which I wrote as blithe and buoyant as the weather.

Storms always disturb me—sometimes they depress me, and make me feel tearful without knowing why. It is very hard to write *mots* which sparkle and glitter with mirth, when one's heart is heavy and sombre—just as it is difficult to write dirges when one feels like railing and joking. And so, fair weather is best suited to the writing of comedies, and foul weather to the writing of tragedies.

Another curious circumstance was the provoking features which characterized the working out, in fair weather, of a plot which I framed during a violent storm. Try as I would, I never could touch this story up so that I dared print it, and at last I burned it in despair.

Once, as an experiment, I planned two novels, to be worked on simultaneously. The one plot was shaped during a stormy period, and the other during a brief season of sunshine and summer glory which immediately followed. Whenever it was stormy, I worked upon the storm-planned novel; and whenever the weather was bright, I worked upon the other. In each instance, I wholly surrendered myself to the moods which the weather stirred up within me, and made no effort to shake off the good cheer of the one or the despondency with which the other en-

compassed me. As a result, the novel upon which was settled no shadow of the storm-taint was cheerful and good-humored; but the other was so bitter, mournful and vindictive, that I never printed it. In each of these cases, of course, I allowed myself to be wholly moved and swayed by atmospheric tendencies; and though I lost the profits of several weeks of literary labor, I learned an invaluable lesson. I saw that by properly fortifying myself, and by making the right kind of struggles, I could resist yielding to both the dangerous flavor of soft sweetness, which sunny skies induced, and, also, in the same way, to the spitefulness and melancholy which were the legacy and gift of the storm-spirit. That is, I succeeded in partially overcoming the influences and effects of the weather, and, at all times, in keeping myself in a mental condition of passable evenness. The complete and perfect disentanglement of one's mental action from such phenomena is, to me, an impossibility; and it in some degree enables me to understand why I wrote so much in "Lelié" which I have since so often regretted.

These things which I speak of are so apparent in the works of some of my literary friends, that I can almost distinguish, in some of their stories, the very line and word which they were doing when some storm either began or ended.

Why should it be otherwise? We are so sensitively constituted that we must, of necessity, be affected by the alternations of storm and sunshine. The more exquisite the personality, the stronger the influence; and, in the case of invalids, the effect is more considerable than it is in persons of sound health. Women feel storm-effects more keenly than men; and the young more keenly than the old. The nervous are the storm's most resistless slaves, and the phlegmatic escape it altogether. Many persons, without appreciating the reason of it, declare themselves unable to fix their thoughts upon any one subject, except in the most haphazard and incoherent way, during the prevalence of storms. Consequently, many find it beyond their capacity to do anything in the way of finished mental work in either the early spring or the late autumn. Many writers never once touch a pen during stormy weather, and others can only write clearly and forcibly with a tempest shrieking about their windows.

Poets and artists suffer most from storms; the latter, far more than would seem likely on mere casual thought. Many a picture has been spoiled by having its last touches laid on when it was storming. Coloring, whether verbal or pigmental, takes much of its tone from sky and atmosphere.

Races, as well as individuals, get much of their mental equipment from the weather. A nation whose home is often under storm-clouds, and in the track of tempests, has more disagreeable traits than a nation which best knows a serener atmosphere: just as a race which inhabits the high mountains has little or nothing in common with the people of the plains and deserts.

Literature, more than anything else, suffers under the malignity of storms, because all literary effort is the picturing of moods and emotions in words. As children resemble those who beget them, so words are like those who utter them; and the words which are wrung from us by pain are not likely to win us many smiles from those who hear them. We speak as we feel, and our feelings are the reflection of our conditions and circumstances. The ship-wrecked sailor, half-drowned, and wet to the skin in some wild, wintry sea, will scarcely go into raptures over the pleasures and benefits of salt-water bathing; and the man who writes of the wooing of young lovers, when a fierce blast seems bent on beating in his study-windows, cannot be justly blamed if what his hero whispers into the ears of his heroine is something after the fashion of a death-knell.

GEORGE SAND.

III.

UNIFORM MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAWS.

THE inconveniences, perhaps perils, of discordant State laws on marriage and divorce have been much discussed of late. The remedy usually proposed is to amend the Federal Constitution and give Congress power to make uniform laws. Without underrating any evils of the present disorder, I differ as to the remedy and desire here to state my reasons for dissent.

"As far as I can see, the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man." So says England's greatest statesman, and so say we all of us. The so-called Constitution, under which he and Lord Salisbury play see-saw in governing England, can be changed any day by mere legislative act. It is one excellence of ours that it cannot. It was amended soon after its adoption to meet objections by certain States, and to simplify the choice of President, but never since, except to formulate the results of the war. It has stood for a century the most stable, yet elastic, the most conservative, yet liberal, scheme of government ever devised. Its keystone is the adjustment of State and Federal functions. Any change in that adjustment is a risk; readiness to resort to change is a grave peril; and that peril is increased by the insidiousness of words, for to the unthinking mass, amendment means improvement and is favored as such.

There are other dangers which threaten us besides loose divorce laws. One of them is that our Anglo-Saxon respect for law and American faith in definite constitutions may be worn out by hasty legislation and restless meddling with organic law. There is a growing habit of thinking our whole duty done towards remedying a wrong, when we have written articles, held meetings, and got a law passed against it. Soon, in surprised disgust that the law does not enforce itself, we pass another and amend and re-amend, till we have a tangled web of incoherence and contradictions, through whose meshes he must be a dull lawyer who cannot drag the worst offender. Then our law goes into the crowded grave of dead letter statutes, and, in despair, we call on Hercules for help, and want to amend our constitution, instead of fairly using our own resources.

Hesitating as I do at any change which would reverse the policy of the Founders, unless justified, like the surgeon's knife, by urgent need, I further object to the one now proposed, that it is in the wrong direction. They who admire paternal government, or despotism under any other plausible name, may well favor the project as a long step towards centralization, for if Congress is given control of marriage and divorce it is hard to say what shall be refused.

Judge Bennett has recently given to the public an able argument for Federal interference, which seems based on this proposition. "The reasons for desiring relief from an unfortunate marriage are substantially the same throughout the entire country. . . . The evil is the same, and nature and reason suggest that the remedy, or at least the relief, should be likewise similar. . . . Nothing so much weakens our regard and respect for the law, nothing so much shakes our confidence in any real and abiding distinctions between right and wrong, honor and dishonor, morality and immorality, as the knowledge that what is forbidden by the civil law of one jurisdiction is freely allowed just beyond the border without any penalty whatever." From that beginning, after stating our variant State laws, he goes on to an urgent plea for national legislation as the only remedy.

If this be sound, it would follow that the same remedy should apply to adultery and licentiousness, cognate matters, which are now crimes in Massachusetts and New Jersey, but not in interjacent New York; and why not to liquor selling,

lotteries, larceny, labor troubles, and every other subject on which uniformity is desirable? It might well be argued that a man should not be hung for murder, flogged for thieving, or imprisoned for debt in one State and not in another; should not break the Sabbath, corner pork, take more than six per cent. interest, or do anything else in one place which is forbidden in another, and that the remedy is Federal—no, not Federal, but Imperial—legislation. Could Bismarck himself ask for more?

But we others, who love home rule and dread centralization, what shall reconcile us to the hazard of this change? We would see some clear advantage to be gained before we let a central power govern our marital relations, and, perhaps, in their train, all other domestic, social, and local affairs. Is Congress so successful in dealing with coarser matters that it will adjust wisely these delicate relations? What experience of its methods warrants the belief? Uniform legislation on bankruptcy was intrusted to it. It has passed three acts, repealed them all as failures, and is trying in vain to frame a fourth. Its vacillating follies in finance, currency, and tariff are chronic; its failure with the Mormon problem conspicuous. How can we look to it for wise legislation about family affairs, or even for steady legislation? Property rights may adjust themselves to changing laws, but shifting marriage laws would only make confusion worse confounded.

"Uniform law" is a taking cry, but a bad uniform law is only the worse the wider its extent. What sort of law are we like to have from Congress? We have now nearly as many laws as States, and of theories no end. Of course every one assumes that his own scheme will be adopted, while obviously, all but one must be rejected. Which will it be? Will Congress make marriage a civil contract, provable like other contracts, or require a priest, or magistrate, or what formalities? Shall marriage be free, or must there be publication, license, witnesses, certificates, registry, or what not? And what shall be the consequence to innocent wives and children of some informality? Shall we follow the Bible, the churches of Rome and England, the Presbyterian confession of faith, and a few States in prohibiting marriages of affinity, or most States in permitting them? Shall we let inclination decide, or shall we forbid marriage between races? And shall we draw the line at Negro, Quadroon, Octoroon, Indian, Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, or where?

Shall we follow South Carolina and the Catholic Church in refusing all divorce; New York, in limiting it to a single cause; Arizona in granting it almost at will; or which one of the intermediates? Shall divorcees be the only criminals forbidden to repent and reform, or may they have another chance to be good citizens, and if so, on what terms? There is no general concurrence of views on these and other points, and until we agree, Federal power to make uniform law over the whole nation is premature as well as unsafe.

If we were agreed, we need not amend the Constitution. We might easier attain uniform law by the old and safe method of concerted State action. The obstacle at present is that the country is not ready for concurrence. And that is the best proof that it is not ready for Federal interference.

The fact is, and we may as well face it, uniformity is not at present possible. We are fifty millions, soon to be one hundred; stretched three thousand miles from ocean to ocean; dwelling on sea coast, prairie, and mountain; traders, craftsmen, farmers, miners, and cow boys; of divers nations and races, with divers customs, holding divers religions, more than one of them claiming authority over marriage and divorce. Uniform marriage laws over such widely differing communities would encounter too strong social, moral, and religious prepossessions to be uniformly enforced.

For instance, would any law against mixed marriage stringent enough to satisfy the South be enforceable at the North? Would any limitation of divorce acceptable at the East be tolerated at the West? If no divorced persons could re-marry anywhere in this broad land, would they not mate without marriage? Will communities accustomed to self-government, who now make and insist upon diverse marriage laws suited in their judgment to their diverse conditions, heartily accept uniform laws, or will unlawful unions become common and quasi respectable?

The Presbyterian Church (Conf. of Faith, Ch. 24, Sec. 4) forbids a man to marry any of his wife's kin whom he might not marry if his own—a law broken every day and almost forgotten. If a church cannot compel even its clergy to obey its law against their reasonable inclinations, will Congressional law fare better in unwilling communities? That there will be such communities follows from the plea for National legislation, based on the ground that States never will concur.

It is rudimentary in statesmanship that laws which contravene general sentiment cannot be enforced. Dead letter temperance laws are bad enough, but the peculiar evils of unenforced marriage laws are obviously intolerable.

Judge Bennett's proposition may be bettered thus: "Nothing so much weakens our regard and respect for the law, nothing so much shakes our confidence in any real and abiding distinctions between right and wrong, honor and dishonor, morality and immorality, as unenforceable statutes." This seems to be the truer statement and to reverse his conclusion.

I venture to go further and say that uniform matrimonial laws are not at present desirable.

The nation is in a transition state, not ready to be cast in any rigid mold. We may become homogeneous, but we are not so yet. And we are now passing through some special adjustment of marital relations. Most of us can remember when the family was the unit of society, and when that unit was represented in property, rights, duties, and responsibilities by the man. This is all changed or changing. Marriage in many States is a co-partnership, a quasi business affair, in which neither partner surrenders individuality or estate. Woman is enfranchised, has separate rights, property, and liabilities, invades man's domain, and may soon vote and make laws.

What reactions these changes will produce, and especially in marital relations no one can foretell. The chaos which now exists, and which seems to some so terrible that they would change the Constitution and very basis of Federal union to remedy it, is only a symptom of the disease, not the disease itself. That is the inevitable fever of critical change, to be watchfully tended, not suddenly suppressed. When woman's position is fully settled, when relations and habits have adjusted themselves to the new conditions, we shall be better able to know what laws to make. Till then legislation must be largely experimental, and would best be tried on the smallest scale.

Meanwhile, let us not pull down the walls of our Constitution to bring in this wooden horse, which is like to be as clumsy, useless, and full of danger as its great prototype. At least, let us be first certain that a wooden horse is a good thing to have.

THOMAS M. NORTH.

IV.

DONN PIATT ON ARTHUR RICHMOND.

In the "Notes and Comments" of the REVIEW for January, Donn Piatt appears as defender of President Cleveland against what he calls "mere vituperative assaults" in Arthur Richmond's article in the previous number; at which Colonel Piatt expresses himself "disgusted." Should Mr. Cleveland happen to read both, it might be difficult to say at which he himself would be the more disgusted, the "assault," or the defense. Colonel Piatt is indeed almost as "vituperative" as was Richmond, with the addition of wounding in the house of his friends. Among other things of like complimentary tenor and effect touching Cleveland's Administration, Piatt says: "The political condition of affairs is enough to make the old leaders in the time of Jackson turn in their graves." This is discouraging; but there is more like it. Of Cleveland himself, Colonel Piatt, speaking prophetically, says: "That he will not enact so brilliant a rôle as did Old Hickory, we can well know." The utterance of this depreciative vaticination is doubtless quite safe. But more follows; for the Colonel declares that "President Cleveland is not a great man, makes no pretension to statesmanship;"—and so on.

The correctness of statement in all this I would not presume to deny. But, considered as mode and matter of defense against "vituperative assaults," it would certainly prompt Mr. Cleveland to insert in his litany the devout invocation, "Deliver me from my friends!" But, while admitting the correctness of Donn Piatt's statements in regard to President Cleveland, I must point to one thing that challenges correction. Speaking of the present Democracy, Colonel Piatt says: "It is not a party in the sense of that name when President Jackson vetoed the bill perpetuating the United States Bank, *ruined the depositors*," etc. As to the change that is said to have come over the Democratic party since Jackson vetoed the Bank bill and "ruined the depositors," I venture no opinion. Moreover, I think it was quite proper that the bill for the renewal of the United States Bank charter should have been vetoed, because of its monopolistic character; but the statement that General Jackson's veto of the bill "ruined the depositors" is an error of such magnitude as to seem incredible, as having come from Donn Piatt's pen. The fact of record is, when the renewal of its charter was refused, the United States Bank, on reaching the limit of its former charter, proceeded to wind up its affairs, and closed its accounts to the uttermost farthing without the loss of a single dollar to any man living or dead—whether depositor, stockholder, or billholder. Then, to assert that President Jackson's veto "ruined the depositors," is unjust to Jackson and untrue to history.

Probably Colonel Piatt has unconsciously muddled the United States Bank with the institution known as the "United States Bank of Pennsylvania," which ended in disaster, but with which General Jackson had no more to do than Donn Piatt had. The same erroneous statement has not infrequently been made by men more pretentious of knowledge in political history than Colonel Piatt has ever appeared to be. But, all the same, the statement was as incorrect in them as it now is in him. The truth of history demands its correction.

I. J. ALLEN.

CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BRAZIL having been a steadily progressive country throughout the long reign of Dom Pedro II., a fresh account* of it by an American observer was decidedly required. The books by Wallace and by Fletcher are probably out of print, and certainly out of date; the journey, whose results were recorded by Prof. and Mrs. Agassiz, was made more than twenty-one years ago ; and even Dr. Smith's visit, which furnished material for an interesting narrative, took place in 1875. The author of the book before us, on the contrary, has but recently returned from Rio de Janeiro, where he spent three years in the post of Consul-General. His own opportunites of observation were remarkable, and these were supplemented with information industriously collected from men residing in almost every province of the Empire, with whom he was brought into intimate relations during their terms of sojourn in the capital. His purpose was, he tells us, to answer every question which an intelligent American would be likely to ask, and there is, in fact, no aspect of Brazilian society on which some light has not been thrown. We have found the chapters upon the Amazon Valley and upon the emancipation problem particularly full and useful. He confirms, with new and cumulative evidence, the assertion first made by Wallace, that there is no foundation for the current notion, to which, it will be remembered, Buckle gave forcible expression, that, in the Valley of the Amazon, the luxuriance of the vegetation has overpowered and daunted man. As a matter of fact, the primeval forest of the American equatorial region "can be converted into rich pasture and meadow land, cultivated field and garden, with half the labor and with less than half the time required" in temporate zones. It is even a mistake to suppose that the Valley of the Amazon is abundantly supplied with the means of subsistence. It seems to be as true to-day as it was when Mrs. Agassiz wrote, that "neither milk, nor butter, nor vegetables, nor cheese are to be had. You constantly hear people complaining of the difficulty of procuring even the commonest articles of domestic consumption." The history of the emancipation movement in Brazil has been clearly and concisely sketched by Mr. Andrews. He shows how the law of 1871, which declared all slave children, born after its promulgation, free at the age of twenty-one, has, in practice, been evaded by the frequent, and, in some sections, preconcerted failure to register births. Of the minors legally entitled to the benefit of the law, no returns at all have been received from seven provincial governments, including those of such large and populous provinces as those of Bahia, Sao Paulo, and Minas-Geraes. The latest phase of the long struggle between the slave-holders and emancipationists is depicted in detail from the abortive project of the Dantas Ministry to the successful passage of the Saraiva bill, in September, 1885. The main feature of this important legislation is the provision for a new and compulsory registration of all slaves under sixty years of age. It should also be noted that while slaves between sixty and sixty-five were to be held to labor for three years, those above sixty-five were declared emanci-

* Brazil, by C. C. Andrews, ex-Consul-General at Rio de Janeiro. D. Appleton & Co.

pated, and every slave not registered within a fixed time was to be *ipso facto* free. There was also a merciful provision that all freedmen over sixty should remain with their masters to be fed, clothed, and cared for at the latter's expense, provided the Orphans' Court should pronounce the freedmen unable to earn their living. As the law also largely increased the Emancipation fund by an annual appropriation of two and a half million dollars, there is at last reason to believe that the process of extinguishing African slavery in its last stronghold is fairly under way. Still, as the number of slaves in the Empire was nearly a million and a quarter two years ago, Mr. Andrews foresees that Americans will continue to drink coffee produced by slave labor for a quarter of a century longer.

It was understood, when the purchase of the collection was recommended to Congress, that the Stevens papers, now deposited in the library of the State Department at Washington, included a great many letters written by Franklin during his residence in France that had never seen the light. Not only are the most important of these unpublished documents made known to us by Mr. Hale,* but their relation to circumstances is brought out by retelling the whole story of Franklin's experience in France. Mr. Hale's work, therefore, far from being confined to the mere act of editing, is an independent history, which, while providing students with new and valuable evidence, winningly commends itself to a popular audience like that to which the biography by Parton was addressed. Students, perhaps, will not be overmuch pleased to learn that Franklin's mistakes in orthography have been corrected by the editor, but the general reader will relish the letters all the more, because he has been spared the trouble of translating bad English or bad French. A feature of this book is the attention paid to Franklin's earlier visits to Paris in 1767 and 1769, about which his other biographers have, for one reason or another, said but little. As to the first journey in particular, Franklin himself maintained great reticence, mentioned it to no one in America, except his son in New Jersey, and cautions even him against letting others know of it. The contemporary English newspapers seem to have been unaware that Franklin had accompanied Sir John Pringle to Paris. The only surviving record of this visit in Franklin's handwriting is a letter to a Miss Stevenson, treating chiefly of the modes of traveling in France, the fashions in dress, and his own presentation at court, where, it seems, the King, Louis XV., took some notice of him. Franklin recounts an incident, which, at first sight, seems trivial enough, but which, as the editor points out, was, in its way, a portent, namely, that the game at cards known as quadrille had already been superseded at Versailles and Paris by the English whist. Spades, as Mr. Hale reminds us, represented the soldier class, while the other three suits corresponded to the ecclesiastics, town folk, and peasantry. "When, therefore, the fashion of the court changed so far that the ace of spades [which in quadrille was the highest card, no matter what might be trumps] could not always take the ace of clubs or of hearts, or of diamonds, the King of France should have known that even the chief [of a military noblesse] was no longer supreme above the demands of clergy, merchants, and people. English whist came as an omen of constitutional government." We have quoted Mr. Hale's allusion to this matter, which most editors would have dismissed as insignificant, to show how searching and illuminative his comments are. Of Franklin's second visit to Paris, in July, 1769, there is even less to be learned from his letters to American correspondents. As we know that Franklin was received with the utmost cordiality by the French economists, among whom Quesnay and the Marquis of Mirabeau were the most

* Franklin in France, by Edward E. Hale and E. E. Hale, Jr. Roberts Brothers.

conspicuous figures, the studious and very unusual silence maintained by Franklin suggests to the editor that he must have had some political plans in view. Mr. Hale notes the interesting fact that only a year or two before Franklin's visit, Adam Smith had formed that personal acquaintance with Quesnay to which we are undoubtedly indebted for "The Wealth of Nations." Mr. Hale brings down the story of Franklin's life in France to the close of 1781, the year of Yorktown. A question of particular interest relates to the extent of Franklin's prevision of the French Revolution, which was to begin only eight years later. We have found no proof in the letters printed in this volume that he foresaw the dissolution of the Bourbon monarchy. We encounter no criticism, even of a friendly kind, on the shocking fiscal blunders of the Ancien Régime, to which we might have expected a man of Franklin's business aptitudes to be specially alive. When Marie Antoinette herself was partner in a faro bank, it might have been supposed that Franklin would have been impressed by some of the thousand indications that the state was drifting fast toward bankruptcy. The general effect produced on the mind by this correspondence is that, while Franklin's cordial reception by the philosophers was of service to his country, and made him an efficient agent for the immediate end in view, yet his observations were confined to superficial phenomena, and there was absolutely nothing of the prophet in him.

Although Mr. Laurence Oliphant is an Englishman, his letters* descriptive of life in modern Palestine may, from one point of view, be considered to belong to American literature, since they were first published in the New York *Sun*, and are now only accessible in a collective form to the readers of the volume edited by Mr. Charles A. Dana. The observations here recorded are those, not of a visitor, but of a resident, of a man, too, who can interpret the present by the past, because, without professing to be a professional archæologist or philologist, he is thoroughly conversant with the results of recent archæological and philological research. Mr. Oliphant speaks from a full mind, and his pen moves with the vivacity and the exactitude of a long-practiced writer. The reader will thank us for directing his attention to the topics of peculiar interest discussed in chapters on "the Sea of Galilee in the Time of Christ," "The Scene of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes," "Capernaum and Chorazin," and "Traditional Sites at Jerusalem." But, perhaps, we cannot better illustrate in this passing notice the charm and value of the combined results of patient personal inspection and of extensive scholarship, than by marking some of the data brought out in two chapters on the "Sacred Samaritan Records" and "The Ten Lost Tribes." How few of the persons, who suppose themselves tolerably well informed about the history and the present state of Palestine, are aware that at Nablous lingers to this day a remnant of the Samaritans, though it now numbers no more than one hundred and sixty souls. The author may well pronounce this remarkable community, considered as an ethnological survival of antiquity, the most interesting group of people extant. In their synagogue, Mr. Oliphant was allowed to see their ancient Thorah, or book of the law, which, as these Samaritans believe, preserves the most authentic text of the Mosaic injunctions, as they were expounded and obeyed when the whole nation of the Israelites still worshiped on Mount Gerizim. Of the three other sacred books known to be in the possession of the Samaritans, the author points out that one, the Samaritan book of Joshua, fills a notable lacuna in the Judaic book of the same name, and furnishes an account of the conquest of Samaria, which, it will be remembered, is lacking in the record transmitted in the Hebrew Bible. We should add that in

* Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine, edited with introduction by Charles A. Dana. Harper and Brothers.

the second of the two chapters now under our eye, Mr. Oliphant gives cogent reasons for believing that the Samaritans of the times of Christ and of Josephus were the lineal representatives of the ten tribes mistakenly described as "lost." There is, indeed, an inherent probability in Mr. Oliphant's suggestion that Sargon's treatment of the conquered Israelites would correspond to Nebuchadnezzar's subsequent treatment of Judah and Benjamin ; that is to say, he would carry off the rich and influential families, and leave behind the poorer classes, who were not worth deportation. It appears, too, that, according to a Samaritan tradition, not less than three hundred thousand exiles, belonging to the ten tribes, and representing their sacerdotal and social aristocracy, returned under Sanballat to Gerizim at the same time when the descendants of the captives, who had been thought worthy of conveyance to Babylon, repaired, under Zerubbabel, to Jerusalem.

Of the five volumes* edited by Messrs. Matthews and Hutton, three, at all events, may be classed with propriety under American literature, since the authors of the several biographies contained in them are, as a rule, Americans, and since the subjects, for the most part, spent the largest, or at least the most successful part of their professional careers on the American stage. When we mention that the sketch of the elder Booth was drawn by his celebrated son, that the memoirs of Edwin Booth himself, of Edwin Forrest, and of Macready, were penned by Mr. Lawrence Barrett, and that the lives of James W. and Lester Wallack and of John McCullough are depicted by Mr. William Winter, we have said enough to indicate the care taken by the editors to secure not only competent, but sympathetic delineation. Among the scores of contributions from well nigh as many hands which make up these five volumes, there is not one which is not readable, or which fails to give the precise sort of information which the reader of the book expects. But we should not omit, in the most cursory notice, to recognize the high literary level reached by the articles on Frances Kemble, on Mr. Lawrence Barrett, on Mr. Joseph Jefferson, and upon Miss Ellen Terry.

Although Mr. Heilprin's portrayal of the past and present dissemination of animals† is not, of course, a contribution to literature, it is an American contribution to science, and, therefore, may claim notice here. Besides, in the application of technical acquirements to the special end in view, the author has exhibited the literary qualities of well-ordered arrangement and lucidity, and has, therefore, carried out the popularizing purpose of the series to which his volume appertains. There are books, no doubt, like that of Mr. Wallace, which deal efficiently with the geographical distribution of living species, and there are other books which offer a tolerably exhaustive conspectus of palæontological data. The specific merit of this work is the collocation of both classes of facts, which, of course, powerfully help to interpret one another. By way of exemplifying the light cast by the study of fossils on the evolution and characters of existing types, we would particularly draw the reader's attention to Mr. Heilprin's account of the horse, the dog, the cat, and the higher varieties of anthropoid apes, which are collectively known as troglodytes. The author has no occasion within the limits of his inquiry to declare his opinion regarding the descent of man, and his reticence upon the subject will expand rather than contract the field of his essay's usefulness in our schools and colleges.

* Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States. Edited by Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton. 5 vols. Cassell & Co.

† The Geographical and Geological Distribution of Animals, by Angelo Heilprin. International Scientific Series. D. Appleton & Co.

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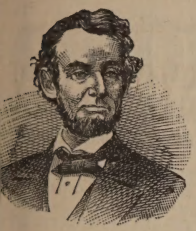

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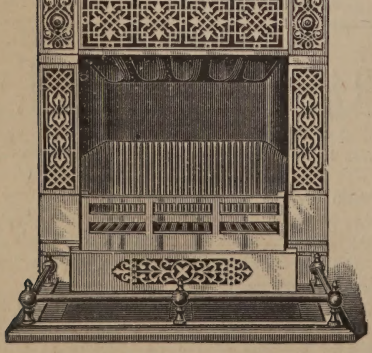

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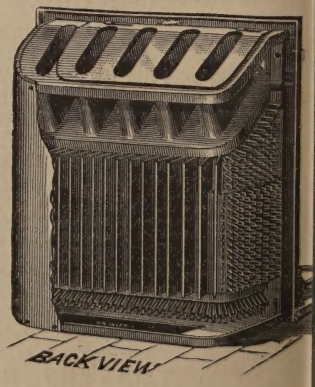

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXVI.

MAY, 1887.

GRANT, THOMAS, LEE.

In "Macmillan's Magazine" for March, 1887, published in London and New York, appears a most interesting article of ten pages from the pen of General Lord Wolseley, in which, reviewing the recent Memoirs of Robert E. Lee, his Military and Personal History, by Gen. A. L. Long and Gen. Marcus J. Wright, General Wolseley describes his personal acquaintance in 1862 with that famous man, the great impression made by his graceful manner and profound intelligence, and concludes with the following paragraph: "When all the angry feelings roused by secession are buried with those which existed when the Declaration of Independence was written, when Americans can review the history of their last great rebellion with calm impartiality, I believe all will admit that General Lee towered far above all men on either side in that struggle. I believe he will be regarded, not only as the most prominent figure of the Confederacy, but as the great American of the nineteenth century, whose statue is well worthy to stand on an equal pedestal with that of Washington, and whose memory is equally worthy to be enshrined in the hearts of all his countrymen."

As I happen to be one of the very few survivors of the great Civil War in America who had a personal and professional ac-

quaintance with the chief actors in that grand drama, I am compelled to join issue with General Wolseley in his conclusion, while willing to admit nearly all his premises. Though he is much my junior in years, I entertain for him the highest respect and admiration; he has deservedly gained fame by deeds here in America, in South Africa, Egypt, and in Great Britain. His estimate of the men whom he has met in life will command large attention, but I trust his judgment in this case will not be accepted by the military world as conclusive and final. In all wars, in all controversies, there are two sides, and the old Roman maxim applies, "*Audi alterem partem.*"

England has so long been accustomed to shape and mould the public opinion of our race, that her authors, critics, and officials seem to forget that times are changing, have changed. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland contained in 1880 only thirty-six millions of inhabitants, with an area of 121,571 square miles; whereas the United States of America had fifty millions of people, with 3,602,990 square miles of territory. Great Britain is crowded, whereas in our vast interior there still remains land enough for three hundred millions of inhabitants. All of these are taught the English language, believe in the Bible, Shakespeare, Milton, Walter Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and Tennyson; all read English magazines, periodicals, and newspapers, and have a way of thinking for themselves. They have had twenty-one years for thought and reflection since the smoke and confusion of battle obscured the horizon, and have settled down to the conclusion that Abraham Lincoln was the great civil hero of the war, and that Ulysses S. Grant was the chief military hero.

We all admit that General Robert E. Lee was, in the highest acceptation of the term, "a gentleman and a soldier." He did not graduate at the head of his class at West Point, as stated by General Wolseley, for "Cullum's Register" shows that Charles Mason, of New York, afterwards of Iowa, was No. 1 of the date of 1829; that Robert E. Lee, of Virginia, was No. 2, and that Joseph E. Johnston, also of Virginia, was No. 13 in that class of forty-six members. Lee was very handsome in person, gentle and dignified in manner, cool and self-possessed in the midst of confusion and battle, not seeking strife, but equal to it when it came, and the very type of manhood which would impress itself on the young enthusiast, General Wolseley. That special phase of his

character which General Wolseley thinks a "weakness," his invariable submission to the President of the Southern Confederacy, is probably better understood on this than the other side of the Atlantic, where from childhood to manhood is impressed on us the old fundamental doctrine that the pen is mightier than the sword, and that the military *must* be subordinate to the civil authority. A *coup d'état* in this country would excite a general laugh, and I confess to a feeling of pride that at no period of our history has the idea of a military dictator found permanent lodgment in the brain of an American soldier or statesman. Mr. Lincoln, in assigning General Hooker to the command of the Army of the Potomac, wrote him, under date of January 26th, 1863, "I have heard in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship."

General Lee was a typical American, and knew that the Southern States could only succeed in forming an independent nation by united action under a President armed with both military and civil functions, and he was unquestionably right in subordinating his conduct to the head of the government which he had chosen and undertaken to support and defend.

Before entering upon the analysis of his military character and deeds, permit me to digress somewhat. General Wolseley constantly refers to the Revolutionary War of 1776 as similar to that of our Rebellion of 1861. They were as different as two things could possibly be. In the first our fathers most humbly and persistently petitioned the Parliament of Great Britain for the simple and common rights conceded to every Englishman; they were denied and repelled with a harshness and contumely which no British community of to-day would tolerate. They rebelled because they were denied the common inheritance of their race; and when they had achieved Independence they first undertook for themselves a government which was a "Confederacy of States," and which proved impracticable. Then, after years of hard experience, in 1789 they adopted the present Constitution of the United States, which, in its preamble, sets forth clearly: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a *more*

perfect Union, do ordain this Constitution, etc." This was not a contract between "Sovereign States," but a decree of the aggregate people of the whole United States. Now, on the other hand, there was a fair election in November, 1860, for a President under that Constitution. The Southern people freely participated in that election. After they were fairly beaten, and Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was duly elected, some of the Southern leaders, delving back into the old abstractions of 1776–1789, revived this doctrine of State Allegiance: that a man happening to be born in a State, (an accident he could not control) his allegiance became due thereby to that State, and not to the aggregation of States, the Union. I have too high an opinion of General Robert E. Lee to believe that he could have been humbugged by such shallow doctrine. No! many of us believe that Lee, in 1861, saw and felt the approaching horrors and tortures of a civil war, resigned his commission in the army, hoped to hide away; first declined service in the so-called Confederacy, and accepted temporary service to defend Virginia, his native State; but, being possessed of large qualities, he was importuned, dragooned and forced to "go in," to drift over the Niagara which was inevitable, and which he must have foreseen. His letter of April 20th, 1861, addressed to Lieutenant-General Scott, is in that direction: "Since my interview with you on the 18th instant, I have felt that I ought no longer to retain my commission in the army. I therefore tender my resignation, which I request you will recommend for acceptance. It would have been presented at once but for the struggle it has cost me to separate myself from the service to which I have devoted all the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed. During the whole of that time—more than a quarter of a century—I have experienced nothing but kindness from my superiors, and the most cordial friendship from my comrades. To no one, General, have I been so much indebted as to yourself for uniform kindness and consideration, and it has always been my ardent desire to merit your approbation. I shall carry to the grave the most grateful recollections of your kind consideration, and your name and fame will always be dear to me. Save in defense of my State, I never desire to draw my sword. Be pleased to accept my most earnest wishes for the continuance of your happiness and prosperity." His resignation was not accepted until April 25th, 1861 (Townsend, p. 31).

Yet, on the 23d day of the same April, he issued his general orders No. 1 from his headquarters in Richmond, Virginia:

"In obedience to orders from his Excellency John Letcher, Governor of the State, Major-General Robert E. Lee assumes command of the military and naval forces of Virginia."

To us in the United States of America this seems a sudden descent from the sublime to the ridiculous. Virginia had neither an army or navy, and such were forbidden to States by the Constitution which Lee had often sworn to maintain. (Article 1, Section 10.)

I have before me, in print, another letter, dated Arlington, Va., April 20th, 1861, addressed "My dear Sister," and signed "R. E. Lee," reciting that "the whole South is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn, and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have foreborn and pleaded to the end for redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question whether I would take part against my native State. With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the army, and, *save in defense of my native State,* with the hope that my poor services will never be needed, I hope I never may be called on to draw my sword. I know you will blame me, but you must think as kindly of me as you can, and believe that I have endeavored to do what I thought right." . . .

Now, at these dates, April 20th and 23d, 1861, the State of Virginia had not yet concluded "secession." According to McPherson, page 7, the convention in secret session adopted, April 17th, an ordinance of secession, but on April 25th that same convention adopted and ratified the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, "this ordinance to cease to have legal effect if the people voting on the ordinance of secession should reject it." The actual vote did not take place till June 25th,—128,884 for secession and 32,134 against it. How far Lee's defection had aided to create this majority is still the question. (See "Twenty Years in Congress," Blaine, Vol. 1, page 302.)

We all sympathize with the struggles of a strong man in the

toils of other ambitious men, of less principle, who had use for Lee in their contemplated conspiracy. At that date there was a Virginia claiming sovereignty and the constitutional right to secede; but there was also a Confederacy embracing many States *already* in rebellion. Lee unquestionably took the oath to Virginia and the command of her "army and navy," then a myth, but it is a popular belief that he never took the oath of allegiance to the "Confederacy," although when General Johnston was wounded and disabled at "Fair Oaks," June 1st, 1862, General Lee did succeed him, and did command the Army of Northern Virginia under the Confederate Government till the end at Appomatox.

His sphere of action was, however, local. He never rose to the grand problem which involved a continent and future generations. His Virginia was to him the world. Though familiar with the geography of the interior of this great continent, he stood like a stone wall to defend Virginia against the "Huns and Goths" of the North, and he did it like a valiant knight as he was. He stood at the front porch battling with the flames whilst the kitchen and house were burning, sure in the end to consume the whole. Only twice, at Antietam and Gettysburg, did he venture outside on the "offensive defensive." In the first instance he knew personally his antagonist, and that a large fraction of his force would be held in reserve; in the last he assumed the bold "offensive," was badly beaten by Meade, and forced to retreat back to Virginia. As an aggressive soldier Lee was not a success, and in war that is the true and proper test. "Nothing succeeds like success." In defending Virginia and Richmond he did all a man could, but to him Virginia seemed the "Confederacy," and he stayed there whilst the Northern armies at the West were gaining the Mississippi, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, Georgia, South and North Carolina, yea, the Roanoke, after which his military acumen taught him that further tarrying in Richmond was absolute suicide.

Such is the military hero which General Wolseley would place in monument side by side with Washington, "the father of his country—First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." All that is good in the character of Gen. Robert E. Lee is ours, and we will cherish it, and we will be charitable to his weaknesses, but so long as the public record tells of U. S. Grant and George H. Thomas, we cannot be at a loss for

heroes for whom to erect monuments like those of Nelson and Wellington in London, well worthy to stand side by side with the one which now graces our capitol city of "George Washington."

In 1861 General Lee was a colonel of cavalry on leave of absence at his home at Arlington, and U. S. Grant was an humble citizen of Galena, Illinois, toiling to support his family. He at first gave little heed to the political murmurs creeping over the land by reason of the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the talk of secession at the South; but when the telegraph announced that the United States flag had been fired on in Charleston Harbor, he roused up, presided at a public meeting of his fellow citizens, instructed them how to organize themselves into a company of soldiers, and went along with them to Springfield. In due time he was made colonel of a regiment of volunteers, conducted it to Missouri, and in December, 1861, reached Cairo, Illinois. His career from that day to this is familiar to every school-boy in the land. He moved in co-operation with the gun-boat fleet up the Tennessee to Fort Henry, which was captured; to Fort Donelson, where a fortified place with its entire garrison of 17,000 men surrendered without conditions; then on to Shiloh, where one of the bloodiest and most successful battles of the war was fought, which first convinced our Southern brethren, who had been taught that one Southern man was equal to five Yankees, that man to man was all they wanted—then Vicksburg, Chattanooga, everywhere victorious, everywhere successful, fulfilling the wise conclusion of Mr. Lincoln that he wanted "military success." Then he was called for the first time in his life to Washington to command an army of perfect strangers, under new conditions, and in a strange country. Casting his thoughts over a continent, giving minute instructions for several distinct armies from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, himself assuming the hardest share, he began a campaign equal in strategy, in logistics, and in tactics to any of Napoleon, and grander than any ever contemplated by England. His personal action in crossing the Rapidan in the face of Lee's army, fighting him in the Wilderness, "forward by the left flank," to Spottsylvania, to Richmond, and Petersburg, was the sublimity of heroism. Of course, he had a superiority of numbers and resources, but nothing like the disproportion stated by General Wolseley. At Vicksburg he began in May, 1863, the movement with less numbers than Pemberton surren-

dered to him along with Vicksburg in July. At Chattanooga he attacked his enemy in the strongest position possible; so strong, indeed, that Bragg, a most thorough and intelligent soldier, regarded it as unassailable, and had detached Longstreet's corps to Knoxville, of which mistake Grant took prompt advantage, and I never heard before that Bragg thought the pursuit after his defeat was not quick and good enough to suit him; and, finally, when Lee was forced to flee from his intrenchments at Richmond and Petersburg by Sheridan's bold and skillful action at Five Forks, I believe it is conceded that the pursuit by Sheridan and Grant was so rapid that Lee was compelled to surrender his whole army. Grant's "strategy" embraced a continent, Lee's a small State; Grant's "logistics" were to supply and transport armies thousands of miles, where Lee was limited to hundreds. Grant had to conquer natural obstacles as well as hostile armies, and a hostile people; his "tactics" were to fight wherever and whenever he could capture or cripple his adversary and his resources; and when Lee laid down his arms and surrendered, Grant, by the stroke of his pen, on the instant gave him and his men terms so liberal as to disarm all criticism. Between these two men as generals I will not institute a comparison, for the mere statement of the case establishes a contrast.

I offer another name more nearly resembling General Lee in personal characteristics, General George H. Thomas, probably less known in England, but who has a larger following and holds a higher place in the hearts and affections of the American people than General Lee. He, too, was a Virginian, and when Lee resigned from the army in 1861, Thomas succeeded him as Colonel of the Second Regular Cavalry. A graduate of West Point of the class of 1840, who had served his country in the Florida War, in the Mexican War, and in campaigns against hostile Indians, rising with honor and credit through all the grades, at each stage taking the usual oath to defend the United States against all her enemies whatsoever, foreign and domestic. When the storm of civil war burst on our country, unlike Lee, he resolved to stand by his oath and to fight against his native State, to maintain the common union of our fathers. In personal appearance he resembled George Washington, the father of our country, and in all the attributes of manhood he was the peer of General Lee, as good, if not a better, soldier, of equal intelligence,

the same kind heart, beloved to idolatry by his Army of the Cumberland, exercising a gentle, but strict, discipline, never disturbed by false rumors or real danger, not naturally aggressive, but magnificent on the defensive; almost the very counterpart of his friend, General Lee, but far excelling him in the moral and prtriotic line of action at the beginning of the war. Lee resigned his commission when civil war was certain, but Thomas remained true to his oath and his duty, always, to the very last minute of his life.

During the whole war his services were transcendent, winning the first substantial victory at Mill Springs in Kentucky, January 20th, 1862, participating in all the campaigns of the West in 1862–3–4, and finally, December 16th, 1864, annihilating the army of Hood, which in mid winter had advanced to Nashville to besiege him. In none of these battles will General Wolseley pretend there was such inequality of numbers as he refers to in the East.

I now quote from General Garfield's eloquent tribute of respect to his comrade, and commander General George H. Thomas, addresed to the Army of the Cumberland at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 25th of November, 1870, shortly after the General's death, which tribute has gone into recorded history, never to be effaced:

"When men shall read the history of battles, they will never fail to study and admire the work of Thomas during that afternoon (at Chickamauga, September 20th, 1863). With but twenty-five thousand men, formed in a semi-circle, of which he, himself, was the centre and soul, he successfully resisted for more than five hours the repeated assaults of an army of sixty-five thousand men, flushed with victory and bent on his annihilation.

"Towards the close of the day his ammunition began to fail. One by one of his Division Commanders reported but ten rounds, five rounds, and two rounds left. The calm, quiet answer was returned, 'Save your fire for close quarters, and when your last shot is fired give them the bayonet.' On a portion of his line the last assault was repelled by the bayonet, and several hundred rebels were captured. When night had closed over the combatants, the last sound of battle was the booming of Thomas' shells bursting among his baffled and retreating assailants.

"He was indeed the Rock of Chickamauga, against which the wild waves of battle dashed in vain. It will stand forever in the annals of his country that there he saved from destruction the *Army of the Cumberland.* He held the road to Chattanooga. The campaign was successful. The gate of the mountains was ours."

Nashville, on the 15th and 16th of December, 1864, was General Thomas's most important battle, where he was in supreme command—of which General Garfield says:

"Nashville was the only battle of our war which annihilated an army. Hood

crossed the Tennessee late in November, and moved northward with an army of fifty-seven thousand veterans. Before the end of December twenty-five thousand of that number were killed, wounded, or captured. Thousands more had deserted, and the rabble that followed him back to the south was no longer an army.

"In summing up the qualities of General Thomas it is difficult to find his exact parallel in history. His character as a man and a soldier was unique. In some respects he resembled Zachary Taylor, and many of his solid qualities as a soldier were developed by his long service under that honest and sturdy soldier.

"In patient attention to all the details of duty, in the thoroughness of organization, equipment, and discipline of his troops, and in the powerful grasp by which he held and wielded his army, he was not unlike, and fully equaled, Wellington.

"The language applied to the Iron Duke by the historian of the Peninsular War might almost be for a description of Thomas. Napier says: 'He had his army in hand, keeping it, with unmitigated labor, always in a fit state to march or to fight. Sometimes he was indebted to fortune, sometimes to his natural genius, always to his untiring industry; for he was emphatically a painstaking man.'

"The language of Lord Brougham addressed to Wellington is a fitting description of Thomas:

"'Mighty Captain! who never advanced except to cover his arms with glory; mightier Captain! who never retreated except to eclipse the glory of his advance.'

"If I remember correctly, no enemy was ever able to fight Thomas out of any position he ever undertook to hold.

"On the whole, I cannot doubt that the most fitting parallel to General Thomas is found in our greatest American, the man who was 'first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.' The personal resemblance of General Thomas to Washington was often the subject of remark. Even at West Point Rosecrans was accustomed to call him General Washington.

"He resembled Washington in the gravity and dignity of his character, in the solidity of his judgment, in the careful accuracy of all his transactions, in the incorruptible integrity, in his extreme but unaffected modesty.

"Though his death was most sudden and unexpected, all his official papers and his accounts with government were in perfect order and ready for instant settlement. His reports and official correspondence were models of pure style and full of valuable details. Even during the exciting and rapid campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta, he recorded each month the number of rounds his men had fired, and other similar facts concerning the equipment and condition of his army.

"His modesty was as real as his courage. When he was in Washington, in 1861, his friends, with great difficulty, persuaded him to allow himself to be introduced to the House of Representatives. He was escorted to the Speaker's stand, while the great Assembly of Representatives and citizens arose and greeted him with the most enthusiastic marks of affection and reverence. Mr. Speaker Colfax, in speaking of it afterward, said:

"I noticed, as he stood beside me, that his hand trembled like an aspen leaf. He could bear the shock of battle, but he shrank from the storm of applause.

"He was not insensible to praise; and he was quick to feel any wrong or injustice. While grateful to his country for the honor it conferred on him, and while cherishing all expression of affection on the part of his friends, he would not accept the smallest token of regard in the form of a gift.

"So frank and guileless was his life, so free from anything that approached intrigue, that when, after his death, his private letters and papers were examined,

there was not a scrap among them that his most confidential friends thought best to destroy.

"When Phidias was asked why he took so much pains to finish up the parts of his statute that would not be in sight, he said, 'These I am finishing for the gods to look at.' In the life and character of General Thomas there were no secret places of which his friends will ever be ashamed.

"But his career is ended. Struck dead at his post of duty, a bereaved nation bore his honored dust across the continent and laid it at rest on the banks of the Hudson, amidst the grief and tears of millions. The nation stood at his grave as a mourner. No one knew till he was dead how strong was his hold on the hearts of the American people. Every citizen felt that a pillar of state had fallen, that a great and true and pure man had passed from earth.

"There are no fitting words in which I may speak of the loss which every member of this society has sustained in his death.

"The General of the army has beautifully said in his order announcing the death of General Thomas:

"Though he leaves no child to bear his name, the old Army of the Cumberland, numbered by tens of thousands, called him father, and will weep for him in tears of manly grief.

"To us, his comrades, he has left the rich legacy of his friendship. To his country and to mankind he has left his character and his fame as a priceless and everlasting possession.

"O iron nerve, to true occasion true!
O fallen at length that tower of strength,
Which stood four square to all the winds that blew!
His work is done.
But while the races of mankind endure,
Let his great example stand,
Colossal sun of every land,
And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure,
Till in all lands, and thro' all human story,
The path of duty be the way to Glory."

Such was the testimony of Garfield, who stood by his side midst carnage and slaughter, the same Gen. James A. Garfield, who afterwards was elected by an overwhelming majority of the American people to be their Chief Magistrate and President.

Let me now quote from another equally distinguished soldier and statesman, U. S. Grant, of world-wide fame. General Grant always manifested the greatest affection, love, and respect for his senior in years and service, General Thomas, but just before the really great battle of Nashville, as critical and important to America as was that of Waterloo to Europe, General Grant, in Virginia, having absolute command of all the armies of the Union, became impatient with what he thought "slowness" on the part of Thomas. After several telegrams pro and con, he made a conditional order to supersede him, which never went into effect, because events fully justified Thomas. But on pages 295 and 296,

Volume 2, of John Russell Young's "Around the World with General Grant" will be found :

"This led to some talk about Thomas. The General (Grant) said : I yield to no man in my admiration of Thomas. He was a fine character, all things considered—his relations with the South, his actual sympathies, and his fervent loyalty—one of the finest characters of the war. I was fond of him, and it was a severe trial for me even to think of removing him. I mention that fact to show the extent of my own anxiety about Sherman and Hood. But Thomas was an inert man. It was this slowness that led to the stories that he meant to go with the South. When the war was coming Thomas felt like a Virginian, and talked like one, and had all the sentiment then so prevalent about the rights of slavery and sovereign States, and so on. But the more Thomas thought it over, the more he saw the crime of treason behind it all, and to a mind as honest as that of Thomas, the crime of treason would soon appear. So, by the time Thomas thought it all out, he was as passionate and angry in his love for the Union as any one. So he continued during the war. As a commander he was slow. We used to say, laughingly, 'Thomas is too slow to move and too brave to run away.' The success of his campaign (Nashville) will be his vindication, even against my criticisms.

"That success and all the fame that came with it belong to Thomas. When I wrote my final report at the close of the war I wrote fourteen or fifteen pages criticising Thomas, and my reasons for removing so distinguished a commander. But I suppressed that part. I have it among my papers and mean to destroy it. I do not want to write anything that might even be construed into a reflection upon Thomas. We differed about the Nashville campaign, but there could be no difference as to the effects of the battle. Thomas died suddenly, very suddenly. He was sitting in his office, I think, at Headquarters (San Francisco), when he fell back unconscious. He never rallied. I remember Sherman coming to the White House in a state of deep emotion with a dispatch, saying, 'I am afraid old Tom is gone.' The news was a shock and a grief to us both. In an hour we learned of his death. The cause was fatty degeneration of the heart, if I remember. I have often thought that this disease, with him long-seated, may have led to the inertness which affected him as a commander.

. . . "I have no doubt if the truth were known, the disease from which Thomas died demanded from him constant fortitude, and affected his actions in the field. Nothing would be more probable. Thomas is one of the great names of our history, one of the greatest heroes of our war, a rare and noble character in every way worthy of his fame."

In this same volume, pages 458–460, will be found General Grant's estimate of General Lee, told in the same informal, conversational style :

"I never ranked Lee as high as some others of the army—that is to say, I never had as much anxiety when he was in my front as when Joe Johnston was in front. Lee was a good man, a fair commander, who had everything in his favor. He was a man who needed sunshine. He was supported by the unanimous voice of the South, he was supported by a large party in the North. He had the support and sympathy of the outside world. All this is of immense advantage to a general. Lee had this in a remarkable degree. Everything he did was right. He was treated like a demi-god. Our generals had a hostile press, lukewarm friends, and a public opinion outside. The cry was in the air that the North only won by

brute force, that the generalship and valor were with the South. This has gone into history with so many other illusions that are historical. Lee was of a slow, conservative, cautious nature, without imagination or humor, always the same, with grave dignity. I never could see in his achievements what justifies his reputation. The illusion that nothing but heavy odds beat him will not stand the ultimate light of history. I know it is not true. Lee was a good deal of a headquarters general, a desk general, from what I can hear, and from what his officers say. He was almost too old for active service—the best service in the field. At the time of the surrender he was fifty-eight or fifty-nine, and I was forty-three. His officers used to say that he posed himself, that he was retiring and exclusive, and that his headquarters were difficult of access."

Many of us believe that, had Lee stood firm in 1861, and used his personal influence, he could have stayed the Civil War, and thereby saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of the fairest youth of the land, and thousands of millions of dollars in cost and destruction; but since the public mind has settled to the conclusion that the institution of slavery was so interwoven in our system that nothing but the interposition of Providence and horrid war could have eradicated it, and now that it is in the distant past, and that we as a nation, North and South, East and West, are the better for it, we believe that the war was worth to us all it cost in life and treasure. We who fought on the right side are perfectly willing to let this conclusion remain, but when the question of honor to the memory of our dead heroes is raised at home or abroad, we will fight with pen and speech to secure for our Grant, Thomas, Meade, McPherson, Hancock, Mower, Logan, Blair, and a hundred others who were true and faithful, brave and competent, every honor a nation can afford to bestow.

I know full well that it was the fashion in England, during the dark days of our Rebellion, to consider the leaders at the South as heroes contending for freedom, for home and fireside, whereas we of the North were invaders, barbarians, "Huns and Goths," rude and unlettered. This was not true, and every American may, with pride and satisfaction, turn to Mr. Lincoln's first inaugural address; to the glorious uprising of our whole people, who had been engaged in peaceful pursuits, to assume the novel character of soldier; whose leaders emerged from the great mass by the process of nature; who gradually, from books and actual experience, learned the science of war, and so applied its rules as to subdue a rebellion against the national authority by one-third of our people, a feat never before accomplished on earth; who, at the conclusion of hostilities, granted terms to the van-

quished so generous and magnanimous as to command the admiration of mankind; and then quietly returned to their homes to resume their old occupations of peace. England, and even some of our Eastern States seem not to realize that the strength of our country lies west of the Alleghanies. They still see only the war in Virginia, and, at furthest, Gettysburg. The Civil War was concluded when Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and Atlanta fell. After these it only remained to dispose of Lee's army, which was promptly and scientifically done. Had General Wolseley met General Thomas at Chattanooga in 1864, his quick, discerning mind would have reached another conclusion. He would have doubted whether a single corps of English troops, with the best staff which Aldershot turns out, could have turned the scale after the year 1862.

Of all governments on earth, England is the last to encourage rebellion against lawful authority, and, of all men in England, General Lord Wolseley is the last who should justify and uphold treason. Ireland, to-day, has many times the cause to rebel against England which the South had in 1861, and when some future Emmet manifests the transcendent qualities which scintillate and sparkle in the Irish character, and some enthusiastic American applauds him, and awards him national honors, then will General Wolseley, or his successor in office, understand the feelings of us in America, who, though silent, watch the world's progress toward the conclusion in which truth and justice must stand triumphant over treachery and wrong.

When the time comes to award monuments for service in the Civil war, the American people will be fully prepared to select the subjects without hint or advice from abroad.

W. T. SHERMAN.

MY PUBLIC LIFE, BY PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

DIRECTLY after the nomination of General Garfield for the Presidency, it was arranged between him and me that I should write a life of him, to be published by the Messrs. Harper & Brothers. I had then been on intimate terms with the General for all of seventeen years, during nearly the whole of which time I had been gathering material for a biography of him, to be written at some subsequent period; but when I set about the actual writing of the book, I found that my work would be greatly facilitated if it had his active help and supervision. Accordingly, I went to his home at Mentor, Ohio, submitted to him the proofs of what I had already written, and secured from him such additional facts as seemed to be necessary. These facts he communicated to me orally, in the presence of a stenographer, who took down his every word as it was uttered. The substance of a part of what he then dictated—but not the whole—was incorporated into the life that I wrote; but it is thought that an exact report of all that he said may be of interest to the public. It is consequently here given, in his own language, and without any alteration from the colloquial style in which it was delivered. The only change I have felt at liberty to make in the stenographic report, has been the striking out of some of the questions by which I led him upon different branches of his subject.

EDMUND KIRKE.

I.

CONGRESSIONAL CAREER.

When I went into Congress the war was still raging. I wanted to go back into the army. After Rosecrans's removal, Thomas, who was a very dear friend of mine, was exceedingly anxious to have me come back, and tendered me in a private letter the command of an army corps if I would go. He had become the head of the whole army, you know. I very much wanted to go back, but Mr. Lincoln made a personal point [of my taking my seat in the House of Representatives]. In the first place, he said that the Republican majority in Congress was very small, and there was great doubt whether we could certainly carry the necessary measures; and in the next place, he was greatly lacking in men of military experience in the House, to regulate the legisla-

tion about the army. So I went in, and was immediately put upon the Military Committee.

In time of peace Ways and Means and Appropriations are the most important of the committees, and the Military is rather a decoration than an influential committee. But in the war the Military Committee was 'way up above any others in importance, and my position on it, as practically acquainted with the wants of the army, called me into immediate requisition, giving me a prominence in the House in the beginning that I could not possibly have had in any other way. The first speech I made was on the 26th of January, 1864, on a bill for the confiscation of rebel property. There are portions of that which you will probably think it best to print, enough, at least, to show the swing of my mind, and the character of my speaking. I was the youngest member in either branch of Congress at that time, as I had been the youngest member of the Ohio Legislature, and the youngest Brigadier General in the army. That speech is probably an exhibition of what I was when I got there, and it shows my growth at that time.

Then immediately followed the great war legislation—the question was whether we should continue the work of offering large bounties, and getting bounty-jumpers and poor fellows. When they were passing a bill to offer more bounties, I voted alone on the ayes and noes against it, to the amazement of everybody who wanted to be friendly with the soldiers. The reason I assigned was that the policy was ruinous, would not get us more men, and would simply cost us money. In a crisis like that, I said, the nation had a right to the service of its children; and it had a right, therefore, and it was its duty by the strong arm of the law and the draft, to put just as many citizens into the field as it needed. A few months afterwards, when the bounty system actually broke down, the whole Congress came to my view.

In the course of that Congress I made a speech in favor of a draft law. We were in a desperate strait. It was a very solemn moment. Mr. Lincoln came to the Committee, and told us, what we did not dare to tell the House, that in so many months, not far ahead, the term of 380,000 men would expire. The army was about three-quarters of a million, and the term of enlistment of nearly one-half—say, forty per cent.—would expire in about a hundred days. "Now," he said, "unless I can replace those men, we not only cannot push this Rebellion, but we cannot even stand

where we are; Sherman will have to come back from Atlanta, and McClellan retire from the Peninsula; and I ask you to give me power to fill the ranks."

His Republican friends expostulated with him; said that it was right on the eve of his re-election, and that the country would not stand it; that men who had already paid large sums in bounties, to get men to serve in their stead,—and to raise the quotas of different places,—would not now submit to be drafted; that it would raise a storm and tempest, and the Democracy would carry the country. Mr. Lincoln raised himself up to his full height, as he answered: "It is not necessary for me to be re-elected; but it is necessary that I should put down this Rebellion. Give me that law, and I will put it down before my successor takes his seat."

Thereupon we took a bill for a draft into the House, and it was defeated two to one—all the Democrats and enough of our people to make a two-thirds opposition voted it down. I moved to reconsider the vote, and made a speech, which has never been printed in pamphlet form, but can be found in the *Congressional Globe*, sometime in the Thirty-eighth Congress—I think in the month of July, 1864. In it I said to the House that, in my judgment, they had voted to abandon the contest and give up the Union; and I went on to show them how they were doing it.

Question.—"Did you carry the draft law on this reconsideration?"

Answer.—We carried the draft law on that reconsideration; and Lincoln drafted for 500,000 men.

Question.—"Then it was in consequence of your motion that the law was carried?"

Answer.—I can't take the entire credit of it, because General Schenck was the Chairman of the Committee; but I stood in the breach, and made a large number whose re-election was then pending furious. They feared that if they voted for it they might have to face an angry constituency. I made myself then somewhat unpopular by a rather reckless defiance of opinion in the House, so determined was I to see the thing through successfully. I could not see how men could value their political lives a moment in such a crisis. After a debate of several weeks the draft was carried; and the former law, which permitted commutation in money instead of service under the draft, was repealed by a vote of one hundred to fifty.

After my vote and speech against the bounty law, I received a petition, signed by a number of prominent persons in my district, demanding my resignation, and withdrawing their confidence from me because I had gone against the soldiers and the bounty. I replied to them that I had acted according to my best judgment of the needs of the country, was sorry that it did not agree with theirs, but as between their opinion and my own, I was compelled to follow my own, and I expected to live till they confessed to me that I was right and they were wrong. Before many years I had letters from every signer of that petition expressing regret that he had signed it, and saying he then saw I was right.

The Rebellion was just dying when the Thirty-eighth Congress expired, on the 4th of March, 1865. When the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled in December, 1865, the Speaker of the House [Colfax] came to me, and asked if I had any request to make about the make-up of the committees; and I surprised him by saying that I had one, and that was that I might be left off the Military Committee. The war was over, but it was still an immense committee, because the war had to be settled, the army reorganized, rank adjusted, and all that sort of thing. It was considered as by all odds the post affording the most brilliant opportunity.

"Well," he said, "that is the most remarkable request I ever heard; but if you don't want the post, there are dozens back from the war who do? What do you want?"

I said, "I would like to go on a committee where I can study finance. That is soon to be the great question in this country."

I went on the Ways and Means just when we were beginning to handle those great dry questions of detail about tariff, taxation, currency, and the public debt, and I then laid myself out to study very thoroughly the history of English finance during the Napoleonic wars. I went over the speeches and the writers of that time, and then traced the subject through our own Revolutionary time, Hamilton's time, and Jackson's time until I had made a very thorough study of it, taking copious notes of what I read as I went along. I kept very quiet for a time while studying these subjects, but, at last, in 1866, I broke ground with a speech in favor of returning to specie payments.

About that time the Committee of Ways and Means was divided into three committees—Ways and Means proper, Appropriations,

and Banking and Currency, and I was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency. The great currency struggle—the beginning of Greenbackism, or rather of inflation—came then. It was while I was Chairman of that Committee that the "Black Friday" occurred—the great gold panic. The House directed my Committee to investigate it, and I went to New York to see if I could set forces to work to grapple with those gold gamblers, and get hold of the conspiracy. When I thought I had mastered the elements, I returned to Washington, and summoned man by man the witnesses I wanted, took their testimony, and wrote the report myself.

In the next Congress, I was made Chairman of the Committee of Appropriations, and I held that for four years. All the expenditures of the Government are passed upon by that Committee. On the subject of appropriations I made a speech, in 1872, entitled "Revenues and Expenditures," which, whatever I may say about it myself, others said was the first interesting speech that was ever made on that subject. That is, I made what they call in Parliament a "budget speech," in which I gave the philosophy of expenditures and appropriations, and forecasted, among other things, at what time in our history we could reach a peace level of expenditures—at what time we could get down so low that we could not get any lower, and the natural growth of the country would require a rise again; and in forecasting the time I took an immense risk in saying that "at a certain period, so far ahead, it will be found that we shall touch bottom on the scale of reduction, and at that time we shall probably get our interest down to *such* a figure, and, thereupon and thereafter, the growth of the country will make the peace-increase, starting up again, necessary." The period I fixed was about the end of 1876. I wrote an article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW about a year ago on appropriations [No. 271, June, 1879]. In that I quote a passage from this speech, and compare it with the facts to show how near I came to being correct. It was so accurate as to be almost startling. The only difference was it came about a year later than the time I had fixed; the figures were almost identical. I made this discovery as the result of an immense induction of reading, that the expenditures of a war could not be reduced so as to strike a peace level until a period after the war twice the length of the war itself. I showed that it was so in England's wars, and that

it was so in all our wars from the beginning; that the expenditures rose to their height, of course, at the close of the war. Then they began to drop, drop, drop, and to slope down in an inclined plane, until they struck the new level of peace, where the rise began again, gradually, and that they struck it at a period twice as long after the war as the length of the war itself. Our war was substantially five years long, ending, financially, in 1866. Add ten years, and you get to 1876, and I said, "We shall reach our peace level then." I analyzed, showing what were our war expenses, and the expenses resulting from the war, and the expenses of peace, showing that the peace expenses would increase all the time, growing with the growth of the country, and the war expenses decrease. There were two processes; but the war was so big that its decrease would be more rapid than the peace increase; and by and by those two lines would meet, and the sloping incline of peace would come. I got a theory upon it, and ventured to present it, and time showed my theory to be correct.

I had served four years on the Committee on Appropriations when the Democrats came into power in the House. I was put, of course, into the minority, and almost immediately there arose the Jeff. Davis amnesty debate—whether Jeff. Davis should be amnestied with the rest. Blaine made a speech against it, and Ben Hill made a terrific onslaught upon Blaine. I followed, and replied to Hill. That reply made a good deal of impression on the country at that time. I suppose there were millions of those speeches circulated in the campaign that fall. Near the close of that session of Congress, Lamar, who is a very brilliant man, made a carefully prepared speech, showing why the Democratic party ought to be put in power at the next election, and arraigning the Republican party. That speech was delayed until within two or three days of the adjournment of Congress. The word was passed around, and it was understood among them that Lamar was going to make a speech which would be a great campaign speech, and was to deliver it so late that it could not be replied to. The moment he sat down I rose, and got the floor. It was late in the afternoon, and the House adjourned, but I had the right to the floor the next morning. His speech was withheld, and did not appear in the *Record*, so that I could not see the full speech. I heard it, and had taken notes, and there was a brief summary in the morning dispatches. I rose and delivered this speech of

August 4th, 1876, under the caption, "Can the Democratic party be safely intrusted with the administration of the Government?" I suppose on some accounts that is one of the best speeches I ever made. I think it had more effect, perhaps, on the country. It was made without much preparation. Of course, I worked pretty much all night in preparing the points. But that speech shows my feeling toward the South. I think one of generosity, and yet one of determined, stalwart Republicanism. I think you will find that speech one that you will want to quote largely from, and, perhaps, entire.

Then the electoral count came up. Now, it is said I went down to New Orleans as a "visiting statesman." I went down there, and when Mr. Potter afterwards came to make his investigation he found no fault whatever with me in his report. Nobody charged that I did or said any unjust or unfair thing. What I did was to examine very carefully the testimony in relation to the election in one parish, West Feliciana, and to write out a careful, brief, and judicial statement of the official testimony as to the conduct of the election there, and bring out my conclusions, which formed a part of the general report; but my report on West Feliciana was written separately. In it I analyze the Kuklux Rifle Club's movements in that parish, which broke up the election, and I confine myself to that; and I stand on everything I did there as being straight, and true, and fair, and I would stand by it any time.

When we got back and the electoral count came up, there was an effort made finally to make this Electoral Commission on the assumption that the Vice-President had not the right to count the vote, but that Congress had the right to count it. I made a speech on the electoral count January 25th, 1877, in which I took the ground that the Vice-President had the right under the Constitution to count the vote; that Congress was a usurper when it undertook to count it; that Congress was present only as a witness of a great solemn ceremony, but not as an actor; and I voted against the bill establishing the Electoral Commission, and this speech was leveled against it. I was opposed to it on principle.

Question.—"Was the Electoral Bill a suggestion of the Democrats?"

Answer.—Certainly, Henry B. Payne was one of the Com-

mittee. Well, I don't know as I should say it was a suggestion of the Democrats. It may have been suggested by McCreery, of Iowa. He was one of the Committee that got up the bill, but the Democrats joined heartily; came out and said it was a high patriotic thing to do. It afterwards turned out that they supposed they had got it fixed so that Judge Davis, who had really turned Democrat from being a Republican, would hold the casting vote. Payne afterwards admitted in a speech in Cleveland, that they never would have passed the Electoral Bill if they had supposed Judge Davis would not be on the Commission; but just as the Commission was about to be selected from the Supreme Court, Illinois elected Davis as Democratic Senator, and thereupon it became improper to choose him as a representative of the bench; and they put on the two out and out Democrats that were there, and the three other judges, and those three were Republicans. Well, the Lord came in, you know, just at the proper moment, and removed from the bench just the one man that the Democrats had relied on for the casting vote. Although I had voted against the Electoral Bill, and spoken against it, yet, when it was by common opinion decided that the Republicans should have two from the House, and the Democrats three, the Republicans met and unanimously chose me as the man to represent them; and then they chose Mr. Hoar. "Well, now," I said, "you have appointed me to serve in this capacity. I can serve on a committee, though I don't believe in its validity." And I did my duty on it. You will find in the volume that records the electoral count, the proceedings of the Commission, which you will find in the Astor Library, as part of the records of the *Globe*,—only in a separate volume. You will find there two opinions delivered by me in my capacity as Commissioner which you had better look over. You may want to print some of them.

Then, when Hayes came in, there was that tremendous row in our own party—division from Hayes. Then the attempt of the Potter Committee to investigate Hayes's title and to turn him out; and in that we had some fiery talking. In there came a speech on "Louisiana and Pacification."

I held the rôle then of trying to protect our party from splitting; and being the acknowledged leader of the House, I did it by keeping our people for six months from having a caucus, except to meet and choose officers, or something of that sort—from

having a sentimental caucus at all. I ought to say that as soon as Blaine left for the Senate, I was every time after that unanimously nominated for Speaker of the House by the Republicans and voted for by them. I was voted for three times as Speaker, once after Kerr died and Randall was elected for the short term, then when Randall was elected for the long term, and then for the second term.

The tendency of a part of our party to assail Hayes, and denounce him as a traitor, and a man who was going to Johnsonize the party, was very strong; and his defenders were comparatively few for a little while; but we agreed, a number of us, that we would prevent a row in the party by not having a caucus on any question; and we did not have one until Potter made his motion for an investigation of Hayes's title. That united the party almost immediately. Then we called a caucus denouncing the Potter investigation as revolutionary, and we worked harmoniously together, and you have seen how Hayes at last has been restored to the confidence of his party. My work as a pacificator of the party was very effective, and my speech on "Louisiana Affairs, and the Policy of Pacification," you will find here, dated February 19th, 1878.

Then, during the whole of 1878, came the resumption struggle, when the Democrats tried to repeal the law of resumption. About the last thing, you know, the Republicans did before they went out of power was to pass the resumption law—the law nearly four years in advance, so as to get ready for it. Of course, the Democrats said it could not be done. Speeches were delivered, essays were written, and reports were made, to show it could not be done. Tilden, in his letter of acceptance, had denounced the Republican party for not having accumulated a reserve of coin for resumption—as much as to say, "Put us into power, and we will resume." Then we passed the law, and got started on it. Then the Democrats denounced us for hoarding gold, and said we could not resume. When a man failed anywhere he was "Sherman's victim,"—"the victim of the Republican party." The papers were full of it. Those terrible times fell upon us; and during the whole of the time they continued to denounce us as the cause of their woe. During all that time I stood up and made no concession anywhere.

Then came the silver fight with all its ferocity, and in a circle

of nine States around Ohio and including Ohio, I was the only man on either side that voted against the silver bill. All the rest were for trying unlimited silver. I was not opposed to silver, only I wanted it silver that would be equal in value with gold, so that every dollar should be equal before the law. We reached it finally by modification—not unlimited silver, but keeping within limits of so much a month; and we thus, by having the limitation put on, saved it from utter ruin.

Then came the extra session, and the fight against the election law. You have my volume of speeches on the election law. These are pretty full, and explain themselves. Probably the most effective speeches I have made are there.

Then, on the tariff, there is a speech delivered in March, 1878, that you have not here. That is my fullest speech on the tariff. I went into Congress from an iron district. There are nineteen iron furnaces in my district and a great many rolling mills. My studies led me to believe that, as a mere matter of abstract theory, the doctrine of free trade was the true doctrine; but that, in a country situated as ours is, free trade was not the thing that could practically work at all, only as we came up to it, through a long series of protections, until, one by one, the various articles of manufacture were so on their feet that they could be liberated and stand the strain alone. In 1866 I made a speech, which you will find in the *Record*, and from which I quote in some of my other speeches, taking the position that I was in favor of that sort of protection that would ultimately lead to liberating, one by one, the articles of free trade; that I was opposed to prohibitory protection, but was in favor of a tariff high enough for our people fairly to compete and keep the national industries alive, but not so high as to enable the manufacturers to combine and monopolize prices and have no competition from abroad. On that doctrine I launched myself. That doctrine was not satisfactory to the free traders, because they wanted free trade right along, nor was it satisfactory to the extreme protectionists, because they wanted to make just as much money as they could by having the highest possible tariff, and having a monopoly of the business. I was, therefore, denounced by the extreme protectionists as a free trader, and by the free traders as a sort of protectionist. It is the only position in my life where I have stood in the middle between two extremes. I have usually been at one pole or the other. There I

stood on the equator, and there insisted that the true doctrine was the point of stable equilibrium, where you could hold a tariff that would not be knocked down every time the free traders got into power and boosted up when the protectionists got into power, but to give the country a stable policy, where the tendency would be toward amelioration all the while. I have held that equitable ground all through, and held it against assaults, now from one side, now from the other, and I esteem it one of the greatest of my achievements in statesmanship to have held that equipoise. You will find the theory of it fully summed up in the speech delivered in March, 1878, covering the whole subject. There is a speech here, made in 1870, on the tariff. The historical part of it is the best thing of its kind I have ever done ; that is, the part where I state the policy of England toward the United States, which led to the Revolution, showing how they had made us to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, mere subjects and labor operatives for England. That part of it you will do very well to draw on.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the training of a young merchant differed in principle scarcely at all from the training of a young mechanic. In those days the merchant lived above his shop or warehouse, and his clerks and other employés formed part of his family. The youth who entered a merchant's counting-room was regularly apprenticed, and wore the apprentice's garb. He took his meals at his employer's table, and lived in his house, and was expected to render him and the family domestic services, which now are demanded from servants only.

But he had many advantages. He knew all the details of his master's business; he sat or waited at the board when his master entertained his customers or fellow-merchants, and heard their conversation; and he was present at the confidential talk of the family in a time when men did not leave their business behind them when they went to dinner. He was far more his master's companion than a junior clerk or office-boy could possibly be now. He accompanied him to carry parcels or messages when he went on 'Change or to the wharves, or escorted him at night with a lantern and the thick club, the special weapon of the London 'prentice.

His master was not only the guardian of his morals and behavior, but his daily instructor; sometimes with thrifty old saws and proverbs, such as "waste not, want not," "keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee," and sometimes with the practical wisdom derived from long experience and many dealings with the world. The youth was behind all the scenes and saw the great transactions as well as the small; he lived in an atmosphere of commerce. The dramatists have left us many quaint and pretty pictures of this homely and healthy atmosphere, in which grew up such "royal merchants" as Sir Thomas Gresham.

It would seem, if Freytag's pleasing novel, "Debit and Credit,"

be a faithful picture, that something of the kind still survives, or did survive until recently, in some parts of Germany; but for England and America the conditions of modern life have changed all this, and made it no longer possible. The merchant's counting-room is a place for the transaction of business only; when business is over for the day he quits it. Many merchants dissociate their business affairs as much as possible from their home circle. Even their physicians warn them not to take their business home with them.

Again, the merchant has not to go about as he had to do two hundred years ago. He no longer has to run to the Rialto or on 'Change to learn news of foreign markets, or to the wharves to inquire of just-arrived sailors if his ships have been heard from. The post-office, the newspaper, and the telegraph keep him hourly advised of whatever concerns him. If a movement of Russia on the Black Sea is likely to send up the price of wheat, or the opening of fresh oil-wells on the Caspian to send down that of petroleum; if a ship of his has arrived safe at Marseilles, or foundered off Kittyhawk, he will learn it sooner at his own desk than anywhere else. He can, if it so please him, live with his head bookkeeper in an almost invisible world, ordering purchases and sales in distant markets, directing the movements of his ships, transferring values from point to point as his plans require, while not one of his immediate employés is in the secret of his operations, or sees but the smallest fraction of the energies he sets in action.

The ever-increasing preciousness of time is also changing the conditions of business. Nothing is more common than to see in business offices more or less courteous admonitions to the visitor to dispatch his business as briefly as possible and depart; that to rob a busy man of his time is to rob him of his money, and so forth. For this cause alone the merchant can no more explain to his clerks the principles of commerce than a general can lecture upon strategy on a field of battle; and his clerks would think he was out of his mind if he attempted it.

What this state of things may grow to be has been shown by Dickens in his "Dombey & Son." Young Walter Gay enters the great merchant's offices in the expectation of imbibing commercial knowledge at every pore, and rapidly rising by virtue of zeal, punctuality, and readiness to learn. But the business is all transacted in the rooms of the heads of the house; and his duties are

limited to carrying letters or keeping tally of casks or sacks delivered on the wharf.

Now, it is true that most of our merchants care far more for their employés, down to the very humblest, than did the haughty and indifferent Mr. Dombey; and yet it is no less true that the conditions of modern commerce,—the vastness of business, the specialization of departments, the value of time, the new methods of intercourse,—all tend in the direction of producing such a state of relations between employer and employed. The good merchant will reward faithful service liberally and beyond the contract; his hand will be open in cases of want, sickness, or distress among his employés; he will care for their reasonable recreation and rest—what money can properly do for them will be done; but beyond this how can he go?

A youth comes from college with a good record and enters a counting-house. His classics, his higher mathematics, his philosophy and history, which he has learned so zealously, seem to be of no use to him at all, and of that which he needs he knows next to nothing. The ability to write a German letter would be worth more to him than to know Plato by heart; to be able to make up a statement of general average would be better than having the calculus at his fingers' ends. The boy who has been in the office a year, who has never had more than the most elementary grammar-school education, seems to know a thousand things of which he knows nothing, and looks down upon him as an ignoramus. He must go to that boy to be taught, or get hints from good-natured clerks if they have time to teach him; and while he is thus picking up, in a hap-hazard way, the knowledge on which his success in life will depend, he, perhaps, regrets bitterly the years that, as he thinks, he has wasted at college.

To remedy this state of things business colleges have been established. I believe them to be, in many ways, of eminent service. Penmanship, book-keeping, business forms, the routine of banking, insurance, exchange, etc., are taught (and in the best of them more than these), so that the youth who passes from their course to the counting-house knows, at all events, the elements of his duties and the language of the place. And he has learned what he knows intelligently and systematically, which is an important thing; for as the educated engineer is superior to the ordinary mechanic, so is the merchant's clerk who has been

educated in a commercial college superior to one who has merely picked up his knowledge at random.

But what seems to me the defect of these colleges, as at present organized, is that they are too narrow. They may qualify a young man to be a good clerk, but they do not prepare him to be a merchant in the wider and nobler meaning of the word. They give a technical, but not a liberal, education. Now, a liberal education is one which enables a man to look beyond the limited horizon of his personal occupation and interests, and to have some intelligent comprehension of all matters which largely interest the men of his time. The man liberally educated is at home in any society, because no great domain of human thought and interest is absolutely alien to him. To him has been given the key of knowledge. More than ever before in the world's history is this liberality of education demanded when subjects which once were the mysteries of select bodies, the exclusive property of coteries, the arcana of the learned, are daily discussed in the newspapers and enter into the talk of society. There is not a daily paper of any consequence in the country whose first page does not presuppose a liberal education on the part of its readers, because without that it cannot be thoroughly understood.

Every merchant should know his business well, and go on enlarging his knowledge as does the man of science or the professional man ; but if he knows nothing but his business, though he count his gain by millions, he is only a dealer in merchandise, perchance on a gigantic scale, and no merchant in the true sense of the word.

Daily and everywhere does commerce grow in importance and influence. Great questions involving the destinies of states and the welfare of nations, that once were decided on ecclesiastical or dynastic grounds, are now decided on commercial. At no period of the world's history, since Vasco da Gama discovered the maritime route to India, have the nations of the earth been so much occupied with questions of commercial power and aggrandizement as in the second half of this century. This movement began with the great international exhibition of 1851, when the world, so to speak, took stock of its own trade and stood amazed at its vastness.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in recommending a commercial policy for England, declared, " Whoso commands the sea, commands the

trade of the world; and whoso commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and therefore the world itself." It was the trade of the world, and potentially the riches of the world that England looked at in that Aladdin's palace of crystal; nor did England alone look and learn. Other nations learned the lesson, and prepared to shape their policy accordingly, and back it up by fleets and armies.

Does anybody think that the Crimean War was fought about the "keys of the holy places?" No; it was for the keys of Europe's treasure-chest. Did Prussia seize the Baltic Provinces in the character of Don Quixote, redressing the wrongs of the shadowy Prince of Augustenburg? Prussia wanted ports on the Baltic. So with the war with Austria; nor need the world be surprised should Imperial Germany one of these days find some reason of state for seizing the ports of the Scheldt, where she will be able to float a mighty navy and a vast commercial marine at all seasons of the year. What draws Russia so irresistibly to Constantinople? A fantastic notion that it is her destiny to take up and complete the eastern conquests of the first Alexander, him of Macedon? No; but to have free outlet to the Mediterranean and the commerce of the world. Italy, the corpse, Japan, the mummy, touched by the vivifying finger of the commercial spirit, have risen to their feet; even China, the petrifaction, the fossil, gives signs of awakening.

Happily for the United States, the resources with which Providence has blessed us and our position on the map tend to make this ever more and more a commercial country, without the military necessities imposed upon others. We do not need to carry, like the old traders to Senegambia, our merchandise in one hand and a cocked musket in the other. We do not need to carve at the world's table "in gloves of steel," and "drink the red wine" of profit "through the helmet barred." Yet what are we doing to enable us to utilize our great advantages, and enter into successful competition with our active and intelligent rivals? Nothing whatever. The government is tardy in removing obstacles to the expansion of our foreign commerce, and regards with indifference, or lack of comprehension, what other nations are doing. Our consuls send home voluminous reports—some highly intelligent, and some ineffably stupid. They go to the government printer, and that is pretty much the end of them.

Does any legislator ever take a hint from these reports prepared expressly for his information? We certainly see no signs of it in his legislation.

And this brings me back to the proper subject of this paper—the necessity for better commercial education. It is necessary, for one thing, that commercial interests may be better represented in our halls of legislature. I am far from insinuating disparagement of the noble profession of the law; but I cannot help thinking that if we had a few less lawyers and a few more merchants in our State assemblies and in Congress, the country would be much the better for it.

I need not specify measures; any intelligent business man who has watched the financial and economic legislation of Congress and of the States, has seen the blundering, the ignorance of the very fundamental principles of trade, has noted measures produced with triumphant assurance, and not seldom carried through, which were simply preposterous—measures which must inevitably fail in the object proposed, and were sometimes really hostile to it; measures self-contradictory and nugatory; measures which were certain to do tenfold as much harm as their advocates expected good from them; projects and devices which had been tried and exploded centuries ago—any one who has marked this cannot have failed to see how much mischief might have been prevented and how much good might have been done by a small body of intelligent business men who would examine such questions, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as business men simply, bringing the light of experience and matured judgment to bear upon them. Such a body of men would command more than respect; they would be an authority in their special sphere; and the country would be spared the incalculable loss and damage which arise from crippling and hampering trade, and the vain attempt to frustrate its natural laws; and it would be spared the shame of producing, in this nineteenth century, legislation worthy the dark ages. No one will deny that the great commercial panics of this country, which have wrought so much misery and so shaken the social fabric, owed their origin and their extent to a lack of proper commercial education among our young business men. The great problems with which the destinies of this country are involved, are, and must be, mainly economic; and with these the trained intellects of business men are best qualified to grapple. It will not be long

before this is universally seen and admitted, and hence I urge the necessity of providing better, fuller, and broader commercial education.

These facts have long been recognized abroad. In France, commercial colleges are in successful operation at Havre, Rouen, Lyons, Lille, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, and their value has been frequently attested by the Chambers of Commerce and municipal authorities of those cities, and by many educational bodies. Paris has the Ecole Spéciale de Commerce, under the control of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and it has done much in raising the whole standard of commercial education. Antwerp has a similar school of high reputation, known as the Commercial Institute, where students are instructed in book-keeping, trade forms, exchanges, the civil code, political economy, commercial history and geography, and the languages of commercial nations.

In some of the German States there are flourishing commercial schools. At Berlin, Leipzig, Nüremburg, Dresden, and elsewhere they exist in a high state of advancement. Still more distinguished schools of that character are those of Austria, located at Prague, Trieste, and Vienna. Among the most important of these is the Commercial Academy of Vienna, founded in 1857. It was established by a subscription fund of about $168,000, which has since been increased. It embraces a museum, in which are founded a chemical laboratory, technological collections, raw materials and manufactured articles of commerce, as guides to instruction. The faculty consists of twenty full professors, besides some special instructors. The two years study which constitute a course of instruction, embraces in the first division general arithmetic, physical geography, natural history, zoölogy, mineralogy, botany, physiology, calligraphy, primary book-keeping, and the languages of contiguous countries. With a fair knowledge of these, the student then branches into complex book-keeping, the more intricate branches of commercial arithmetic, foreign exchanges, commercial geography, international and commercial relations, political economy, counting-room practice, commercial technology, and a practical study of commercial values. More than five hundred students attend.

The great educational problem of the day is to combine breadth with specialization. The old college curriculum for all students is a thing of the past. Technical schools are too apt to

turn out specialists, but not educated men. To reconcile these needs the system of elective studies has been introduced into some of our colleges and universities, so adjusted that in each group special weight is laid upon certain studies, while these are supplemented by less thorough education in others.

In the Johns Hopkins University there are seven of these groups of studies, each of which groups comprises a complete curriculum, leads to the bachelor's degree, and gives the foundation of a liberal education.

Why might not this system be extended in that or other institutions of learning, so as to have a commercial course for young men intending to become merchants, which would be at once special and liberal, the students of which would be in no respect at a disadvantage compared with those of the other courses? Such a course might comprise penmanship, book-keeping, commercial forms and practice, such as banking, insurance, shipping, and railroading; principles of accounts, such as partnership settlements, adjustments of averages; English composition, with practice in writing business letters, drawing up reports; commercial law, with its forms and usages; drawing.

To these I would add elocution, to the extent, at least, to enable the student to address a public meeting or a board with ease, clearness, and fluency.

The student should also learn to speak and write French and German fluently, and should be taught the business forms and phrases. Opportunities might be provided for instruction in Portuguese and Spanish if desired. A movement is urged, with general approval, to largely extend our commercial relations with the Empire of Brazil, and the Central and South American States, but the advantages of preparatory instruction in the languages of those countries is hardly suggested, yet essentially necessary. The importance to a merchant of acquaintance with the languages of the countries he deals with is too much overlooked in England and America. In the *Spectator* (July 10, 1886), the writer, speaking of the rapidity with which Germany is gaining ground upon England in competition for the trade of Italy, says:

"The reason would seem to be a higher standard of technical education, greater activity in the employment of commercial travelers speaking Italian, greater attention paid to the wants of the Italian market. . . . German and French manufacturers are more in connection with importers than are British

manufacturers. They send round numbers of commercial travelers who consult their wishes and communicate with them in Italian or French. German houses even correspond in Italian. All the Consuls agree that the use of the Italian language by Germans and the ignorance of it by Englishmen is the chief reason for the successful competition of Germany."

And the conclusion of the paper is so much to the point, that I make no apology for citing it in part:

"The English manufacturer must, in fact, display more intelligence, more adaptiveness, more energy, more sympathy, if he is to hold his own against the increasing rivalry of the highly educated, active, and expanding German. The first thing to do is to improve our commercial education. We must teach our boys the modern languages. Instead of giving them Shakespeare's knowledge of little Latin and less Greek, we must give them, as they do in Germany, a speaking as well as a grammatical acquaintance with the tongues of the peoples with whom they are to stand in commercial relations. In Germany, every boy intended for commerce learns English. In England, we should make every boy learn French and German."

In addition, lectures should be given on the history of trade and commerce, and its connection with political history; on commercial law and the principles of commercial legislation and political economy illustrated historically; on the general principles of law and the law of nations; on commercial geography, the great ports and markets of the world, the great routes of trade; and on the great staples of the world, with an account of their production and vent. This might be supplemented by a museum showing these great staples in the raw state and the various stages of manufacture.

I think I do not err in saying that such a course would be at once broad and thorough; that it would commend itself to many a parent who hesitates between the impracticability of the ordinary college course and the narrowness of the business college; that it would be of inestimable benefit in training up young men to be not merely successful merchants, but intelligent citizens, public servants, and legislators, and that it would tend to elevate the standard of the whole commercial community.

JAMES HODGES.

OUR HAND IN MAXIMILIAN'S FATE.

In a paper upon General Grant written by General Badeau and printed in the Boston *Herald*, October 24th, 1886, a degree of responsibility is laid upon General Grant for the execution of Maximilian. The statement attracted my attention from its improbability. There can be no doubt that General Grant was deeply, sincerely, and even bitterly opposed to the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico, but he looked upon Napoleon as the person who was responsible, and solely responsible, for the undertaking. Moreover, General Grant was not only a humane man, but he was indisposed to inflict the penalty of death upon a fallen foe who had been overthrown in a political contest. His policy in regard to the leaders of the rebellion should be accepted as conclusive evidence upon that point.

Next, General Badeau asserts that General Grant gave "indirect advice" to the Mexican Minister in favor of the execution of Maximilian.

This course of action, so attributed to General Grant, is contrary to all that is known of him, whether in private life or in public affairs. He was free from duplicity, and he never shrunk from the responsibility of his opinions, advice, and deeds.

Such being my impressions of the character of General Grant, and having the right through many years of acquaintance and intimacy to count myself among his friends, I wrote a letter to His Excellency M. Romero, of which the following is a copy:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., 1429 New York Avenue,
"*December* 20, 1886.

"SIR: I inclose herewith a strip from the Boston *Herald* of the 24th day of October last, which contains an article written by General Adam Badeau, entitled 'Grant in Peace.'

"I beg leave to call your attention to the paragraph marked, which commences thus:

"'In 1867 the French were finally withdrawn, and Maximilian was left to his fate.'

"The concluding part of the paragraph reads thus:

"'Maximilian was tried like any other individual who sought to subdue the institutions of the State; he was found guilty and shot—a lesson that usurpers will long remember. Grant concurred in the abstract justice of the act. Attempts were made to induce him to recommend clemency, for his influence would have been very great with the Mexicans, who knew how ardently he had supported their cause; but he sternly refused to interfere. Indeed, his indirect advice to the Mexican minister at Washington, doubtless communicated to his Government, was in favor of meting the same punishment to a crowned offender as to humbler culprits.'

"As you were the minister referred to, may I ask you whether the above statement is accurate as to General Grant's course in regard to the execution of Maximilian?

With great respect,

(Signed) "GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To His Excellency M. ROMERO,

"Minister Plenipotentiary, etc., etc., Washington, D. C.

"You will please return the slip."

This letter gave rise to the correspondence which follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *December* 22, 1886.

"MR. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, 1429 New York Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.:

"DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, inclosing a slip from the Boston *Herald* of the 24th of October last (which I return to you herewith, in compliance with your request), containing an article written by General Adam Badeau, entitled 'Grant in Peace,' wherein, on speaking of Maximilian's execution in Mexico, June 19th, 1867, after the withdrawal of the French army, you ask me if the statements contained in said article, in regard to General Grant's course in that execution, are correct. It is assumed in that article that attempts were made to obtain General Grant's influence in favor of clemency in Maximilian's case, and that the General not only refused to interfere, but that he advised the Mexican minister at Washington, which position was then filled by me, that he was in favor of meting the same punishment to a crowned offender as to humble culprits.

"Several years having elapsed since those events occurred, I have no exact recollection of them to enable me to bear out or contradict General Badeau's statements. I can assure you, however, that if General Grant had expressed any decided opinion on this point, I would have communicated it to my Government, to whom I exerted myself in keeping posted of everything that occurred here at that time, and no record whatever of this fact, previous to Maximilian's execution, appears in the correspondence of the Mexican Legation, at Washington, from 1861 to 1867, which I have published complete in Mexico, as it contains data which, in my opinion, are indispensable for writing the history of that epoch.

"The Mexican newspapers have recently published a letter I addressed to General Grant from this city, May 31st, 1867, in reply to one which the General wrote to me when he heard here that Queretaro had fallen, May 15th. It appears from said letter that he gave me this advice as to the way in which the vanquished ought to be dealt with.

"I have not in Washington the papers relating to the foreign intervention in Mexico, which I keep at my home in Mexico City, and I am therefore unable to rectify the contents of (the) General Grant's letter; but by the terms of my reply to him I infer that his advice or recommendation was rather in favor of the pardon

of Maximilian. I do not inclose you copy of my letter to General Grant, because I have not here its text, and the publication made of it in Mexico is an inaccurate translation from English into Spanish, and if I should try now to translate it again from Spanish into English, it would differ very much from the original.

"I am very respectfully yours, M. ROMERO."

Mr. Boutwell to M. Romero :

"WASHINGTON, *January* 6, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR : Your letter of the 22d of December was received at my office during my absence from the city.

"It might lead to the solution of the question presented in my note of the 20th of December, if correct copies of the letter, that passed between you and General Grant, and referred to in the last paragraph of your letter, could be obtained.

"I am anxious, as I think you must be, to have General Grant stand where he chose to place himself. Very truly, GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To His Excellency M. Romero,

"Minister, etc., etc."

M. Romero to Mr. Boutwell :

"WASHINGTON, *January* 8, 1887.

"HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL :

"MY DEAR SIR : It affords me great pleasure to inform you, in answer to your letter of the 6th inst., that soon after I wrote you my previous, of the 22d of December last, I had written to my sister to the City of Mexico, asking her to examine my papers with a view to obtain a correct copy of my letter to General Grant, of May 31st, 1867, on the possible execution of Maximilian, and of the General's letter to which mine was an answer. I think it unnecessary for me to say that I shall do everything in my power to correct any misrepresentations of General Grant's views on that or any other subject.

"Very truly, M. ROMERO."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 26, 1887.

"HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C.:

"MY DEAR SIR : Referring to the letters which I addressed to you on the 22d ultimo and 8th inst., in reply to yours of the 20th of said December and 6th of the present month, wherein I stated that the Mexican newspapers had published a letter purported to have been written by me to General Grant, dated at this city on the 31st of May, 1867, in regard to the probable fate of Maximilian, I beg to say that I have since found that said letter was not addressed to General Grant, but to Mr. Hiram Barney, Ex-Collector of the Port of New York, and that, therefore, General Grant did not express to me in writing any opinion on this subject.

"I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

"M. ROMERO."

Mr. Boutwell to M. Romero :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 2, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR : Your favor of the 26th of January is before me, but it does not in terms meet General Badeau's statement. He says that General Grant gave 'indirect advice to the Mexican Minister at Washington' . . . 'in favor of meting the same punishment to a crowned offender as to humbler culprits,' and that this advice was doubtless communicated to your Government. This implies

that the advice was given orally, while your letter of the 26th ult. is limited to advice in writing. Can you say more? Very truly, GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To His Excellency M. Romero,
"Minister, etc., etc., Washington."

M. Romero to Mr. Boutwell:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 9, 1887.

"HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL, 1429 New York Avenue, N. W.

"MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 2d inst., where, in answer to mine of the 26th ultimo, you say that it 'does not in terms meet General Badeau's statement, who says that "General Grant gave indirect advice to the Mexican Minister at Washington. . . . . in favor of meting the same punishment to a crowned offender as to humbler culprits,"' and that this advice was doubtless communicated to my Government, I beg to say that having found out that my letter, published by a Mexican newspaper, dated at this city, May 31st, 1867, was not addressed to General Grant, but to Hon. Hiram Barney, [I have to repeat now what I said to you in my letter of the 22d of last December, to wit: that several years having elapsed since those events took place, I do not have an accurate recollection of them to enable me to assuredly confirm or contradict General Badeau's statements in regard to General Grant's opinion about Maximilian's execution, but I can assure you that if General Grant had expressed, in his conversations with me, any decided views on this point, I would have communicated them to my Government, and there is no record of this matter in the correspondence of the Mexican legation at Washington, during the French intervention, previous to said execution—which has been lately published in Mexico].

"I am very truly yours,
"M. ROMERO."

Mr. Boutwell to General Badeau:

"WASHINGTON, *February* 11, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR: Since the publication of your article of October 24th, 1886, upon General Grant, I have corresponded with His Excellency M. Romero, in regard to your statement touching General Grant's action in the case of Maximilian. The correspondence warrants the conclusion that your statement is erroneous. I think that a correction should be made, and it may be the better way to publish the correspondence. If you have any suggestion to make I shall be happy to receive it. Very truly,

"GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To General Adam Badeau, New York."

General Badeau to Mr. Boutwell:

"28 East 17th Street NEW YORK, *February* 13, 1887.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR: . . . . . * I am, as you suppose, desirous to be entirely accurate, and would be happy to examine the correspondence between yourself and Mr. Romero, if you will be good enough to send me copies. Thanking you again and in advance,

"I am, dear Governor, very truly yours,
"ADAM BADEAU.

"To Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell, etc."

*The sentences omitted do not relate to the same subject.

Mr. Boutwell to General Badeau :

"WASHINGTON, *February* 18, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 13th instant, in reply to mine, concerning the action of General Grant in the case of Maximilian. It is not practicable for me to send a copy* of my correspondence with M. Romero, but I will annex a copy of a portion, which, in my opinion, relieves General Grant of all responsibility for the execution of Maximilian.

"Very truly yours,

"GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To General Adam Badeau,

"28 East 17th street, New York."

General Badeau to Mr. Boutwell :

"28 East 17th Street, NEW YORK, *February* 19, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR : Of course you do not expect me to change my statement on the authority of M. Romero, when that gentleman, in so many words, declines to contradict me ; and I presume that upon examination you have seen reason to modify your opinion, since you do not send me the correspondence which you proposed for publication.

"I can assure you that my papers are very carefully considered, and that I have received the assistance and approval of General Grant's most distinguished military and political friends. I should still be glad to include you in the number.

"Very truly yours, ADAM BADEAU.

"The Honorable Geo. S. Boutwell."

Mr. Boutwell to General Badeau :

"WASHINGTON, *February* 24, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR : This morning I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th inst., with an inclosure marked confidential and dated February 22d. At a convenient time I intend to publish M. Romero's letters.

"If you have proof that General Grant advised the execution of Maximilian, you will not hesitate, I presume, to furnish it to the public. If he so advised the Mexican authorities, his friends cannot complain ; but in the absence of such proof I am unwilling to accept the conclusion that you have reached.

"Very truly, GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"To Adam Badeau, Esq.

"New York, 28 E. 17th St."

It is not to be assumed from the circumstance that I have initiated this correspondence, that I entertain the opinion that the execution of Maximilian was either unwise or unjust. My object has been to secure for General Grant the place in history which he made for himself when living.

The testimony of M. Romero justifies these conclusions, viz.:

(1.) That General Grant never made any communication to him in writing in regard to the execution of Maximilian.

* The extract is from Mr. Romero's letter, dated February 9, 1887, and the part is included in brackets.

(2.) That he has no recollection that General Grant ever gave to him in conversation any advice or suggestion upon the subject.

(3.) That if any advice or suggestion had been made to him by General Grant he should have communicated it to his Government.

(4.) That his correspondence with his Government has been printed, and that no reference is made to the opinions or wishes of General Grant upon the subject. Unless the evidence now submitted can be controlled by proofs not now before the public, the statement made by General Badeau ought not to be accepted either for the purposes of general history or personal biography.

GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

"THAT EVERLASTING ANDOVER CONTROVERSY."

EVEN while meditating a still further attack upon their peace, one cannot withhold sympathy from those amiable but secular newspapers which feel obliged to report all news, yet have naturally a prejudice in favor of the news of this world. Protection, earthquakes, the Eastern question, Home Rule, are known factors in the problem; but what satisfaction can there be in discussing the shadowy intangible politics of the unseen universe? Thus, not understanding its terms, yet with contempt a little held in check by the knowledge that the dispute has something to do with religion, and must, therefore, not be too savagely condemned or too lightly dismissed, the genial but perplexed editor gives his daily ecclesiastical items as needs must, but in one breath excuses his ignorance, and relieves while veiling his impatience, with no harsher a characterization than "that everlasting Andover controversy."

All for love and nothing for rebuke, I timidly approach these representative men of affairs, and—if for a moment the vigilance of this REVIEW can be evaded—appropriate a few of its pages for their enlightenment. I wish to show them—not necessarily because I am wiser than they, but because I have had more leisure to examine the matter—that it is a question of this world primarily, though of the other world consequently.

The average unprofessional opinion, the opinion, let us say, of the laity of Philadelphia, and Boston, and New York seems to be: old orthodoxy has the technical right; new orthodoxy has the common sense. Old orthodoxy is absurd, but so long as the Andover professors engage to teach it, they ought to teach it or leave. If they no more believe it, they ought to relinquish the funds bequeathed for such teaching and found a new school for the inculcation of their own creed. The laity do not, perhaps,

go so far as the clergy, intimating against the Andover professors "the most stupendous breach of trust of a century, not unmarked by such crimes." The laity, even at the trial of the professors, rejected this suggestion of their own clients, imputed no breach of trust on the part of the defendants; on the contrary, proclaimed belief in them as eminently honorable, able, upright, conscientious, Christian men, but mistaken in their position.

Judge Hoar, the advocate of old orthodoxy, at the trial of the professors compared the case to that of an English landlady who would not allow a heathen boarder to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter in her back parlor. She did not forbid freedom of thought, but her back parlor was no place for its indulgence in that peculiar form. So, argued Judge Hoar, the back parlor of the Andover Seminary is no place to teach even the doctrines of the Christian religion, if those doctrines are inconsistent with the Andover Creed. I suppose Judge Hoar could hardly find anything more inconsistent with his idea of the doctrines of the Christian religion than his idea of the doctrines of the Andover Creed.

In like manner, the Boston *Advertiser* expresses probably a wide-spread lay opinion when it affirms that there are very many laymen who do not coincide with the complainants' theological opinions who yet agree with them to this extent: that whether the Andover creed itself is theologically sound or not, still the trust by which the Seminary is mainly supported demands strict adherence to the letter of the creed; and for the sake of perfect honesty, therefore, and as an example of the fulfillment of the letter of an obligation, much needed in these days, it would be better that further enjoyments of those old bequests should cease than that the slightest suspicion of their perversion should go forth to the world at large.

This is a phase of the question to which too little attention has been paid, and which is certainly indispensable to a fair and considerate understanding of the conservative side of the controversy.

Professor Phelps, late of the Andover Seminary, yet more strongly maintains the same point. Even if new Andover has the law, he says, honor should restrain them. "Should it be sufficient for honorable men if, in law, the liberty they are assuming cannot be rebuked? Should it even content them that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts would not remove them from their chairs?"

He considers it mere hardihood to think that those robust believers and docile readers of the word of God, the founders, would have approved the exotic faith of the Andoverians, if it had been imported in their day, and, therefore, the professors should make it a point of honor not to teach it, although the Creed says nothing about it.

Rev. Dr. Bartol, whose white hairs would be his glory, except, as we learn from the reminiscences of his late happy anniversary, that the bright brow of his earliest manhood was equally radiant with saintly purity—Dr. Bartol cheers on the Andover professors to what he thinks a firmer footing, maintaining that now they are technically wrong. Col. Ingersoll, who has done good service in flushing the sewer-pipes of ecclesiasticism, but who will not be content to dwell in indecency forever, decides, after his præ-Raphaelitic fashion, that the money was given to Andover by a barbarian, and that the question in that Seminary now is: Shall we lose this money, or shall we teach what we know to be lies, out of pure economy, and save what is given us?

Conservative orthodoxy deliberately sums up its decision: "We have little hesitation in declaring our conviction that the complainants are substantially right in their position, and that the Andover professors are not to be justified in their claim that they have a right to teach probation after death under the Creed. The accused seem to us to do violence both to the plain language of the statutes, where it at all approaches the subject of probation, and elsewhere, to the probable intention of the founders."

It thus appears that conservative orthodoxy, liberal Christianity, secular common sense, and ultra radicalism, unite in condemning the Andover professors. Nevertheless, the Andover professors are right, and all the others are wrong. If the Andover professors should give up the contest and withdraw from the Seminary, they would be guilty of a breach of the trust confided to them by the founders. It is not necessarily stupid in outside circles to misunderstand the case, but it is not wise to pronounce upon it until it is understood, and it cannot be understood without attention to the meaning, the use, and the weight of words. We are so accustomed to speak words with a hop, and read them with a skip, and pronounce judgment upon them with a jump, that when important issues are involved we rush wildly astray.

The Andover professors are treating words with accuracy.

They understand the case. It is their business to understand it. They are experts. If they should of their own will withdraw, it could not be from misunderstanding. It would be from faint-heartedness. If the Supreme Court should decide against them they might be forced to retire. While that would terminate their connection with the Seminary, it would be no guilt of their own, and no final settlement of the question involved, for this is a battle which is never fought until it is won.

The struggle is really not, as the world maintains, over the acceptance of the Creed, but over the interpretation of the Creed. The present professors accept the Creed. The outside world says they ought not to accept it. Must the professors, the modern experts, the men who have made the Creed the study of their life, must they relinquish it, actually or constructively, because the journal editors, the lawyers, the pastors, and the previous generation of experts think they ought? That is, must a man guide his life by his own conscience and consciousness or by other persons'? The founders of Andover prescribed only that professors should accept and teach the Creed. They did not prescribe how it should be interpreted. The professors swear that they do accept and teach it. Who shall say them nay?

Old orthodoxy charges that they interpret it so differently from the founders that it amounts to a rejection of the Creed.

It would be possible in such a case to fall back on a legal or verbal quibble and be technically right while committing a moral wrong. But there is even no temptation here. On the contrary, the interpretation of the Creed by the professors is wholly in the direction towards which the faces of the founders were turned—that of greater spirituality, increasing reasonableness. What is rejected is the grosser, the more ignorant interpretation. In this they are but treading a little further the same path which the founders trod, and which has been trodden by every intelligent professor since, and by the whole Christian world, so far as it has advanced in spiritual and intellectual life.

A single example will give ample illustration. The Creed declares that the wicked at their death will "with devils be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever."

The founders may well have taken this literally. A little child at play within sound of the Bow Bells of Andover heard some one

say that the world was coming to an end in three years. Alone in the attic shortly afterwards she was startled by a chime ringing suddenly through the corridors of memory—"where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." She fancied she must be mistaken. The fire could be borne, but the worm was intolerable. She ran down stairs to the Bible, and was dismayed to find that the worm was there. But it was only for a moment. Happily the swift reflection came, "It will be three years first. By that time I shall be nine years old and pious." The worm, therefore, would be nothing to her, and she resumed her play with tranquillity. So easily the mind innocent of science disposes of unscientific statements.

The founders of Andover were hardly more disturbed by chemistry, geology, biology, ethnology, comparative philology, than was the little girl. They "overset" the Greek into English and left it there. But do the most conservative of orthodoxy to-day believe that brimstone is eternal; that oxygenation can go on forever? Do they believe that spirit can be subjected to the combustion of sulphur? Do they believe that the immaterial soul is wedded to the chemical change of matter? Mr. Samuel Jones lately electrified to shrieks a Boston congregation with a story of a thoroughly materialistic Devil chasing a lost and departing soul around a wood pile and through a window,—which is in line with a part of the Andover Creed; but it is impossible to believe that the Andover complainants would join that hunting. Unless they would, unless they consider it possible to plunge a disembodied soul into actual burning brimstone, unless, that is, they believe that a Calistoga hot spring may be as everlasting as the spirit of man, they have no ground for even a "friendly law suit" with the Andover professors. Judge Hoar, and Dr. Bartol, and Colonel Ingersoll, trained in other schools, may mischievously insist upon the literal rendering or none; but no member of an orthodox Congregational church who dissolves the scriptural brimstone in rhetoric can refuse to the Andover professors liberty to put a rhetorical cast or a literary interpretation upon any other word in the Creed. One old departure from the literal rendering carries all new departures with it. There is no tribunal in the world which has authority to say: thus far shalt thou go, and no farther, in latitude of interpretation.

Applying the principles of the complainants to this illustra-

tion, we find that Colonel Ingersoll would say that barbarians inserted the text in the Creed, that hypocrites teach it for money, and that it is simply a lie. This disposition of the matter has the merit of a simplicity so primitive that one hardly understands why its author should count any other man a barbarian.

The moderate and reasonable layman and the "liberal" clergyman do not believe in the literal brimstone, yet consider that the trust fund by which the Seminary is supported demands literal brimstone, and for the sake of perfect honesty and to set a much-needed good example, they think it would be better to give up the bequest than to let the slightest suspicion of perversion of funds go out to the world on account of the quality of the brimstone.

In phraseology more complicated, this is one with the opinion of Colonel Ingersoll. Neither is more superficial than is to be expected from persons who are able to give only a swift glance to what needs a close inspection. It may be remarked that the principle of the moderate layman is fundamentally wrong. Avoidance of suspicion is not one of the large bases of action. If it were, the rule of a man's life would be changed from the certainty of his own conscience and consciousness to the shifting conjectures of another man's ignorance. It would make the ship sail for the wind and not for port. A ship heeds the wind, but does not follow it. A man heeds suspicion, but is not dominated by it. It may be his primal duty to disregard it. It is never his duty to do one wrong thing in order to avoid the suspicion of doing another.

Professor Phelps rather slips away from the letter of the Creed into undemonstrable generalities, and questions whether it is honorable to teach what is, indeed, outside of the Creed, but what, if it had come up in their day, the founders would have put into the Creed for rejection. This is not quite to the point, but so far as it is to the point, the question is not whether, if the new theology had been taken back a hundred years, the founders would have accepted it, but whether if the founders were brought forward a hundred years they would accept it. To this, one could unhesitatingly answer yes, because they accepted the best light of their day, as their heirs and assigns accept the best light of to-day.

Conservative orthodoxy, under stress of science, weakens a little, and what Col. Ingersoll calls a lie the complainants are willing to call a figure; but beyond that, conservatism refuses to budge. It gives way on one word, but utterly declines to permit any one

to give way on another. It sees that science, chemistry, metaphysics, have made brimstone not only impossible, but ridiculous as a corner-stone of theology; but *forever* is a term of another world, beyond the domain of science, incapable of proof or disproof, and on that word they make a stand.

"The statutes expressly forbid the retention in office of any professor who does not continue to approve himself 'a man of sound and orthodox principles of divinity, *agreeably to the system of evangelical doctrines contained in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism,*'" says Rev. J. W. Haley. But, questions a puzzled disciple, "Dr. Park said to Dr. Codman that he never believed, and never would believe, the doctrine taught in No. 82 of the Assembly's Catechism. In the opinion of the Visitors, to deny that doctrine was to overturn the gospel. Were not the Visitors blameworthy in allowing Professor Park to subscribe?"

"We have always understood," replies the highest authority, "the Visitors to hold that any deviations from the exact letter of the Creed which did not impair its evangelical character were permissible, and that it was because Professor Park's deviations were such that they were permitted. It is because later ones do not seem to be such, that they are objected to."

It is thus seen that even the Professor Park orthodoxy does not demand strict adherence to the letter of the Creed, but only to such letters of the Creed as itself shall select. The most conservative permit departure from brimstone and No. 82—the things which themselves have been educated out of.

The present Andover professors are only doing a little more of the same work which their predecessors wrought so powerfully in their day. They not only permit the revelation of geology to illuminate the revelation of Sodom and Gomorrah, but they are studying it in the light of heredity and history. When the old orthodoxy explains that fire and brimstone mean that the soul of the incorrigibly wicked will be as exquisitely tortured as would be the body by fire, new orthodoxy sorrowfully admits it, but remembers that the sting of death is sin. The soul enslaved through all its life by sin; the soul that has persistently violated the law, disobeyed the order, destroyed the harmony of the Universe, may, in the revealing light of death, see itself so clearly, see the order of heaven so clearly, as to be devoured with shame and self-contempt—a shame and contempt more biting

and burning than the matter-entangled spirit can conceive. The light from which it could hide behind the flesh, it cannot avoid when the flesh is laid off. Light which is the life of the healthy eye is agony to the diseased eye. But death itself is to be swallowed up in victory. Is it not possible, asks the larger hope,—not seeing the way, seeing only apparent perturbations of the Divine harmony, which seem to mean that there must be a way, because the *Divine* harmony cannot be perturbed,—is it not possible that this spiritual shame shall presently destroy shameworthiness and work out spiritual purification ?

But all the ground thus far gone over, though important, is incidental. The essential issue is as yet untouched. It is by no second thought, or strained construction, or late discovery, or even revered precedent, that the Andover professors hold their places. They are in the places appointed them by the founders themselves. They are there by a principle set in the solid base and actual sub-structure of the Creed. That Creed opens with a declaration which not only justifies the professors in holding their places, but which imposes upon them the obligation to hold their places especially against such efforts as are now making to destroy their incumbency, constituting it indeed a betrayal of trust, a dishonor to the founders to withdraw. The Creed embodies a principle which must last as long as time lasts, and can only be dismissed, if even then, by the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds.

By the terms of the Creed "Every professor on this foundation shall publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in Divine Revelation, and in the fundamental and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel as expressed in the following Creed, which is supported by the infallible Revelation which God constantly makes of Himself in His works of creation, providence, and redemption."

The principle prefacing the Creed is broader and deeper than any item of the Creed, because it underlies them all. It is the rule by which every one of them is to be tested. It is the foundation upon which they must all stand.

First is required—Faith in Divine Revelation.

Second—On this infallible Revelation the Creed stands. By this revelation the Creed is supported. Therefore the Creed is binding just so far as Revelation binds it, and no farther. The

reason of the Creed is in its harmony with Revelation. If in any point it diverges from Revelation it becomes void, by the will and provision of the founders.

Third—This infallible Revelation is not a completed thing, a fixed quantity. It is a Revelation which God is "constantly" making. Therefore, it is a progressive Revelation. Therefore, the Creed must change to conform to the changing Revelation. There is no meaning to the word *constantly*, unless it means this. Language is incapable of being used in evidence, unless *constantly* is a word of process. To say that God is constantly making a revelation of Himself, and yet that our knowledge of Him must never increase and our belief regarding Him must never change, is only absurdity. The founders imposed the Creed, which, in their view, formulated the revelation that had been made up to their time. But in imposing Revelation as the basis of the Creed, and in stipulating a recognition that God is "constantly" making this revelation, they, by inevitable implication, not only warrant, but impose, constant change in the Creed in order to conform to every fresh revelation.

That there might be no doubt of their meaning they specified the sources whence revelation should be expected.

Works of Creation : This includes every possible discovery of truth by study of the material universe till time shall be no more. Whatever light shall be thrown upon earth or stars from geology, biology, astronomy, chemistry, the founders welcome. Whatever illustrates or elucidates the real mode of creation, the properties of matter, they accept. For all the discoveries and utilities of steam, electricity, the story of the rocks and the suns, the suggestions of the skeleton and the embryo, they made room, only asking that it be a revelation of God ; that is, truth. No Darwin, or Huxley, or Tyndall, past, present, or future, can get outside the scope of those Andover founders, whom we in our shallow arrogance have called "iron-bound," but whose principle, inspired of the Holy Spirit, is as flexile as life itself. It may well be that they did not know the full scope of their words, but that is ever the Divine reward of them who speak and do the best they know.

Revelation in Providence : This includes the whole history of humanity,—language, race, growth, migration, the rise and fall of nations, and of men, from the first rude trace of primeval man

upon the earth to the last item in the morning newspaper. The present is photographing itself to the student with a minuteness never excelled. Into the past, the scientist, the antiquarian, the Egyptologist, are searching with an enthusiasm constantly increasing under success, and a success ever conquering fresh advantages. But whatever revelation God has made or may make of Himself in His relations to men—through flint-knife, or exhumed statue, or uncovered tile, or deciphered record, or discovered manuscript, or long-buried city, the founders of Andover Seminary made provision for it all in the opening sentence, the ground plan of their Creed.

Revelation of Redemption brings us to the culmination of all Revelation—in Jesus Christ our Lord—the Holy Spirit of prophecy; the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. The written word remains. No addition can be made to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Therefore, the revelation which God is constantly making of Himself in Redemption must be through new light thrown on the Bible, new light shining upon its interpretation from the new revelation of Himself through His works of creation and providence, through science and history. For this also the founders made room in that profound and wonderful opening sentence of their "iron-bound" Creed—a sentence which binds them, not with iron, but with the elasticity and strength of the interstellar ether to every sphere of truth that shall swing out into the light of new knowledge henceforth forevermore.

For the Andover professors to give up their Seminary to the old orthodoxy would be to give up the inspiration of the fathers to the limitations of the sons; would be to relinquish light to darkness, breadth to narrowness, growth to death, Heaven's flash of radiance to earth's brooding obscurity. It would be to snatch from the founders the glory of their crown, to hide its splendor beneath the *débris* of our own mechanisms. Repression may succeed, but it will be temporarily. If this age cannot discern the solemn and stately procession of thought, the next age will. It is better to fail in a good cause than to succeed in a bad one. But failure is not to be thought of. It seems to me that I see already, beautiful upon the mountains, the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings. Surely the air is alive and astir with the breath of a new spring.

GAIL HAMILTON.

BEECHER'S PERSONALITY.

In the nature of things, men of genius are incomprehensible by the ordinary mind in exactly the direction and measure in which their gifts and powers excel those possessed in common by the rest of mankind. Nor can genius of one description appreciate or comprehend its exhibition in others unless it be of kindred nature. To Carlyle, Liszt was a fool. An Edison cannot view an Emerson with clearer ken than an ordinary man. Grant might know Napoleon, but neither of them could grasp a Shakespeare.

To Henry Ward Beecher common consent unhesitatingly ascribes the possession of genius. Nor was that genius of any narrow or restricted variety. It was both moral and intellectual. In the latter sphere also it presented many forms and phases. It was oratorical, linguistic, poetic, humanitarian. He sounded all the depths of emotion, all the heights of inspiration. As an analyst of character he was as great as was Shakespeare as a synthesist. As a student and reader of nature he could have rivaled an Agassiz or an Audubon. In wit and humor he was the peer of the most celebrated. In short, history records no man who outranked his fellows in more directions, and to a greater extent, and who fell below the average in fewer elements and developments of mind and soul. Hence, it is evident that no single biographer can justly estimate the character nor more than partially portray his life. As, from various standpoints, from different sides, under everchanging conditions of sky and air, and with widely diverse powers of observation and capacities of feeling in those who gaze upon its awful form, Mont Blanc presents to each beholder a form perceived by no other, so do men of great and varied genius stand related to their fellows. One glimpse of the mighty mountain may suffice to awe and entrance the stranger. But one must live under its shadows, in every vale that sleeps at its feet; must study it in storm and sunshine, at each hour of the day and year; must tread its snows and glaciers; must scale its rocky sides, and stand upon its summit, and, even then, can know

Mont Blanc only according to his own capacity. And so, in the estimate of such a man, numberless friends and acquaintances, each from his own standpoint, and with his own receptivity, may have studied Mr. Beecher, may have comprehended him as they could, and may formulate their ideas of such a multiform genius, but not one, even of his intimates, can rightly and fully depict him. But from all such sources combined the world must derive its estimate of him, and, in time, will come to know, and understand, and appreciate his nature and character as fully and justly as he can be known.

Entertaining such convictions, I have ventured, in a very imperfect and fragmentary manner, to describe Mr. Beecher as I have seen and felt his influence during the past score of years. And, though my appreciation of this great nature be but narrow, yet as, in some particulars at least it is one of which no other person is capable, I venture to record my impressions. Of their positive or relative value others must judge.

I shall attempt to speak only of his physical and intellectual nature. To others, far better qualified, must be left a consideration of his moral genius.

Had the world to-day a record of the mere physical appearance of Shakespeare, it would doubtless prove exceedingly interesting. And though, through the press and the photograph as well as the recent presence of the subject of this sketch in many parts of his own country, and in England, his physical peculiarities are well known, it may not be superfluous to note them here. Aside from his face, Mr. Beecher would not have attracted marked attention in a crowd. His figure was short and compact. Although but five feet eight inches in height, his weight for several years had averaged about two hundred and twenty-five pounds. But his flesh was so well distributed that he did not appear clumsy nor obese. His carriage was erect and noble. His complexion was florid, and his smoothly-shaven face and white locks contrasted finely with it. His hair was somewhat thin, but to the last it fully covered his head. It was allowed to grow to the collar, and was swept behind the ears. His head was not extraordinary in size,* measuring only twenty-three inches in circum-

* He wore what is called a 7¼ hat, and prominent dealers inform me that the number most frequently sold is 7⅛. Each one-eighth represents one-half inch of circumference.

ference, but his massive face and features gave it an appearance of greater bulk. His forehead was rather retreating than bold, except that the brow was full. His eyes were prominent and seemed large. They were grayish blue in color, and so perfect were these organs as to require no artificial aid, even for protracted work. The upper lids were full and overhanging—a formation which has been noted as characteristic of many distinguished orators and actors. His nose bore a fair proportion to the rest of his features, and presented no marked peculiarity of form. His mouth was large, and the lips neither full nor thin. They closed firmly. The cheeks were full, quite remarkably so beneath the ears, which latter organs were well formed, and set far back upon the head. The chin was somewhat square, and gave a determined look to his face. His expression was exceedingly varied. Never was there a more mobile countenance, nor one that more quickly and decisively responded to every emotion.

Numerous photographs of him exist, but no two afford the same expression. His neck was large and short. The chest was full and capable of great expansion. His digestion was uniformly good, and afforded him a plentiful supply of generous blood, without which the functions performed by his brain would have been largely inhibited. The blood vessels of his entire frame were extraordinarily capacious for a man of his temperament. This latter might be classed as a mixture of the lymphatic and sanguine, with a dash of the nervous. The arteries and veins of his scalp were nearly double in size of those of an ordinary man, and if one might judge from the coldness of his extremities during mental labor (a constant and often distressing phenomenon) it would seem probable that those of his brain were correspondingly large. In his habits he was very regular and temperate. He early ascertained what was hurtful and what beneficial to him, and he carefully conformed to the latter. This he did, not from selfish concern for his comfort only, but, as is well known by his intimates, because he would not sacrifice on the altar of appetite what belonged to his duties as a minister of Christ. No man "brought his body under," to use the words of St. Paul, more rigorously and vigilantly than he.

He was immoderate only in sleep. This he must, and would, and did obtain in generous proportion. In the full tide of work an afternoon siesta was always insisted upon, and he could com-

pose himself to peaceful slumber even amidst much confusion. He was not "valiant at the trencher," but ate well and carefully. To coffee he was devoted, and it served him well as a stimulus and paratriptic—never rendering him nervous. Of mild ales and wines he partook sparingly, and only when he deemed them essential for his health. Like most great actors and singers, he ate very lightly before speaking—a cup of coffee or tea, with a scrap of toast only. Afterwards, he was ready for substantial food.

Few men of sedentary occupation suffered less from functional disorders, but he took far more exercise and relaxation than the majority of his class. His tastes were so various, and so freely indulged, that they compelled bodily exercise for their gratification. Saturday was his holiday, and he knew how to take one, and get as much out of it as any school-boy. When at home, it was spent in the picture galleries, museums, concerts, spectacles, or shops of the great city. There can be no doubt that such a happy temperament, such varied tastes, and such habits as resulted from them, very largely contributed to keep his health of both body and mind in their usual perfect condition.

From his farm in Peekskill, where he buried much money, he reaped a precious harvest, not only of health, but rich stores of mental and moral pabulum. Never was there a better or more largely paying investment, and well would it be for our clergy and their congregations did they emulate his example. Trips to Europe and the mountains are well enough, but close contact with the life-giving bosom of old mother nature in her fields and gardens is the "more excellent way." In early years he suffered much from frequent attacks of quinsy, but during the past decade they were easily arrested. Bilious attacks were not uncommon, but he made short work of these by sleep and starvation. To hay-fever, however, he was annually obliged to succumb, unless he resorted to the White Mountains or to distant journeys. With these exceptions he enjoyed remarkable health. The tastes to which reference has been made were various and innocent, but were, for the time, many of them, veritable passions. All his life long he was a thorough and intelligent bibliophile, and he accumulated books until his residences would hold no more. His library contains many rare and beautiful works, and numbers about 15,000 volumes. Of gems, too, he was passionately fond. He was accustomed to say that they afforded him the same kind of pleasure

that he derived from flowers, and that they excelled the latter in that they were fadeless. Their purity and color had a never satiating charm for him. Thousands of dollars he lavished upon them. His yellow diamond, of the purest canary color, has a European pedigree and history.

Not a stone with which St. John has embellished the walls of the Holy City was missing from his collection. It is doubtful if he was ever without unset gems in his pockets, which he would often exhibit for his own delectation or that of his friends. He haunted the shops of jewelers, and often borrowed from them gems of great value, in which he fairly reveled with delight. He took the greatest pleasure in those of richest and most gorgeous hues, the ruby, the opal, the carbuncle, the emerald, etc. Indeed, color, its shades and combinations, whether in nature or art, appeared to engage his fancy rather than form, although to perfection in this regard he was ever acutely sensitive. Hence his love for painting, rather than for sculpture. Never shall I forget the delight he took in the Russian wedding feast lately exhibited in New York, nor how earnestly he enjoined it upon me to visit it. Of all paintings, at home or abroad, he best loved the Sistine Madonna, and even his eloquent tongue failed to express the emotions he experienced when he stood before it. In engraving and etching he was a connoisseur, and many rare examples of this class of work were in his possession. He accumulated these, and paintings also, until the walls of his home failed to accommodate them. At one time he made a collection of stuffed humming-birds and birds of paradise, which was beautiful beyond description. Exquisite also, as well as extensive, was his accumulation of *bric-à-brac* and of *faience:* within my knowledge only the Morgan collection surpasses it. Even that, though far more costly, does not equal it in tasteful selection. Although no musician, harmony and melody enraptured him. Often he sought in them rest, elevation, and inspiration, and found them all. When consistent with his duties, he was a devoted and discriminating listener in concert and opera. For the combinations and varieties of color exhibited in the productions of the loom he had a fancy which was freely indulged. No lady of taste could derive more satisfaction from a shopping expedition than he. From his recent visit to England he returned laden with spoils of this description for his relatives and friends—silks and plushes and velvets fit for a queen.

But more than all these, his soul reveled in nature and her productions. Each spring was a regeneration to him, and he watched for her coming as the sick long for the morning. By no means insensible to the joys and beauties of winter, it was the birth and growth and fruition of the seasons that brought him ever fresh delight in their course. Regarding trees, it is enough to say that upon his thirty-six acres in Peekskill there stand to-day more than six thousand varieties of purely ornamental trees, interspersed with fruit of every variety that can be forced or coaxed to grow in this climate. Rare shrubs and flowers of every kind and hue and shape and fragrance diversify the landscape and load the air with perfume. Horses, cattle, bees, and fowls of choicest breed were equally sought.

And superadded to all these tastes was a comprehensive and exact knowledge of all the objects that ministered to them. Whether they were books or gems, works of art or productions of nature, he studied and learned and knew their origin and habits, their habitat and training, the processes involved in their production, whence and when and how and why, so far as books or experts in each department could inform him. And from each and all he drew much of the inspiration, as well as illustration, that glowed in lecture and sermon—in prayer and praise. He lived close to the great throbbing heart of nature, and she whispered her secrets in his ear. He haunted, the factory, foundry, furnace, and machine shop, and studied their processes. No engineer, mechanic, or artisan but his thirsty soul pumped dry at every opportunity. His was a child-like nature in many ways, and, like a boy, he was ever eagerly inquisitive and insatiable. But with the indomitable persistency of a man he hunted the world for the achievements of art and science, and the facts and phenomena of nature. Nay, he hesitated not to plunge into and investigate the so-called supernatural. And mixed by the alchemy of that wondrous brain, interwoven with fancy, and wit, and philosophy, and theology, he poured them forth in floods of emotion and illustration and poetic imagery. As the dull iron enters the magnetic fluid, and emerges lustrous with pure gold, so the soberest fact, gilded by his imagination, became radiant, beautiful, enchanting. I have spoken of Mr. Beecher's wonderful memory for facts of the foregoing description ; equally wonderful was it in regard to persons and their history. But this faculty is common amongst

great men. Singular to relate, however, his memory, in some respects, was phenomenally deficient. Phrases, sentences, isolated terms, dates, items, were absolutely forgotten as soon as heard. The only thing of this sort that he could recall was the list of Latin prepositions that govern the ablative case. This he could repeat with all the linguistic facility of the Major General in the opera. Not a couplet of any hymn, though sung in his ears and by his tongue for a lifetime, not a passage of Scripture, not a scrap from the most celebrated authors or orators, could he quote with even a probability of accuracy.

Doubtless this was at least one of the reasons for his most wonderful versatility of expression. One may read his sermons and prayers, and though his ideas may be and are repeated, they are always clothed afresh ; no set phrases, no quotations are to be found. The titles of his lectures remained the same, but their substance and language underwent constant change. The currency of his mind was always golden, but it was fresh from the mint and stamped with a new device at every issue. How largely this was attributable to the forgetfulness referred to, and how much to his marvelous gift of language, may be a question, but concerning the facts there can be no discussion.

Upon the peculiar methods of his mind, and upon the sensitiveness of his organism, as well as upon his strong common-sense, the following interview sheds considerable light, and it will be regarded by many with no little interest. I called upon him professionally, at his request, on June 14th, 1873, and he made to me the following statement :

"My general health is better than usual at this time of the year. I think I have come out of my labors, and through the unusual mental strain and excitement of the past winter, with more than my usual vigor. The subject upon which I wished to consult you is in respect to my mental state.

"Emotion with me works inward, not outward, often till it seems as if there were a vast gulf formed by it within me. My intellectual efforts are intuitional, to a large extent. A sermon seems spread out before me like a picture, into which my brain seems to open out, and inspired by which I preach. All this is customary and normal, but latterly, as a result, I think, of mental strain, there has come upon me a peculiar experience which I clearly recognize as illusional, but which, nevertheless, is very real to me. I retire at night, and sleep well until about 4 A. M., when I am startled from a sleep which has been dreamless by hearing my name called ; and I lie awake, hearing, distinctly and with apparent reality, voices calling me in the sweetest and most inviting tones. Nothing of terror is experienced ; on the contrary, my moral state is the most blissful and entrancing. I seem to be on the very borders of Heaven. Now, while this is the case, my judicial reasoning self lies there perfectly aware that this is all hallucination, and the outworking of

an overwrought and overstrained brain. I seem to have a double existence, as if another self were beside me in the bed—one perfectly sane and recognizing the other as abnormal, and the other under the full sway of these illusionary perceptions—as well satisfied with their reality as if they truly existed. Now, I have yet four weeks of labor before I can go to grass for the summer's rest, and I want to be sustained so far as may be during them.

"Something of the sort has come to me when in a fever. Then my being has seemed to become a noun of multitude, my feet seemed a tenement-house full of insubordinate tenants whom I endeavored to control in vain. Each separate part of me was an individual, and all in discord. But the most curious imagination has been that I was a locomotive, all fired up, and impatiently waiting for the engineer who would come to start me."

To some it may be interesting to add that this hallucination was quickly dispelled by the administration of Cannabis Indica, or Haschish, as it is called in the East. To all, it is an autobiographical exposé of the workings of this marvelous intellect, and the sensitiveness of this harplike organism, while it also demonstrates the sound substratum of common-sense which recognized at once the cause of his condition, and sought in medicine for its cure.

As a wit, Mr. Beecher shone most brightly in repartee, and in this faculty lay one of the great secrets of his fame as an orator. Without this he would have been less sure of success, to say the least, when he "fought with the beasts" in Liverpool, and London, and Richmond, and wherever else he had to confront an audience of enemies. Let him once turn the laugh upon an interlocutor, as he never failed to do, and his cause was won. His blows of this discription were always fair and honorable, and he took a fair return with the utmost good humor. No man ever angered him in debate. And this characteristic, with his indomitable courage, brought even the most stubborn and malignant opponent to his feet not only, but made from his fiercest enemy often a warm and lifelong friend. His humor was so spontaneous and irrepressible, so honest and wholesome, it bubbled out of him so readily, and (as it sometimes appeared to pious souls) so *malà-propos*, that, though it not seldom affronted such ill-trained spirits, it formed one of the most effective and often the most trenchant weapon in his armory. In private life this feature of his mind rendered him a most brilliant conversationalist, and brightened the life of all around him. When he could lay aside all restraint in the company of his intimates he often appeared as full of fun and mischief as the most rollicking boy. Hundreds of his letters exist of which the following is a fair example:

"MY DEAR DOCTOR: The world, in turning over, a few weeks ago rolled

on my right leg, and it has been somewhat sore ever since. To-day it is not swelled, but it refuses to take its ease when walking, and sulks and behaves unseemly. My wife laughs at me and says it is rheumatism—which is absurd—as I have not been in any way exposed to it. Gout, it is not, I know. I don't want to preach to-morrow on one leg. Can you suggest any mode of bringing the ailing member to good behavior. Yours hobblingly,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

But upon this side of his character I need not dwell. It was too obvious and universal to need further consideration here.

But who would dream that in such a bright, courageous nature, that in an orator who had proven his power so often, and under such conditions, there should lurk a vein of shyness, self-depreciation, and self-disparagement. And yet it was there. He has told the writer that when he first came to Brooklyn, and people began to praise and make much of him, he could not be persuaded that their estimate was not too flattering; and so strong was this feeling in him that he often took by and unfrequented streets to avoid meeting with acquaintances. He also informed me that when he appeared in public where other speakers preceded him, he often felt, while they were addressing the audience, such an admiration for their powers, and so certain that he could not compete with them that, had it been possible, he would have abandoned the attempt. But once upon his feet, hesitation and doubt vanished. As he himself told me, he went to confront his Liverpool audience with trembling and prayers and even tears. But once before them, said he, "I felt as if the whole Atlantic Ocean were under my feet, and I knew I could conquer them." His courage there and elsewhere, under like circumstances, was grand and sublime.

Discussion has often been rife as to which of his great speeches was the most effective. The whole series of addresses in England, in 1863, his lecture in Richmond, his address in the Academy of Music in Brooklyn on the occasion of the reception of Parnell, as well as others, were magnificent exhibitions of oratory. But in my opinion (one in which I am sustained by high authority and the ripe judgment of many) the most sublime efforts of his life were those which were made upon the spur of the moment before the Advisory Council on February 18th, 1876. They are to be found recorded on pp. 240, 255 *et seq.* of the printed proceedings of that body.

My reasons for these opinions are as follows: It is a simple matter for an orator to sway an audience in general sympathy

with him. Next to this, for Mr. Beecher, it was easy to subjugate and control a gathering of his enemies. But to rise without premeditation before a deliberative body, composed, for the most part, of critical theologians, of judges who upon the bench had long ago exhausted all that life has to give of emotion, and were habituated to regard only the dictates of dispassionate reason, of men who, though not avowed enemies, were, many of them, under the influence of suspicions directed against his moral character—to rise as he did, upon the instant, and, within a few moments, hold every mind and soul within his easy grasp, to sweep the whole gamut of feeling, and sway them as the wind plays with a field of wheat—ah! that was sublime and God-like power.

And, just here, it may be worth while to remark that he always spoke *ex tempore*, and, as it might appear to some, with inadequate preparation. It was his custom always to write out the heads of his morning discourse after breakfast on Sunday morning. And an equally brief preparation was made for his evening sermon. Nor were his lectures more elaborated. He was a truly inspirational speaker, and his moods of mind and body, the state of the weather, and all exterior circumstances were reflected in his addresses as clouds are mirrored in the lake.

Mr. Beecher's nature was frank, generous, and trustful to a fault. He was incautious even to heedlessness. He could not understand nor be made to believe that he could have an enemy who would lie in wait to trip him, and glory in deceit. To men of the world, of prudence and caution, he appeared reckless in the extreme. Many have wondered at the friends he at times confided in. In this respect let him speak for himself.

"I am the child of a noble mother and of a noble father, and I was brought up in an austere morality, in a pure and unblemished household, with a most reverent honor for truth, for duty, for love. And to me has been given a nature for which, whether it be prudent or whether it be not, I am not questionable. When they rebuke the vine for throwing out tendrils and holding on to anything that is next to it, whether it be homely or handsome—whether it be dry or full of sap—then they may rebuke me. When you shall find a heart to rebuke the twining morning glory, you may rebuke me for misplaced confidence; you may rebuke me for loving where I should not love. It is not my choice; it is my necessity; and I have loved on the right and on the left, here and there, and it is my joy that to-day I am not ashamed of it. I am glad of it, and if I had my life to live over again, and were to choose between cold caution, calculating every step, without trust and confidence in man, I would, with all its liabilities, choose to be generous, to be magnanimous, to be trustful, and to lean, though some one should step aside and let me fall to the ground."

Noble soul! here was the charity that "thinketh no evil!"

Nor, though once ensnared by devils who plotted his ruin, did he ever lose his faith in man, nor bate one jot of his openness, his frankness, his generous confidence and trust in his companions and friends, and to-day a world weeps at his funeral.

It would be possible to enumerate and illustrate many other distinctive peculiarities of this wonderful man: his wide benevolence, his forgetfulness, utter and absolute, of injuries which would, in most, have incurred a life-long resentment. His most malevolent enemy had but to show a sign of relenting, and his great heart was ready and eager, not only to throw the mantle of forgiveness and forgetfulness over the past, but to take him into fresh and hearty confidence and affection. Said one of his parishioners to me, "I had not spoken to a man for years because he had so grievously insulted Mr. Beecher, when, to my unbounded surprise, I one day met them coming down the street arm in arm."

Of his heroic endurance and silent uncomplaining suffering under agonies which a soul less sensitive than his cannot begin to conceive, others can speak more eloquently than I.

Whether it be true that imagination is the basis of faith, and that capacity for the latter depends upon the development of the former in the individual, one thing is certain: no more brilliant and vivid imagination was ever bestowed upon man, and no one ever possessed stronger or greater certitude of faith. It was implicit and all pervading; it was at once his glory and his joy; it bore him above all forms of trial and suffering; it gave him sublime courage in danger; it enabled him to welcome death with smiles.

Well has it been said that to know this man was not only to admire and enjoy him, but to love him with an affection that in every true and honest heart grew deeper and fonder with every hour, every day, every year.

W. S. Searle, M. D.

HIGH LICENSE.

THE proponents of a new general statute should be able to prove one of two alternatives, viz., either that the existing law when it is enforced is inadequate, or that it cannot be enforced. The principal objections to our excise laws fall under the latter head. They are in many respects a dead-letter. If they could be fully executed, if saloon-keepers observed the Sunday regulations and refrained from selling to minors, and especially to intoxicated men and habitual drunkards, there would be no popular demand for legislative action on the subject. It is undeniable that saloon-keepers as a class are law-breakers, and that they have only themselves to thank for the great temperance movement, which, blind and misguided as it often is, continues to grow in strength from day to day, and promises to become irresistible as soon as it can separate itself from fanaticism. Retail liquor-dealers should, for their own benefit, aid in the enforcement of the laws and prevent their trade from being a nuisance and danger to the public, but they are too short-sighted to perceive what their true interests are. The result is that the excise laws are disregarded. Many sporadic attempts have been made to put them into successful operation, but they have had no lasting effect.

There are two reasons for this failure. In the first place, the dram-shops are so numerous that it is impossible to keep them under supervision. No excise board or police force can watch them as they should be watched. No prosecuting attorney or criminal court can dispose of the cases, if the police are able to do their part of the task. In the second place, the political power of the saloons is so great that our public officials are afraid to do their duty. This political power is cultivated by the liquor men for the express purpose of enabling them to violate the law, and the social character of their business makes it easy for them to influence voters. Their wide-spread control of public affairs is,

of course, altogether dependent on their numbers. If they were few, their power at the polls would be small.

It is evident, therefore, that the only way to secure the enforcement of any reasonable excise law is to reduce the number of saloons, and thus render it possible to supervise them all and at the same time reduce their political power and leave public officers free from dictation. Various ways have been suggested. The law may itself fix the number of saloons in proportion to the population. It may provide for the sale at auction of the privilege to keep a liquor shop. It may raise the license fees and adopt the now popular system of high license in place of our present low licenses. The first plan of fixing the number of saloons by law lacks one important feature of the high-license scheme. It reduces the public revenue from the trade instead of increasing it. The two plans can, however, be conveniently combined. The idea of auction sales has never, probably, been tested. It would introduce a constant element of uncertainty into the business which would hardly be fair to the dealer. He would be forced at stated intervals to defend his franchise at public sale, and might lose it to the first speculator who overestimated its value.

The words "high license" have no very definite meaning. They include annual license fees for all kinds of liquors, varying from five hundred to a thousand dollars or more, and fees for wine and beer of a hundred dollars and upward. It would be better, perhaps, to speak of "higher license" than "high license." The introduction of such fees has the advantage of establishing no radical change in the present custom. It is merely an alteration in figures, but in actual operation it produces substantial results. It reduces the number of saloons most effectually, and lays a foundation for all the advantages which, as we have seen, are based on such a reduction. Many liquor men who pay the low license without difficulty find that they cannot afford to pay a high license, and are forced to adopt some more honorable occupation. Those who pay the high license appreciate the value of a right which has cost them so much, and see to it that no unlicensed dealer infringes upon their privileges. The licensed men guard each his own neighborhood.

Furthermore, they can form associations for mutual protection and employ detectives to ferret out the unlicensed places. Under low license there is no incentive to such a course. The

difference between paying fifty or seventy-five dollars a year and paying nothing is so little that it is not worth while to make trouble about it. Any dealer can pay the fee in case of necessity, but a thousand dollars is beyond the means of many of them. That a high-license statute can be perfectly enforced is, to be sure, not true, but neither can any other law. Where public opinion supports legislation it can be made approximately effective. Popular sentiment is to-day in favor of high license, and there is little doubt but that the people who insist on the passage of such laws will insist on their enforcement. As the number of saloons grows less, their political power decreases, and it becomes easier to make the police and courts do their duty. The licensed dealers have so much at stake that they hesitate to break the law for fear of forfeiting their valuable licenses. A high-license act can include provisions for the prevention of evasions of the law. The concealment of liquor in an unlicensed shop can be made a misdemeanor of itself, and the possession of a United States revenue certificate may be constituted evidence of sale.

It is usual to make a distinction in licensing between wine and beer on the one hand and spirits on the other. Such a discrimination in a high license act is both just and salutary. It is good policy to encourage the consumption of mild beverages at the expense of rum and whisky. A man who goes into a saloon to drink gin and finds nothing stronger than ale may change his mind and content himself with what he can get there. In this way it is wise to make it easier to buy a glass of wine than one of brandy. There is another good reason for establishing a graded scale of licenses in a high license bill. It enables present dealers to continue in the business until they can find another occupation, and does not suddenly take away their means of livelihood. A beer license at a hundred dollars can easily be secured by almost any one already established in the liquor trade, and he is only forced to give up selling stronger kinds of drink.

If such a business may not pay sufficiently well in the long run, it can at least afford an opportunity of looking for something better. The charge is frequently made that it is impossible to prevent a man who has a beer license from selling all sorts of liquor. The law would undoubtedly be broken in this way, but not to any great extent. The regular dealers would protect themselves against such illegal competition, as we have seen that they would

when their rights are threatened by men who hold no license whatever. It is a wise precaution to make the keeping on the premises of any kind of liquor not covered by the license a criminal offense.

It is noticeable that high license cuts off the worst class of saloons. With few exceptions, the cheapest, poorest places are the greatest nurseries of crime, and these cannot afford to pay a large fee. Again, this system does much to prevent the establishment in the business of men who have no capital. It is customary now for rich brewers to advance the money needed for opening a drinking place, taking back a chattel mortgage on the fixtures as security. In this way they multiply the number of saloons. An increase in the fee makes the expense and risk greater, and consequently discourages such advances. It would be a good plan to make all mortgages on saloon fixtures void. It is often said that high license enriches the dealers, gives them a monopoly, and enables them to make their places more attractive. The answer to this is that the saloons are as attractive now as they can be made, and that it makes no difference to the public whether their proprietors become wealthy monopolists or not, so long as they are forced to keep the law. A high license act may contain provisions to set off the attractiveness of saloons. It may forbid the use of screens at the doors and windows, and even take away chairs and tables, or in any other way remove secrecy and decrease comfort.

One very important advantage of high license is the large revenue which it is sure to bring. This financial policy is not one of profit merely. It does not involve the idea of sharing the returns of an obnoxious traffic. It has its source in the highest poetic justice. That a business which is directly responsible for a large portion of the expenses of the public should be made to assist in bearing the burden is a matter of simple right. If it were possible to compute the exact share in the cost of courts, jails, prisons, hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, almshouses, orphan asylums, and other public and private institutions for charity and correction, that lies at the door of the saloon, and then to impose a license fee that would cover the outlay, our liquor dealers would be staggered at the result, and accept a tax of a thousand dollars as a merciful condition. The Metropolitan Excise Law, which was passed by the Legislature of New York on April 14th, 1866, affords an excellent example

of increased revenue produced by increased fees. At this time there were 9,720 saloons in New York and Brooklyn, less than one-fourth of them being in the latter city. In the ten years from 1856 to 1866 less than $170,000 had been collected in license fees in the City of New York. Under the new law, the Metropolitan Board of Health fixed the licenses at $250 and $100. At the expiration of eleven months there were only 6,779 licensed places in the Metropolitan District, of which 5,203 were in New York and 1,476 in Brooklyn. In New York the sum of $993,379 was collected in license fees, and in Brooklyn $257,725. The amount thus obtained in New York exceeded the total sum collected in the preceding twenty years. In 1868 New York received $1,102,271 under this system and Brooklyn $288,436. In thirty-one months New York contributed over $3,000,000. This law was repealed during the supremacy of the Tweed ring.

The system of high license has been sufficiently tested in some parts of the country to prove its value. The Illinois high-license law went into effect in 1883. It closed several hundred saloons in Chicago and about four thousand in the State. The annual revenue from licenses in Chicago was increased from $200,000 to $1,700,000, and in the State from $700,000 to $4,500,000. The *Christian Union*, of January 14th, 1886, contained letters from all parts of the State which show uniformly that the number of saloons had decreased. In Dundee, for example, three of the seven dram-shops were closed. In Kewanee, the number was reduced from ten to six; in La Salle, from sixty to forty; in Mattoon, from thirteen to eight; in Ottawa, from 115 or 120 to about 55; in Peoria, from 226 to 120; and in Rock Island from 84 to 53. In Springfield, 53 of the 157 saloons disappeared. A private letter from the country village of Odell states that the place has become far more orderly. "The saloon-keepers are adjuvants to the authorities. It is their interest to keep out irregular dealers and keep orderly their 'clients.' The village gets $2,250, which maintains a good marshal, and keeps all the side-walks and street crossings in capital condition."

Michigan has tried prohibition and high license. Professor Kent says: "In 1875 we had, under prohibition, 6,444 saloons. Then regulation went into effect. In 1876 our State returns showed 4,867 dealers, or 1,577 of the 6,444 blotted out in one year. In 1877 the returns showed 3,996 dealers, so that 881 more

saloons went out." In 1875 there was "one saloon for every 207 inhabitants. In 1882, six years after the law went into effect, the records of the United States revenue showed the number of saloons was reduced from 6,444 to 3,461, or one saloon to every 536 people, our population being then 1,856,100, a decrease under the tax law of 2,983 saloons, nearly 50 per cent. Now, without this tax law and under the old Prohibition law, we should have been afflicted with 8,966 saloons instead of 3,461. . . . Taxation has spared us all this catalogue of woes, and has put into the county treasuries of the State up to this date a total of $8,166,921."

In Missouri we have the testimony of Governor Marmaduke in his message to the Legislature of January, 1887. He says: "Prior to the enactment and enforcement of the law providing for what is known as 'high license' for dram-shops, there were in this State 3,601 dram-shops and other places where ardent spirits were sold to be used as a beverage, yielding a revenue of $547,320.30. There were on the 4th of July last 2,880 such dram-shops, yielding a revenue of $1,842,208.26. These figures clearly indicate that the law referred to is accomplishing the good result that was anticipated, and, I think, prove the wisdom of it." In St. Louis the receipts from licenses rose from $213,184.45 in the year ending April, 1883, to $739,511.73 in the year ending April, 1886.

The Ohio tax law closed 1,019 saloons in seventy of the eighty-eight counties. Governor Foraker says: "The most reliable data obtainable indicate that the tax law has suppressed a large percentage of the saloons." The *Wine and Spirit Review* gives the following table, showing that a higher license insures fewer saloons:

	Population.	No. of saloons.	Rate of license.	Saloons for 10,000 inhabitants.
Omaha	75,000	176	$1,000	23
Kansas City	125,000	405	845	32
St. Louis	500,000	1,600	550	32
Chicago	800,000	3,760	500	47
Detroit	133,269	1,023	300	76
Indianapolis	100,000	348	200	35
Cleveland	200,000	1,540	200	77
St. Paul	133,000	600	100	45
San Francisco	233,956	2,799	84	114
New York	1,350,000	9,197	75	68
Brooklyn	650,000	3,000	76	46
Baltimore	305,000	2,655	50	73
Philadelphia	847,170	5,959	50	70

The figures showing population are not altogether accurate, but they are sufficiently so to prove the efficiency of high license.

Some harsh critics of high license measure every actual piece of legislation by a perfect standard. They forget that practical men must take the world as they find it, and be satisfied with what they can get. The law recently passed by the Legislature of New York, and vetoed in the rum interest by the Governor, is a good specimen of legislation based on common sense. The societies that framed the bill—the Church Temperance Society and the Society for the Prevention of Crime—recognized the fact that a perfect measure, including all the latest improvements in excise law, would be open to attack at every point. They also believed that by making the bill cover the whole State enough votes might be lost to endanger its passage, and that there was an especial necessity for a change in the densely populated cities of New York and Brooklyn which did not exist elsewhere. They accordingly drew a bill which presented the naked question of high license for cities of more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. Its main features were a license of one thousand dollars for all kinds of liquor, one of five hundred dollars for wine, beer and cider, and one of one hundred dollars for beer and cider alone. They soon found that it would be necessary to adapt the bill still further to the circumstances. The native wine manufacturers of the State asked that wine should be placed under the one hundred dollar license with beer. The apple growers sought to have cider omitted altogether from the bill, as is the case with the present law. It was thought wise to concede these points. Another request—that the limit of population of cities affected by the bill should be raised from 300,000 to 400,000—was granted, as it made no difference whatever in the application of the law, and would not until Buffalo attained the former figure, nearly doubling its size as shown by the last census. The only other changes in the bill made before its final passage were the increase of the druggist's and storekeeper's licenses to one hundred dollars and the introduction of a provision making it a misdemeanor for a man holding a beer and wine license to keep stronger drink on the licensed premises. These alterations amply proved the good faith of the legislature. That the bill as passed was perfect is, of course, untrue; but, as it was, there were only five votes to spare in the lower house and one in the Senate. The framers of the bill were,

therefore, fully justified in the concessions which they made to expediency. Of course, they were attacked for their common-sense. Honest cranks, who fortunately were without and not within the pale of the societies in question, held up their hands in horror, and the falsifiers of the press in various parts of the State were not slow to take the cue. They pretended that the beer license had been reduced from five hundred to one hundred dollars and that the bill had been *altered* so as to exclude all the cities of the State but New York and Brooklyn. Newspapers that had ardently supported the bill so long as they expected the majority in the legislature to defeat it, changed their front in the most unblushing manner as soon as it had passed both houses. The course of the Church Temperance Society and the Society for the Prevention of Crime, blending reform and policy as they always should be blended, and rising superior to the assaults of fanatics and hypocrites, is a good example for the leaders of the temperance movement throughout the country. Although this bill was vetoed, it should encourage other similar efforts, for it was in some respects successful. It awoke a general sentiment in favor of the reform which will not sleep until it is gratified. It induced the Excise Commissioners of New York City to raise the fees from seventy-five to two hundred dollars, and last, but not least, it insured the speedy downfall of the smallest politician who ever occupied the chair of De Witt Clinton.

The most strenuous opponents of high license are the liquor dealers. We purposely refrain from mentioning the prohibitionists, as, when great cities are in question, they can hardly expect to be taken seriously. The saloon-keepers, however, are entitled to consideration, as their interests are at stake. They make all kinds of inconsistent objections to the proposed law. They say that it will unjustly drive men out of the trade, and, at the same time, that it cannot be enforced. We have already touched upon these points. Every reform treads on some one's toes. A graded high-license act does the least possible damage to private rights. In opposing such a law the liquor men show their inexcusable ignorance of the forces which are marshaling against them. Public opinion is undergoing a wonderful change. To-day it supports prohibition only in some rural districts, but the time may come when it will insist upon it far and wide. Persistent law-breaking, the constant debasing of politics, the never-ending

manufacture of crime and misery, may drive the public in self-defense to an extreme. History is full of instances of destruction coming upon those classes which refuse to reform themselves. The old aristocracy of France was responsible for its own fate in the Reign of Terror; the slave-holders of the South were themselves the cause of the loss of their slaves without compensation; and if the saloon-keepers of America are forced to pay licenses of five thousand or ten thousand dollars, or are eventually swept away, it will be because they refuse to recognize the spirit of the age and to yield that consideration to public opinion which public opinion sooner or later is sure to obtain. If they know their own interests, let them keep the law, leave politics alone, and accept the demands of the public before they become greater. The argument of the prohibitionists, that high license should be defeated because it postpones prohibition indefinitely, is an admission of the efficacy of the proposed legislation. It simply means that we should encourage crime in order that its destruction may be the more overwhelming. The immorality of such reasoning is too clear to need specification.

In conclusion, we must ask the friends of high license not to claim too much for it. It will not prevent a man of full age, who is neither intoxicated nor an habitual drunkard, from obtaining any kind of liquor whenever he wants it. It will not force your code of morals upon me nor mine upon you. It will not change human nature in the slightest degree. It will merely reduce the number of saloons. This reduction will make it possible to keep the saloons under supervision, and also curtail the political influence of their proprietors over those public officials whose duty it is to enforce the excise laws. The result of this will be that the liquor men will be forced to observe the law with decency. High license will not bring the Millennium, but it will remove us a little further from the Dark Ages.

ERNEST H. CROSBY.

HEROES TO ORDER.

"I want a hero: an uncommon want
Where every year and month sends forth a new one,
Till, after cloying the gazettes with cant,
The age discovers he is not the true one;
Of such as these I should not care to vaunt!"

—*Don Juan, Canto I.*

THE last half of the present century has developed an extraordinary mania for heroes and hero worship, a strange and incongruous contradiction to the spirit of the age, which runs rather in vulgar sluices than in chivalric paths, and where gods are made in the image of the Midas, whom Ovid calls the *Berecynthius heros*. It was Burke who said, "The age of chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded." Wherefore, then, these heroes, and wherefore this hero worship? The answer is plain. Governments are seeking colonial expansion. In order to lend a show of reason to encroachments upon the rights of others, it is found necessary to create automatons, and clothe them in the mantle either of prophet or priest, and send them forth as pioneers of a policy hidden under the canting and hypocritical pretext of humanity—which satisfies the most, and even electrifies the unreasoning and irresponsible mob, composed mainly, as General Gordon has said, of "flunkies and sham heroes, and those who delight to grovel." Of such as these are our heroes made, and of such is our hero worship—heroes not born as poets and warriors are, but made to order by the hand of selfish government.

There is a lesson to be read in this regard in the reply of the savage King of the Zulu Land to Her Britannic Majesty's Governor-General at Cape Town. "Go tell your masters," said the proud Cetawayo, "that I know you; first you send the missionary, then you send the consul to look after the missionary, then the army to look after the consul, and the army—turns out the king."

Cetawayo's appreciation of modern European diplomacy was sincere and just; but he could scarcely be expected to understand that the European stock of heroes was manufactured and maintained in *quasi modo*.

The mantle of the hero worn by General Gordon has fallen upon the shoulders of a successor. Emin Pacha has passed into the heroic. It is told that he is in imminent peril, that he is surrounded by blood-thirsty savages, and that if he is not relieved he will die. The story adroitly published is a web with which to attract the world's attention, and first of all the flunkies and the grovelers.

Great Britain wants a hero and has made him to order. His name is Emin Pacha. Great Britain has been justly called a "land grabber," and, true to this policy, rather than to the specious pretext of humanity, she is ever on the alert to increase her territory and expand her colonial commerce. It will not be deemed strange, therefore, that England has responded to the appeal contained in the letter—the very latest information received—from Emin Bey, in which there is not a shred of evidence to show that he is in peril, but, on the contrary, that he is in perfect safety. As will be seen, he seeks to sell out his kingdom. It remains to be seen whether he can deliver his goods to Mr. Stanley, who has been chosen as the chief of the pseudo relief expedition.

The following extracts from Emin Bey's letter are pertinent and comprehensive. He writes from Wadelai, July 7, 1886:

"I have certainly some gleaming of hope that as Egypt appears to be unable to send us aid [books, arsenic, soda, and sugar are the only wants of which he complains], England may at some future day take advantage of the position in which we find ourselves to remain true to her former tradition of a humanitarian [*sic*] and a civilizing mission [*sic*].

"At the present time, when the European Powers are racing neck and neck to gain possession of districts in Africa, is it really possible that no one in England should have been enlightened enough to see how easy it would be to occupy the whole of our province, and this, too, without any cost? . . . I am glad to be able to tell you that the province is in complete safety and order."

This letter was addressed to Dr. Felkin, and was read before the Scottish Geographical Society. It reads as if it had been inspired in the British Foreign office, and of itself is an absolute refutation of the stories told of Emin's peril.

Mr. Stanley was in New York when this remarkable appeal to

England from a loyal (?) Egyptian officer was brought to the attention of Her British Majesty's government. He suddenly announced that he had received a dispatch from His Majesty King Leopold recalling him to Belgium. The following morning the New York *Herald* promptly denied this assertion in a cable from Brussels. It seems a fact, however, that Stanley was telegraphed to go to London, ostensibly by a Mr. MacKinnon, a wealthy Scotchman, who offered to contribute £20,000 for the relief of Emin. That the hand of the government was in the transaction was only too apparent, for at the same time the English authorities in Egypt caused Emin to be raised to the rank of Pacha by the Egyptian government, and subscribed out of the *Egyptian treasury* £10,000 for the relief of an Egyptian officer, who in fact had proposed to turn over his government to Great Britain!

In Egypt they are accustomed to just such surprises. In truth, it was only a repetition of the Soudan comedy, in which Gordon was permitted to return to Khartoum, and to take out of the treasury £40,000, plus £60,000, afterward sent him, for no other purpose as avowed than to surrender the country to a horde of savages, with whom England, at that moment, for her own selfish interests, was pleased to treat, and grace with the polite appellation of "ancestral sultans." It was an easier matter to acquire the Soudan, wrested from a Mahdi, than from Egypt, which still presents some difficulties to an absolute annexation. The Rev. A. P. Ashe, a returned missionary from Uganda, has recently complained that the case of Dr. Mackay, who has been held a prisoner for some time, with several other priests, by King M'wanga, has not received the notice that it merits. He says:

"When I first learned of a relief expedition for Emin I thought that Mr. Stanley would leave no stone unturned to rescue Dr. Mackay. When I considered that it was to relieve an Egyptian Pacha it never occurred to me for a moment that those Englishmen who were so anxious for the safety of the Egyptians would not have been much more anxious still for the safety of an English missionary. I made a mistake. I spoke to Mr. Stanley, he said: 'When I went to look for Livingstone I was asked to do it; when I crossed Africa I was asked to do it; you come to me and talk about this Englishman, but if I had been asked to rescue him, I might have considered it.' At the same time Mr. Stanley mentioned a very large sum of money which would have been necessary to enable him to negotiate successfully with the king."

The Rev. Mr. Ashe does not seem to know that which Emin's letter clearly announces, namely, that Emin has a political value

which neither the missionary, a prisoner, nor the murdered Hannington possesses. He does know, however, that money has no *cours* in Uganda; it is an unknown quantity there, and the hint that a large sum was necessary, etc., leaves Father Ashe to only one conclusion, and hence his disgust.

In the interval of Mr. Stanley's departure from London it is curious to note what was transpiring at Zanzibar, where a German fleet had assembled, ostensibly to demand reparation and punishment for the murder of one of their subjects at Kismayu—in reality to give strength and comfort to the German East African Colonization Society, already become a menace to British commerce on the coast. Dr. Junker arrived from Central Africa on the 4th of December, when he reported his friend Emin as in perfect health and safety. On the 21st, seventeen days later, frequent dispatches signed Junker urged the immediate sending of an expedition to the relief of Emin, and this, too, it will be understood, without any other basis than the information already possessed. Wherefore this sudden metamorphosis? Dr. Junker alone can explain. It is a mere supposition that Sir John Kirk brought about the revolution in Dr. Junker's mind about the condition of Emin. However this may be, Stanley has assumed to patronize Dr. Junker in a manner which is made the subject of comment by the *Saturday Review*, which says:

"There is at least one person who may be expected to read Mr. Stanley's letter to the Chairman of the Emin Pacha Relief Fund Committee with mixed feelings. He is Dr. Junker. If the doctor is one of those wise men who are indifferent to condescension and who know how to assent with solemn leer at the proper time, he will probably be in the main amused by the first dispatch of the great explorer. In any case it is nice to be told that you are 'amiable, frank, modest,' and not the less when it is by an authority who has been accused of a slight deficiency in one at least of these virtues. On the other hand there are people, very human and deserving to be sympathized with, who do not covet condescension. To one of them it would be as the sudden enduing of a hair-shirt to read in the press—not in one paper, but in all—they are 'plodding and painstaking' creatures, that as Mr. Stanley looked upon them he saw 'the patient honest man doing his best with all the faculties Nature gave him and education ripened for him.' To see yourself described as the 'honest Junker trudging patiently with his long caravan, making music with his accordion to the wandering tribes of the Welle-Makwa Valley, and collecting valuable facts for civilized mankind' would be trying to certain temperaments.

"To feel yourself taken up in the palm of Mr. Stanley's hand, like Napoleon in Gillroy's caricature, and measured and weighed, and called painstaking, plodding, honest (a most insulting adjective, which, in our opinion, would justify a challenge), long-haired and quaint, might have roused the wrath of some African

travelers. What the conduct of Bruce would have been under the provocation we can guess. Probably Dr. Junker is a wiser man than the fiery Bruce, and has the sense of humor, and that imperturbable pride which is the best of all defenses against impertinence. He will doubtless laugh, and not as much as try to disturb that sense of his own greatness which caused Mr. Stanley's bosom's lord to sit lightly on his throne."

Who is Emin Pacha, and how is it that he is an Egyptian Governor of the Central African Provinces annexed to Egypt in 1874?

In 1875 Hans Schnitzler, an Austrian subject, born in Moravia, Silesia, Austria, in 1839, having studied in the medical institutes of Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, and possessing decided tastes for botany, geology, and anthropology, made his way from a port on the Red Sea to Khartoum.

General Gordon, then Governor General, for some unaccountable reason had a great aversion to Austrians, and this was particularly manifested in the case of both the Voyager Marno and Consul Hanzell. Dr. Schnitzler, nothwithstanding this fact, succeeded in overcoming Gordon's dislike and entered the Egyptian Soudan service as a surgeon. Later, Gordon sent him up to the post of Fatiko as *mudir*, and it was there, in 1877, that Hakim Schnitzler abjured the Christian religion and adopted that of Mehemet, assuming from that moment the Arabic title of *Hakim Effendi Emin*, literally, *the faithful doctor*.

Neither Dr. Felkin nor Dr. Ashe seem to have either the will or the courage to declare that the Doctor had changed his faith, although the fact must be perfectly well known to them both. It tends to destroy somewhat the romantic interest which has been awakened in the fate of Emin in the Christian world; but at the same time it is the surest gage that he is not, and never has been, in peril. Emin was shortly afterward promoted by Gordon to the rank of Bey and sent to Uganda as Governor, where, at the Court with King and courtiers, all of whom were subject to Moslem association, he has acquired much influence. Emin's apostasy is a blessing in disguise for Dr. Mackay, and the other priests held by the bloodthirsty M'wanga doubtless owe their lives to the friendly protection of Emin Pacha, who is known and respected as a faithful follower of Islam among the Moslem courtiers and counsellors of the King. When General Gordon retired from the command of the government of the Equatorial Provinces in 1879, he left Emin Bey as Governor, with headquarters at Lado, near Gondocoro. With a knowledge of the storm of insurrection which

was gathering in the Soudan, Emin went down to Khartoum in April, 1882, to confer with Raouf Pacha, then Governor-General, as to the best means to avert it. Raouf was an insolent half-breed, whose chief characteristic was his dense ignorance, vanity, and incapacity. He was surrounded with such men as Geigler, as the type of officials promoted by Gordon in a spirit of ridicule, but who contributed largely by their abuse of power to the insurrection which has ended in ruin and disaster. Neither Raouf nor his counsellors would listen to the intelligent warnings of Emin, but he was told to return to his provinces and mind his own business. Since then—June, 1882,—until a few months ago, no word has come from Emin. The stories told of his battles with the Mahdi's people are apochryphal, for it is not at all clear that the insurgents have ever been within hundreds of miles of Emin's camp at Lado, where we know he now is with some four thousand black regulars well armed with Remingtons, and several thousand irregulars.

General Gordon, it is well remembered, returned to the Soudan, and entered Khartoum on his Quixotic mission on the 18th of February, 1884. The 26th of January, 1885, Khartoum fell, or was evacuated, the mystery of which has still defied all attempts at discovery. General Gordon's journals, in Khartoum, have been published, and there is nothing about Emin. And yet we are told that Gordon's steamers foraged along the Bahr-el-Abiad, the navigation of which was uninterrupted from Khartoum, and along which it had been an easy matter, down to the period when the Mahdi invested the city, to have sent a steamer to Emin, who, on his part, might easily have used his steamers, plying between stations south of Lado to Wadelai, to have gone to the rescue of Gordon. If not by the river, Emin could have taken the land route, which the writer discovered in 1874, when reconnoitring the river Saubat, and by which, during the dry season, there was communication between Bor, near Gondocoro, the Saubat, and thence to Khartoum. What mystery attaches to Gordon's silence about Emin, whom he knew to be established with his garrison at Lado?

What is the meaning of Emin's inertia during all the months when Gordon in Khartoum was holding at bay the rebel forces?

Was there a feud between Emin and Gordon? Was it the old hatred of the Austrian which had broken out anew and impelled Gordon to remain in Khartoum rather than seek the safety

which he was sure of finding at Lado? Was this the reason that Emin did not go to the relief of Gordon?

Emin has invited England to occupy the Equatorial Provinces which have been won by Egypt at the cost of much suffering and many sacrifices. England, in response, has sent Stanley. If Emin returns it is possible that he may lift the veil of mystery which still envelops the siege and fall of Khartoum, and add, perhaps, some positive information as yet wanting as to the fate of the eccentric but gallant Gordon.

C. CHAILLÉ-LONG.

PRACTICAL PENOLOGY.

THE number of criminals in California, when considered with reference to the entire population, is so large that the problem of criminal reform has become one of salient importance to the individual taxpayer in that State. The climatic and social causes of the unusual proportion of offenders have for some time occupied the attention of the advanced physiologists of the commonwealth, and have been satisfactorily located. It has also been discovered that those causes will be temporary, and are results of the newness of the California civilization. The word physiologists is used advisedly, for the reason that among the penological investigators, there, the cure of crime has come to be regarded as a physiological, rather than a psychological problem, and this fact has given rise to a somewhat novel and eminently practical prison system, which it is the purpose of this paper to describe.

The Folsom State Prison, the smaller of California's two penitentiaries, is located in the uplands at the head of the American River, in the central portion of the State. It is handsomely built of granite, and at the present time contains about six hundred and fifty inmates. It was constructed seven years ago, according to the accepted principles in prison architecture, and in the directions of cell arrangement, ventilation, sanitary precautions, etc., does not differ materially from other modern institutions of its kind. The necessities of public economy, and the difficulty in getting legislatures to accord to criminal matters the attention they deserve, have hitherto compelled an undue crowding of the prisoners, and otherwise interfered to some extent with the theoretical plan. These interferences, however, will probably soon disappear, and in any event do not concern this article, since it is the system alone that is of interest.

That system aims only at the reform of the individual. It is based, not upon the belief, but upon the demonstrable truth, that all crimes—except those born of sudden impulse and extraordinary circumstances, a small percentage at best—are caused either by bad health or bad moral, not general, education. It regards the law-abiding man as one who, through the fixed physical habit of toil, finds it no great hardship to labor for a livelihood; and, through the fixed mental habit of submitting to the established social and moral laws, finds it no great hardship to be curbed by them in his daily pursuit of happiness.

Per contra, the criminal is defined as one who, not having formed the self-sacrificing habit of work; or having become by some physical degeneracy predisposed to idleness and morbid impulses; or having no moral ideas, or else erroneous ones, finds through some or all of these causes the laws of society to be an uncomfortable curb, and so breaks them. To remove the fundadamental differences between the criminal and the law-abiding man, the system therefore aims, first, to make the prisoner physically sound; secondly, to fix in him physically the habit of toil, which includes the willful sacrifice of comfort during eight hours of the day and six days of the week; and, thirdly, to convince him that his personal happiness depends upon his obedience to the laws. To teach him, in other words, the lesson of right and wrong, not from the religious, sentimental, or relative, but from the practical, personal, and absolute point of view.

When the sentenced offender arrives at the institution where he is to remain for one or more years, he is stripped, his description is taken, and he is photographed, both before and after the cutting of his hair and the shaving of his face. He then takes a tank bath, dons the prison suit, and goes to his cell. He takes his meals with the other new arrivals and "first-table" prisoners. He is not allowed outside the building, and, with the exception of the rules which are told him, is left to discover for himself the conditions by which he is surrounded.

The two long cell-buildings are built in two tiers each and are entirely inclosed by an outside stone and iron structure. There are wide promenades between the walls, and in these the prisoner is allowed a certain amount of liberty each day. The first discovery he makes is that the great majority of the prisoners go out each morning and enjoy the air, the landscape, and the sunshine,

while he is allowed only that meager share of the sunlight which sifts through the gratings in wall and roof. He quickly perceives a second and more important fact. He is allowed three meals a day, which are as follows:

Breakfast:—Boiled beans, bread, and coffee.

Dinner:—One day in the week, corned beef and cabbage; two days, roast mutton; two days, beef or mutton stew, with potatoes; two days, roast beef, with potatoes; and bread and coffee daily.

Supper:—Three days in the week, boiled beans; three days in the week, mush and syrup; coffee and bread daily.

All coffee herein mentioned is sweetened, but without milk.

This is the regulation prison fare. The meat is furnished by contract, is good, and is thoroughly cooked. It is not believed that the beef would do to serve *à la moelle* at Delmonico's, or that the mutton would melt in any epicure's mouth, but it is nutritious and edible. It quickly becomes quite unpalatable to the prisoner, however, in view of certain facts.

Through the large room in which he eats, there constantly float the odors of beefsteaks, mutton chops, bread-puddings, and other savory foods, and these odors are as quickly and clearly segregated by the sharpened sense of the prisoner as are the component factors of an orchestral strain by an expert musician. He instantly experiences a sense of injustice. Convicts are very sensitive to unfairness of any kind. He is naturally extremely desirous in his limited sphere of happiness to get all the comforts within reach. He wants the air, the liberty of the grounds, and, above all, good things to eat. The palate is a potent means of influencing the great majority of men, but with the convict, as may be imagined, is far more influential than with any other class. He inquires, with interest, the meaning of those, Lucullian banquets, his invitation to which has been overlooked, and learns that the luxurious diners are all workers, and are entitled to the extras only through their toil. In a very short time, a few days as a rule, the convict comes to the conclusion, of his own accord, that he wishes to work. There are cases in which the prisoner's apathy and indifference to surroundings place him beyond the reach of this temptation, and these are met by special treatment, but they are too few in number to need consideration here.

Herein, it may be remarked, an important obstacle has been overcome. The desire to work is, to the average prisoner, a new

sensation. It was a natural and fostered desire to escape work which probably impelled him to crime. Moreover, there has been no coercion, which most prisoners resent, the first impulse of the social Ishmaelite being to defy and oppose all authority. Furthermore, in the cases of prisoners sentenced for life, it is otherwise well-nigh impossible to induce them to work, since a man sentenced to prison for life is usually indifferent to results, and willing to make things as unpleasant for the authorities as he can.

The average convict, having thus become desirous of working, obtains permission and is allowed an interview with Benjamin Chambers, the Captain of the Guard. The Captain examines him as to his strength and ability, informs him concerning his value, from the working standpoint, but gives him a chance among the workers, making it perfectly clear that the prisoner's comfort while incarcerated depends entirely upon himself. Then the convict is set at work in the yard.

This yard, in which the chief industry of the prison is carried on, is an immense quarry. The hills in the vicinity are masses of solid granite of the best quality, and this is of appreciable benefit to the system. Working on stone is an excellent kind of employment from the sanitary standpoint. It employs all the muscles to a greater or less degree, and taxes the system harmoniously. It takes place in the open air and the light of the sun, and is, consequently, to be preferred to work indoors at looms or benches. In fact, no kind of labor can be found which sooner transforms the pale prisoner, weak from incarceration and degenerated by the use of alcoholic or narcotic stimulants, into a strong, sturdy, and healthy man than swinging a hammer over a block of stone in the pure air and bright sunshine of Central California. It should be said, however, that the system applies equally well to all kinds of labor, as long as labor can be found for prisoners. Stone work is not a necessity. It is merely preferable to some other industries.

The prisoner is put at work, and immediately given a place at the second table. His *menu* is now a little more varied, and consists as follows :

Breakfast:—Beef or mutton stew, potatoes, boiled beans, bread and coffee. On Sunday mornings, syrup.

Dinner:—Two days in the week, soup of barley, macaroni, beans, or of rice and vegetables ; one day, corned beef and cab-

bage ; two days, roast beef ; four days, roast mutton ; two days, boiled rice ; bread, potatoes, and boiled beans daily. On Sunday, cake and tea.

Supper:—Two days in the week, mutton stew ; four days in the week, mush and syrup ; beans, bread, and tea, daily.

The prisoner comes to this luxurious array of comestibles with an appetite sharpened by labor. The open air, exercise, mental awakening, and stimulated circulation, have aroused him and made him hungry. The new repasts are so much enjoyed that they sometimes take on a fictitious in addition to their substantial value. The ascent from the first to the second table becomes a memorable event, and the impulse and resolve to work tend to become fixed. In the language of many of them, "Any feller wot don't work is a fool," and that, it may be remarked, is precisely the conviction that the system aims to establish.

The convict, as a rule, is not primarily of much value as a laborer. His muscles are soft, and his physical capacity for steady and sustained effort is small. His powers of self-sacrifice and self-restraint are undeveloped. The habit of work, to which the social plan condemns all men, he never has attained. But no one is better informed concerning his failings than the prisoner himself. He has a strong and sharp spur, which urges him to escape forever from the "Bull Beef" table, and dwell in peace and plenty under the banner of "Cake 'n Tea."

The result is that he tries hard ; in some cases overworks at first. A spirit of emulation, a most healthy moral sign, is excited in him. He compares his rude and meager achievements with those of skilled workers who began as he did, untrained, and his ambition to improve is strong. He improves steadily in skill, and more rapidly in health. His muscles harden, his face browns, and a stimulated circulation, from the best of medicines, exercise, is changing the color of his liver, and removing his tendency to brooding and morbid thoughts. He feels differently, looks differently, acts differently, and thinks differently, and every one of the changes is for the better. Finally, his period of probation is passed. He has established himself as a fixture at the second table. Then he looks ahead once more.

The Nirvana of prison circles is as yet unattained. It is a Nirvana of hard work rather than luxurious ease, but its delights are very alluring. They consist of the succulent chop and the

sizzling steak. Brown-crested bread puddings inflame the sensuous appetite, while corn bread and hot rolls are not figments of the imagination, but absolute and attainable realities. The desire to please the authorities now develops strongly. The good-will of the Captain becomes a consummation devoutly wished, because the judgment of the Captain alone upon the work performed determines whether the prisoner's energy and skill combined entitle him to promotion. Convicts, as a class, are of small mental force, and the moral forces, such as ambition, operate more sluggishly with them than with men of finer organization; but the ambition to reach the first table seems to be general in its operation, and the typical convict exemplifies it.

The judgment of the work is perfectly impartial. It depends only upon a close watch of the men and a careful scrutiny of their results. Raised on probation to the third table, the bill of fare becomes as follows :

Breakfast :—Mutton chops or beefsteaks, potatoes, stewed beans, five days in the week corn bread, two days hot rolls, syrup, and coffee.

Dinner :—Two days in the week soup of barley, macaroni, beans, or of rice and vegetables ; two days, roast beef ; one day, corned beef and cabbage ; four days, roast mutton ; two days, boiled rice ; one day, sour crout ; two days, salad ; bread, potatoes, beans ; bread pudding and tea daily.

Supper :—Four days, mutton chops or beefsteaks ; two days, mutton or beef stew and hash ; three days, cake ; three days, cracked wheat and oat-meal ; one day stewed apples and stewed prunes ; bread, potatoes, beans, syrup, and tea daily.

The valuation of this food, through the same train of thought that has raised the prisoner to the third table, keeps him steadily at work to the extent of his ability. Descents from the second table to the first are not numerous ; those from the third to the second are rare, and occur less from lacking industry than from an unlooked-for quarrel or some such impulsive infraction of discipline. The lesson of experience is, that when a prisoner gets to the third table he stays there.

There is a special supper given those who are called upon for extraordinary labor, which sometimes becomes essential. And there are some trifling details unnecessary to consider in this general outline. The fact, however, that this system works

exactly as well in practice as it would seem to in theory, can be verified by any one who chooses to visit the Folsom State Prison.

If he will stand on the veranda of the Warden's residence, during any hour in the working day, he will see three hundred men laboring with an untiring industry and an unabating energy that can be seen rarely, if at all, in the free factories or workshops of this country. Moreover, there is not a guard among them. The captain or his lieutenant may or may not stroll through the yard during the quarter of an hour while the visitor is looking on. The work goes on without relaxation under the convict bosses, and those bosses are as careful to fulfill their own spheres of duty as are the men they direct. The guards sit idly holding their rifles in the distant posts which environ the inner prison grounds, and but for them and the suits of gray and black stripes, the yard might be taken for one of the best drilled and most harmonious free quarries in this country. About two months ago the writer heard Mr. ———, a well-known iron-founder of San Francisco, say: "It is wonderful. Why, I am paying men the highest wages, but they don't work like that, and if I go up town for an hour or two the work drops down one-third."

The first aim of the system, to establish good health and physically fix the habit of work, is thus carried out. The second object, the removal of the effects of lacking or bad moral education, is done in a peculiar way. The prisoner is shown, not the badness, but the folly of crime.

It is useless to tell a prisoner that he is bad. He knows that already. It is almost useless—and the statement is made despite possible objection from religious reformers—to plead with him on a relative or sentimental plane. He either does not grasp or is not moved by the reasons thus given him for being good. But when it is made clear to him that he is a fool for committing crime, that he is thereby senselessly cheating himself of comforts in life to which he is entitled, he is instantly interested and rarely fails to see the point.

A religious instructor is by law made one of the officers of the prison. He addresses the prisoners upon moral and religious topics at intervals, and is allowed full freedom in administering all the good instruction and beneficial advice that his experience and studies furnish. The system, however, does not depend on

him to any great extent. The prisoner may sincerely repent, and may earnestly believe in religion, but none the less is he judged simply and solely by the work he accomplishes, and the time, his capacities considered, which he uses in doing it.

The kind of moral teaching that is constantly being conveyed to the prisoners in an informal, but none the less constant way, may be gathered from an interview which, like hundreds of others, took place near the close of last year between General John McComb, the present Warden and the inventor of the system, and one "Limerick," a departing prisoner, whose real name it is unnecessary to give.

Limerick was going out. He had served a six-years' sentence, which, by the credit system and good behavior, had been reduced to four years and two months. He was a big, brawny Irishman, who had originally possessed every capacity for success as a toiler, but he had been in prison during eighteen out of his twenty-seven years on the Pacific Coast. An unusual interest had been taken in his case, in consequence of the prevailing belief in penological circles that a "fourth-termer" is entirely irreclaimable, and fixed for life in crime.

"Limerick," said the General quietly, "you are going out."

"Yes, Gin'ral."

"You have been here a little over four years, Limerick."

"Yes, Gin'ral."

"And during those four years you have obeyed every one of the prison laws, and they are a little troublesome at times. Aren't they, Limerick?"

"They are, Gin'ral."

"And during those four years you have worked six days out of the week, and worked as hard as any man ever worked. Do you know that, Limerick?"

"Yes, Gin'ral."

"Well, all I wish to say to you is this: Remember that the world you are going out into is exactly like this prison. There are a good many laws, but they are very easy to obey, because nearly everybody obeys them. If you disobey them, you will be punished just as we would punish you here if you disobeyed ours. All men must work, Limerick. That is the first of all laws. Now, if, when you go out, you will obey the laws and work only half as hard, of your own accord, as you have, of your own accord,

worked here, you can have good clothes, better food than you get here, recreation and freedom, and, instead of being locked in behind stone and iron bars, be a man among men. Are you coming back, Limerick?"

The man's brow knitted. There was no doubt that he was in earnest, for his voice was husky as he said:

"I'm not comin' back. I'm no fool, sir. Av I'd learned twenty years ago what I've learned here, it's not me as ud be trowin' away me life in jail."

And Limerick has not come back, and will not.

He is working steadily and comfortably, no matter where. But there is no man in his vicinage who appears less likely to cost the county a criminal trial, and the State a prisoner's maintenance, than he.

This practical lesson in practical morality is constantly conveyed to the prisoners, sometimes by a collective discourse, but oftener in the off-hand, quiet talks from the Captain or some of his aids to the prisoners in the daily contact of years. The character of the conversation varies with the characteristics of the man talked to. The men who are able to study the laws of right and wrong, and their fundamental basis, are very few. It is demonstrable to any advanced mind that the laws of morality and the laws of happiness are identical, but no such demonstration or wordy abstractions are employed with the prisoners, whose thought-capacity is very limited. The lesson conveyed is simple. It is only: "It pays to be good; it does not pay to be bad. And any man who commits crime in preference to working honestly for his living, only brings unhappiness upon himself, and is foolish so to do."

It may safely be said that the system has already proved its utility. A number of discharged prisoners again commit crime, but the percentage is gratifyingly small. The system speaks for itself, and if perfect statistics were obtainable, would undoubtedly prove its value by clear mathematics. In the matter of expense, it necessitates only a trifling outlay, since the food is little more than ordinary fare, the difference being in the cooking alone, while the result in labor is a great and direct gain. Instead of the prison's value as a deterrent being diminished by the appetizing food, it appears to be clearly augmented, since re-convicted prisoners, after a trial of Folsom, prefer to be sent to the other

prison, San Quentin, where there are opportunities for idleness, the shops employing only a minority of the thirteen hundred convicts.

General McComb, whose broad and gentle charity, keen discernment, and rare executive ability have united in developing the system as its stands at present, has had many difficulties to encounter, and is still some distance from his ideal results. He has had to disturb many traditions, always a dangerous thing to attempt, and particularly so when in a political office and subject to criticism from partisan newspapers. Belonging to a party not in power, efforts which, to the credit of California's people be it said, have failed, have at times been made to vacate his place for the benefit of some clamorous henchman from the other ranks. Moreover, the short-sighted hewers of wood and drawers of water, the class who represent more votes than dollars in taxable property, are constantly endeavoring to interfere with a system whose only object is the common good, by declaring that prisoners shall not be taught to work at any trade. It is to be hoped that they will not succeed in producing any substantial changes, for the trial of this plan is of much more importance nationally than to a single State. If they do so succeed, it will simply add one more fact to that collection by which statesmen will soon be able to tell whether the intelligence of this country is destined to rule it for its good, or the ignorance of it for its harm.

It is greatly desired, further, that some supplemental machinery shall be devised by which the prisoner may be taken care of, after his release, until he has passed the dangerous shoals of the grog-shops, and anchored safely in the harbor of steady work. The Prison Commissioners, Messrs. John Boggs, W. C. Hendricks, Charles Sonntag, J. H. Wilkins, and R. T. Devlin, are also the Penological Commissioners of the State, and they have this matter in hand. They are deeply interested in the system, and are according it their intelligent support: so the prospect is, that, whenever the Legislature has disposed of matters of graver import, the system will have an important adjunct to its success.

HENRY J. W. DAM.

TRIAL BY NEWSPAPER.

THE moral effect of the conviction of the New York Aldermen is weakened by the prominence of an evil almost as dangerous to our institutions as bribery itself. The efforts of their accomplices to excite a reaction of public opinion in their favor are encouraged by the resentment felt by many thoughtful men at the conduct of the press during these trials. The safeguards of innocence, which are the distinguishing feature of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, are in need of defense, if our people desire their preservation. Else trial by jury will, in cases that attract public attention, be wholly superseded by trial by newspaper.

The facts that bribery is a crime of all others the most dangerous to the body politic, and that few trained to weigh the value of testimony doubt the guilt of the Aldermen who have been convicted, do not justify the attendant circumstances. Those who feel the most horror at the cause of the public clamor should be the most anxious to secure fair play for the accused. Martyrs, as well as criminals, have been executed after conviction at the bar of public opinion, and the hanging of Mrs. Surratt is a proof that here in this century, as in France during her great revolution, in England after the tale of the Popish Plot, and in Salem, during the ministry of Cotton Mather, the roar of the populace may demand the blood of the innocent. That in peace men should prepare for war is a proverb better observed in Europe than upon this continent. The example of Marshall, when Burr was on his trial, should teach this people, at least, that the Constitution deserves the most respect when its observance blocks the satisfaction of the people's demand for vengeance.

That control over the press which our courts inherited from England was too severe, and was, therefore, long since abrogated. It is high time to consider whether a part of this should not be restored. The extent of the power and the justification for its existence are well stated by one of England's greatest chancellors, Lord Hardwicke: "There are three different sorts of contempt. One kind of contempt is scandalizing the Court itself. There may be likewise a contempt of this Court in abusing persons who are concerned in causes here. There may be also a contempt of this Court in prejudicing mankind against persons before the

cause is heard. There cannot be anything of greater consequence than to keep the streams of justice clear and pure, that parties may proceed with safety both to themselves and their characters." For this reason two enlightened advocates of liberty of the press, Lord Erskine and Chancellor Kent, inflicted punishment upon those who sought, by words in a newspaper or pamphlet, to influence the decision of a pending cause. With the sentiment expressed by Hardwicke all must agree, however they may differ as to the means which should be employed to purify the streams of justice. The exercise, now and here, of the full power of the English judges would not be tolerated a month. There, a judge imprisoned a litigant for advertising for a witness to a fact at issue in a pending cause. Exercise of arbitrary power under much stronger provocation has frequently caused outbursts of public indignation in this country. Without the State of New York, almost every impeachment of a judge has arisen from his alleged infringement of the liberty of the press. Twice in Pennsylvania has a majority of the judges of a single court been tried at the bar of her Senate for such an exercise of the power to punish contempts. From this resulted the enactment there of the first statute limiting the authority of judges in this direction. The failure of the Senate of the United States to find Judge Peck guilty of an impeachable offense in severely punishing a member of the Missouri bar for a temperate criticism of one of his decisions was the cause of the enactment of the law, proposed by Buchanan, afterwards President, then Manager for the House of Representatives, which prevents the Federal judiciary from again thus offending with impunity. New York probably borrowed her law from Pennsylvania. A court in this State can punish an editor for the "publication of a false or grossly inaccurate report of its proceedings." Attempts to influence the action of judge or jury upon a case on trial, and criticism of them after they have rendered a decision, are in the eyes of our present law equally innocent.

It would be unwise, were it not impossible, to restore to our judges the full power exercised by the English Chancellors. The fate of the party which, despite its glorious history, was destroyed through the indignation engendered by the sedition law, illustrates the abhorrence of the American people at the infliction of

special penalties upon *scandalum magnatum*. The common sense of the common people is not at fault. The history of the past, if not of the present, shows that it is well for the bench, as well as the legislature, to be subject to criticism. Though the dignity of our most eminent judges may suffer in the eyes of the vulgar, through the scurrility heaped upon them when their opinions, the results of years of study and experience, do not win the approval of some gentleman whose researches in jurisprudence were confined to his observation while reporting divorce trials and proceedings in police courts; and though that dignity may sink lower in the estimation of men educated to expect a higher standard of judicial decorum, when, to escape attack or to curry favor with the press, judges describe to reporters for publication, the impressions made upon them by the incidents of trials at which they preside ; the histories of George Jeffreys, Samuel Chase, and George G. Barnard are enough to prove the insolence of judicial power, not tempered by moral rectitude, when unbridled by respect for public opinion. One of the last attempts of the ring to perpetuate its misrule in New York City was the introduction of a bill at Albany to allow judges to punish, as a contempt of court, criticism of their judicial conduct. Had the bill been introduced a few years earlier, it might, perhaps, have passed, and thus prevented the splendid aid given by the newspapers to their allies at the bar, when the government was saved from that band of thieves.

The aid of newspapers in ferreting out criminals and in compelling prosecutions have been also indispensable to the public weal. In many recent cases has the perpetrator of a crime escaped the researches of the official detectives, only to be discovered by the ingenuity and energy of a reporter. And to the persistency of the New York *World* is due that legislative investigation which obtained the first evidence for the conviction of the aldermen. In many cases, also, although not under the administration of Mr. Martine, would the hand of justice have been stayed, did not the public prosecutor fear the censure of the press. Thus, those who control and conduct our great organs of public opinion render invaluable service, more now than ever before, in the detection, the punishment, and, consequently, in the prevention of crime. The same motives which inspire them to this have of late driven them beyond the point where their efforts can do good. In the work of a detective and of a historian they excel, but they step

beyond their province when they undertake to try causes pending in the courts.

The effect of their efforts in this direction is growing daily more apparent. It is already the recognized duty of those who manage litigation in matters of public interest to see that so much of the evidence as is in their favor is given due prominence in the newspapers. This is effected sometimes by paying the publishers for its insertion in the columns of news; more often by influence, social or political, upon the proprietors, editors, and reporters. It is still considered unprofessional by most who adhere to a high standard of professional ethics, for lawyers to attempt to influence the bench by procuring the publication of editorials affecting pending litigation; yet this has been done of late by many who occupy high positions at the bar, and profess an exalted standard of morality. And many of our most eminent counsel have recently given opinions for publication in the newspapers concerning questions pending on appeal. These, let us hope, were printed for their effect in Wall street, not at Albany or Washington.

Is it not time to pause? Is there not a mean between a return to the tyranny of the Star Chamber and the retainer of an editor as associate counsel in each case of public importance? For, although I know no metropolitan journal which now sells the use of its editorial page, yet, if the present tendency proceeds, that must be the inevitable result. Even editors are human. If a return to contempt proceedings is deemed too harsh a remedy, why should not it be made indictable to publish any comments other than a fair report upon proceedings pending in the courts. Yet, when we remember the infrequency of convictions for criminal libel, it seems unlikely that many public prosecutors would push such an indictment to trial. A more efficacious remedy is, perhaps, a direct appeal to Cæsar.

Ye potentates who rule us with your quills, continue to pillory judges and jurymen whose decisions do not meet with your approval. We do not even offer a remonstrance at your then caricaturing the advocate who has done his best to save an unpopular client. But, while a case is on trial and before it has been decided, stand off and confine your strength to the enforcement of fair play. Without your aid no judge can secure it for the accused.

ROGER FOSTER.

THE COERCION BILL.

THE Coercion Bill of 1887 can best be appreciated by comparison with the Home-Rule Bill of 1886.

The condition of Ireland during the interval has not altered. There was an absence of crime in Ireland which was exceptional among civilized nations when Mr. Gladstone, last year, proposed the Home-Rule Bill; and the same virtue and peace prevailed up to the introduction of the Coercion Bill.

It is true that the charge of "increased agrarian crime" was boldly made by Chief Secretary Balfour "from his fortnight's knowledge of Ireland," in introducing the bill; but the charge was made without detail, and it was torn to shreds next day by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell. For the years 1885 and 1886 the "agrarian crimes" of Ireland, reported by the constabulary, were divided into two heads—"threatening letters" and "offenses other than threatening letters." In 1885 there were 432 threatening letters reported, while in 1886 the number had risen to 507. But an increase of 65 threatening letters, the authors of which usually belong to three classes, schoolboys, weak-minded persons, and agents of the Government, is surely not good reason for abolishing civilized government in Ireland. Of offenses "other than threatening letters," there were reported 512 in 1885, and 518 in 1886—an increase of six in a population of five millions!

But compare the two bills: One bill offers Ireland more liberty and more good will than England has offered since the invasion in the Eleventh century. The other contains more menace, more open oppression and degradation than Ireland has had to endure since the Coercion Act of 1703, which, in Mr. Lecky's words, "abolished" the Catholic landlords of Ireland, and reduced the Catholic tenants to a position of abject and hopeless serfdom.

If Ireland deserved this Tory Coercion, Mr. Gladstone was

blindly unwise to offer Home Rule; but if Ireland deserved Home Rule in 1886, the Tory Crimes Bill is indeed a Tory Crime in 1887.

"The Government of Ireland Bill" of 1886 opened with these words:

1. On and after the appointed day, there shall be established in Ireland a Legislature consisting of Her Majesty the Queen and an Irish Legislative Body.

2. With the exceptions, and subject to the restrictions in this act mentioned, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen, by and with the advice of the Irish Legislative Body, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and by any such law to alter and repeal any law in Ireland.

The Coercion Bill of 1887 strips Ireland of every vestige of civil right, and relegates her to the condition of a province guilty of some vast disorder or rebellion.

"It is the worst law ever proposed for Ireland by any Minister of England," says John Dillon, M. P.

"It practically suspends trial by jury forever!" says John Morley, M. P.

"It is one of the most shameful and indefensible violations of liberty that has been attempted by any Government within the last generation," says Charles Bradlaugh, M. P.

"In the name of real union and in the interest of true order, we condemn it," says Campbell Bannerman, ex-Irish Chief Secretary.

"In resisting this deplorable proposal," says Mr. Gladstone, "we are serving the cause of Ireland, and still more effectually serving the cause of Great Britain and of its world-wide empire."

"It is a grave conspiracy by which it is intended on the one side to coerce, if possible, the tenants of Ireland into the payment of impossible rents, and on the other side to compel the purchase of the landlord's interest at exorbitant prices, which compulsion, if successful, will most certainly lead to repudiation on a wholesale scale," says Mr. Parnell.

Referring to its indefinite duration, Mr. Gladstone said: "It makes our blood run cold. I do not think it possible for the wit of man to devise a scheme more likely to aggravate any mischief that exists in Ireland, and to stimulate to the uttermost international hatred."

To avoid misrepresentation of this extraordinary measure, to understand its full purpose, and to observe the consternation and derision with which it was received in Parliament by English

and Irish Liberals and Nationalists, the following extract is given from Chief Secretary Balfour's speech introducing the bill on the night of March 28th (Report of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*) :

"I now come to the bills which the Government propose to bring in. I have said the courts of law have difficulty in getting evidence, and also in getting verdicts according to the evidence, and we have a special provision—namely, the plan by which magistrates may examine witnesses on oath, even where no person is before them, charged with the committal of a crime. As to obtaining verdicts according to the evidence, we propose to abolish the jury system altogether (cries of 'Oh!' and laughter from the Irish benches) for certain classes of crime punishable by a certain length of imprisonment. We provide that two magistrates shall have summary jurisdiction, and a maximum power of inflicting six months' hard labor for the following offenses: criminal conspiracy, boycotting, rioting, offenses under the Whiteboy act, assaulting officers of law, taking forcible and unlawful possession (hear, hear, and cries of 'Oh! oh!'). While we do not propose to interfere with the liberty of the press, we hope that by giving power of summary conviction for inciting to commit offenses, we may prevent the press from being sharers in these crimes. (Hear, hear.) We borrow from the act of 1882 this provision:

"'And if the Attorney-General for Ireland shall certify that a fairer trial can be held in some other place in Ireland, the High Court shall direct that the trial shall be held at that other place.'

(Ministerial cheers, and oh, oh, from the Irish benches.) But we add this limitation and qualification—that if the prisoner can show that a fair trial is not to be held in the other place, he shall have the power to represent to the Court to that effect, and the Court shall have power to direct accordingly (laughter from the Irish benches). We also give power to the defendant or the Attorney-General to have a special jury in any case, in certain cases thus assimilating the criminal practice to the civil practice both of England and Ireland. But if these things are not enough to secure a fair trial, what expedient are we to adopt?"

A VOICE—"Send them to Belfast."

Mr. BALFOUR—"The possibility that a fair trial cannot be got in any part of Ireland is enhanced by the further consideration that even if a fair trial could be got it might be at the cost of the lives and property of the jurymen. We consider it an unfair burthen to cast on the shoulders of men arbitrarily chosen—the whole burthen of preserving the fabric of law and order in Ireland. We have been, therefore, obliged to devise some means by which the gravest class of offenders can be tried otherwise than by a jury in any part of Ireland. The methods by which the right honorable gentleman, the member for Derby, attempted to meet this difficulty was by having trial by judges without juries. We prefer retaining, as far as we can, the principle of the jury system so long as it can be applied with some hope of obtaining a fair verdict. We, therefore, under certain limitations, propose that the Attorney-General for England and Ireland may certify that a fair trial can be had in England, and then the trial may be held in England. (Cries of 'What part of England,' 'Why be held in England,' and 'Aldershot,' and laughter.) The part is to be named in the certificate. We are aware that, under certain circumstances, it might be a hardship to a prisoner to be tried in England, from the fact that he would not be able to convey his witnesses (oh, oh), his solicitor, and his counsel from Ireland. Therefore, we provide in the bill that Irish counsel should be allowed to practice in the English courts (Home Rule iron-

ical cheers), and also that the State shall provide the necessary funds (hear, hear). We have provided that the provisions which I have read shall only have application in those districts which are proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant (Oh! oh!) We hope we have made adequate provision for securing that the courts shall give verdicts according to the evidence. We have clauses which deal, as we think, with the case of dangerous associations. The Lord Lieutenant in Council will have power in certain limitations, which I shall presently describe, to make it an offense against this act to have anything to do with an association formed for the commission of crime, or for the carrying on of operations for the commission of crime, or for encouraging or aiding persons to commit crime, or promoting or inciting to acts of violence or intimidation, or for interfering with the administration of law, or disturbing the maintenance of law and order (laughter). When the Lord Lieutenant has issued a proclamation he may choose certain specified districts in which the proclamation is to have effect. ('What about the length of time?') Quite so, as I have explained to the House, we propose that the action of the bill may be limited in point of space. *We do not propose it should be limited in point of time* (loud Ministerial cheers)."

"This is the only Coercion Bill," says an ex-Home Secretary, "that has ever been proposed as perpetual."

"It is proposed in the interests of Ireland and of Liberty!" defiantly says Mr. Balfour.

What is the secret of a bill that evokes such burning words from English and Irish representatives? English Tories and Liberals, up to the present, at least, are represented by men who belong to the same class, educated in the same schools, having apparently a similar interest. Why, then, the wide mental and moral gulf between them, as shown by this bill?

Is it not because the Tories are legislating for their own class, while the Liberals are trying to legislate for the Empire?

Ireland is not fighting England now; she is in deadly grips with the belated saurian of aristocracy.

Like this, all former Coercion Bills for Ireland have been landlord bills. The two million new voters enfranchised in 1885 make the common people of England a political power for the first time. Up to that date the "English Commons," meaning Parliament, was a misnomer. Henceforth it is a tremendous fact.

For England, the landlords and aristocrats have not learned much in two centuries; for Ireland, they have learned nothing—or worse, they have increased their ignorance.

The truth is that England has evolved a vast social and political mistake in allowing the nobility and landed gentry to grow into immeasurable preponderance in the making of law.

To bring things to an equilibrium between the thirty-five mill-

ions who till the land and fill the cities, and the less than ten thousand who own the entire surface of the Three Kingdoms, cities and all, and to do this without a violent or anarchical period, is the greatest problem of the age; for it involves not only English interests, but touches the lines that subtend the property-laws of the civilized world.

All other European governments, within a hundred years, except England, have run the eraser of eminent domain over landlord boundaries.

England is face to face with an Abstract Idea that can no longer be held down by statute laws or systems of popular education in the hands of squires.

About 700 men own three-fifths of Ireland. Have they a right to evict and banish an industrious and peaceable population of nearly five millions?

Twenty-two men own nearly the entire land of Scotland. Have they a right to banish the whole Scottish people from their native land?

The law of the land, or, rather, of the landlord, answers, "Yes; they have that right." The people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all countries, say in their hearts, "It is wrong."

But how shall the "wrong" be placed on the law-books in place of the "right?" And how shall this year's "justice" become next year's "crime" for the lawyers and the national schools?

"If landlordism be wrong for Ireland," said a leading Tory, recently, "it must also be wrong for England." This man laid his finger on the bare nerve.

This is the problem immediately before England. In her own borders, the landlord aristocrat, even though Norman at first, long ago became bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh. Intermittently, at least, the heart-beats of England's classes and masses are in accord.

In Ireland the landlords and tenants are two bodies with ever discordant pulsations. The stranger in Ireland has remained a stranger. He went as a spoiler, and he has held on as a master. "English dominion commenced in a spirit of conquest, and it continues in a spirit of exclusion."

All legislation for Ireland, for seven centuries, has been wholly by and in the interest of the men who became landlords, whether

by conquest, royal grant, or purchase. Two hundred years ago, the Lords Justices of England (State Papers, Ireland Record office, London) wrote: "Where the land goes, there will go the interest of a kingdom; and it must be a great mistake in policy, when there is so justifiable a pretense (as the fomented Irish "Rebellion" of 1688), to lose the opportunity of changing the proprietors from Papists to Protestants as this will be."

"Ireland," says William Hewitt (Aris. of Eng., page 272), "in the very beginning of our connection with her, was an aristocratic conquest and booty. From the reign of Henry II. to this hour, that fair island has been treated as a conquered country. At all times when the oppressed Irish have risen to assert their right to their own soil and to their freedom, by our superior might and unmitigated cruelty they have been rebranded by the fires of their blazing huts, and rebaptized in their own blood, as our serfs and slaves. We have robbed them of their lands, of their churches, of the government of their towns and country; we have sent over swarms of aristocrats to take possession of the estates of their ancient families; and hoards of parsons to occupy their churches and devour the tithes that had been given by their fathers for the maintenance of their own religion. From age to age they have been insulted, trodden on, thrust out of their own soil and their own offices, and taunted with being 'alien in blood, in language, and religion!' Great God!" exclaims this honest Englishman, "What business had we there? What business had we with their lands, their churches, their endowments? If we went as Christians to convert them, were violence, and robbery, and injustice the means? If we went to rule them, was it to be only by insult and slaughter? If we went to bind Green Erin to Britannia as a sister, was it to be only as an erring sister, whose fortune is to be flung on the streets and frowned on in her misery? In whatever character we *pretended* to go there, our eyes full of vengeance and our hands full of chains and plunder, betrayed us to the whole wide world as thieves and hypocrites."

No Irishman need repeat things so thoroughly said by Englishmen. Here are Mr. Gladstone's words in his address to the miners of North Britain on April 9: "For Ireland this new coercion is a question of suffering—and she knows how to suffer. For England, it is a question of shame and dishonor."

It is not necessary to go over the sickening details of coercion in Ireland in former centuries. For present illustration the record since the Union, in 1800, is sufficient.

"This bill is proposed in the interests of Liberty!" said the Tory defender of Coercion the other day. No wonder he was laughed at. But the Union was carried on the same cry—and eighty-seven years of incredible oppression since then is no laughing matter.

In those eighty-seven years, all nations in Europe have largely increased in population and well-being—except Ireland. She has grown weaker and poorer. The mills that used to grind on her innumerable water-falls have rotted into the streams. The mineral treasures have remained buried beneath her silent fields. The grass grows in the streets of her cities. The mouths of her navigable rivers have been allowed to fill up with the washings of the unprotected banks. The untold wealth of her sea fisheries has been used by other nations, and her own fishermen have starved on the strand, unable to purchase nets or boats, there being no way to get their fish to market.

The highways of commerce round other lands have been filled with sails, and their ports with merchandise, but Ireland, the best placed country in the world for commercial prosperity, is shunned by all traders. Her great bays of deep water are empty as a savage shore; and her intelligent and industrious population, starved out from their own fat and fertile fields, have streamed away like life-blood, enriching other lands with their strength and morality.

But the cruel hands that gripped their lives and their earnings at home have not yet let go. The Irish emigrant is not free from Ireland when he leaves her shore—he only "drags a lengthening chain." His earnings in America and Australia are still, through his affection, mortgaged to the Irish landlord. The enormous rents of Ireland are mainly paid from the wages of Irish-Americans. From the city of Boston alone, last year, the amount sent to Ireland in small sums was $560,000. This stream of liquid gold is flowing from every city and village in this and other countries; and one shrinks from even an estimation of its possible extent.

"For Ireland's sake, and for law and order," was the shibboleth of the Union in 1800. When that crime was consummated,

the Irish nation became an English estate, divided among a few hundred owners. The "law and order" began in blood—in the hanging of Robert Emmet in 1803, and it has held on its deadly course through repeated famines, galloping bankruptcy, feverish rebellions, and a dwindling population.

Almost from the first day of the Union Ireland has been ruled with the law of Bedlam or a menagerie. There has been no decent attempt even to give her the poor chance to which her one-sided bond entitled her. Says the author of "Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland:" "The chronic poverty of the tenants made no impression on the landlords. The land was their own, and they were entitled to do what they liked with it—such was their view. The relation of landlord and tenant was to them a mere monetary transaction. To get as much money out of the land without putting any into it; to spend that money wherever and however they pleased; and to leave the tenants unhelped, uneducated, and unadvised, this was the Irish proprietor's notion of the functions and uses of a landed gentry."

The Irish landlords have had, since the Union, the completest power over their unfortunate tenants. Eviction was "a sentence of death," as Mr. Gladstone said. The evicted farmer could find no other farm; there were no other industries to employ himself or his children. There was nothing before him but emigration, or the poor-house and the grave.

To help the evicters and overawe the people, the eighty-seven years of the "United Kingdoms" have seen as many Coercion Acts for Ireland. Here is a shocking list of the Coercion Acts that have been in force in Ireland between 1800 and 1887:

1800	Insurrection Act, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, Martial Law.
1801	
1802	
1803	Insurrection Act, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.
1804	
1805	
1806	
1807	Insurrection Act, Martial Law.
1808	
1809	
1810	
1811	
1812	
1813	
1814	Insurrection Act, Martial Law.
1815	
1816	
1817	
1818	
1819	
1820	
1821	
1822	Insurrection Act. Act for Suppression of Catholic Association.
1823	
1824	
1825	
1826	
1827	
1828	
1829	
1830	
1831	Stanley's Arms Act.
1832	
1833	Grey's Coercion Act.
1834	
1834	Grey's Coercion (Continuance) Act.
1835	

1835 }
1836 }
1837 } Power granted Lord Lieutenant
1838 } to issue Special Trial Commis-
1839 } sions.
1840 }
1841 }
1842 }
1843 }
1844 } Arms Act.
1845 }
1846 }
1847— Crime and Outrage Act.
1848 } Crime and Outrage (Continu-
1849 } ance) Act.
1850 }
1851 }
1852 }
1853 }
1854 }
1855 }
1856 }
1857 } Peace Preservation Act.
1858 }
1859 }
1860 } Peace Preservation (Continu-
1861 } ance) Act.
1862 }
1863 }
1864 }
1865 — Peace Preservation Act.
1866 }
1867 } Habeas Corpus suspended.
1868 }
1869 }
1870 }
1871 } Peace Preservation Act.
1872 }
1873 }
1874 }
1875 }
1876 } Peace Preservation Act, Protec-
1877 } tion of Life and Property Act.
1878 }
1879 }
1880 }
1881 }
1882 } Forster's Coercion Act.
1883 }
1884 } The Crimes Act.
1885 }
1886 }
1887 — The Crimes Act.

What need to arraign or argue against a record like this? It stands condemned on sight. It is shocking to civilization and Christianity. And this dreadful legislation has been leveled against an unarmed and unorganized population, with a criminal record lighter than than of England or Scotland.

During those eighty-seven woeful years for Ireland all this arbitrary power has been wielded and directed by aliens ignorant of the people and heedless of their feelings and desires. The Coercion laws have been enforced by the bayonets of two standing armies—fourteen thousand constabulary and an average say of forty-five thousand soldiers—for whose support the Irish people are taxed, while even the material contracts for this support are controlled by English houses.

For the control of these forces and machines of coercion, a special class of garrison officials has been created. These men are vested with all privileges, which are taken away from the bulk of the population. The line used to be wholly drawn at religion, for this was useful in case of revolt. "A religious war" excites little outside sympathy. Religious riots in Ireland were the most available pretext and excuse for coercive rule; and the Orange garrison kept the stock full with at least one fresh riot a year.

But the fact that the most honored names in the Irish patriotic

list, from Grattan to Emmet, and from Emmet to Mitchel and Parnell, are the names of Protestants, proves that the Irish people have never raised the religious question unless religion struck them a political blow.

The introduction of Catholics into the ranks of judges and magistrates of late years has indicated no change of policy. The Government made sure that the selected Catholic either was, or was willing to become, antagonistic to the people. And even thus selected, Ireland, with four million Catholics, has only 800 Catholic magistrates, and, with one million Protestants, has 3,300 Protestant magistrates.

To these irresponsible hands the power of the Coercion Law is given. Ex-Chief Secretary Trevelyan (a Liberal Unionist until the Coercion Bill and its officers filled him with dismay) condemns the bill of his colleagues as aiming not at criminals but politicians, as a weapon placed in the hands of notorious Orange partisans like Attorney-General Holmes and Under-Secretary King-Harman, who can strike down at will their opponents, the people's representatives.

The remedial legislation in the shape of a Land Bill, which is to follow the Coercion Bill, will come from the same hands. Its first proposal is that of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, that the tenant-farmers of Ireland be relieved by passing *en masse* through the Bankruptcy Court! The mixture of sarcasm and dishonor in this plaster for Ireland's wounds is worthy of its origin.

Ireland accepts the Coercion without flinching. For the first time there is light behind the bill. There is a voice beyond the cloud, and an assurance. "This bill is poison!" says Mr. Gladstone; "it must be presented to the lips of Ireland by other hands than mine. It is a bill aimed at a nation. It is not intended to suppress crimes known to the law; but it is a bill that makes things crimes that never were crimes."

"The eternity that is written on this law will soon disappear before a brighter time," said Mr. Parnell.

But the Coercion Bill calls for violent retaliation from Ireland. "War must be met with war," says an indignant English member of Parliament, Mr. Labouchere; "at all costs it must be demonstratively proved that Ireland cannot be ruled by coercion. If it be necessary, secret societies must replace the constitutional associations which the Government is trying to suppress. If the

Government uses arms of despotism to crush out liberty, the people must reply by the use of those means which oppressed nationalities have ever had at their command, and have ever used in their struggles for their rights."

Had an Irishman used such words he would be in prison before their echo died. But the Coercion Bill compels Irishmen to think such thoughts as well as Englishmen.

Still the last resort of a nation is not yet presented to Ireland. On the contrary, instead of violent action, her policy under coercion is *deliberate inaction.* If the coercionists can only drive her to *do something,* they have gained a point. If she hangs back in the traces, refuses to move forward or backward, she will be the toughest problem Coercion ever puzzled over.

Instead of going into bankruptcy, as Mr. Chamberlain advises them, if the 500,000 tenant-farmers of Ireland will hold on to their "plan of campaign," paying no rent, taking no vacant farms, accepting no terms of purchase over five or six years' rental, they will defeat the coercionists by the very bankrupt threat invented for the peasant. The old landlord trick of dragooning the people into a revolt of despair is quite played out. The Irish people are united as they never were before. Even the expatriated millions, and tens of millions of several generations, are bound up in the unity of this unexampled moral nationality. The Catholic bishops and clergy of Ireland are as one man with the people ; and the word they speak to England is one of peace and reason. On the 16th of February, 1886, the archbishops and bishops of Ireland assembled in Dublin, and addressed a letter to Mr. Gladstone, saying that it was their firm and conscientious conviction "that Home Rule alone can satisfy the wants and wishes, as well as the legitimate aspirations, of the Irish people." And the prelates added :

"We are fully satisfied that the demand for Home Rule thus put forward in no way transgresses the constitutional limits marked out by you. Its concession cannot trench either on 'the supremacy of the Crown' or on 'the unity of the Empire ;' nor can it interfere with the maintenance of all the authority of Parliament necessary for the consolidation of that unity. . . . : As regards the settlement of the land question, we have no hesitation in saying that this cannot be better effected than by the purchase by the Government of the landlord interest in the soil, and the reletting of the latter to tenant-farmers at a figure very considerably below the present judicial rents."

So the shameful and cruel experiment of the landlords, though

foredoomed, must still be witnessed. A passionate and distinguished English Radical advised the Irish people to "declare the evictors to be lepers, and treat them as lepers." But it is better to let the declaration come from themselves. They are summing up their inhumanity in the view of the world. They are filling a deadly cup for Ireland which they themselves shall drink to the dregs in England. They blindly repudiate peasant purchase to make way for peasant repudiation. Oppression has outlived rebellion, but it cannot outlive contempt. Civilization could endure aristocratic landlordism while it was only an injustice, but must cast it out when it has become a nuisance.

Crime will increase in Ireland under this forcing process; it cannot be helped. In one way it is even a necessity. "You cannot fight oppression with rosewater," writes Labouchere. But before the evil goes too deep it will undoubtedly be stopped. It is not in the nature of things that this lawless law, carried on bayonets and decreed by unjust justices, should be long-lived.

Meanwhile, "the true means of reconciling an old enmity," says an able Irish representative, "and of consolidating for yet greater glory a vast and powerful empire, have been found by the statesman whose name will be honored in Ireland and in England forever."

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

ECONOMIC PESSIMISM.

I BEG to paraphrase, in some slight measure, the recent communication from Mr. Datus C. Smith, upon "Economic Optimism," while at the same time answering the criticisms which he has made upon some of my work.

Every thoughtful man, as Mr. Smith well says, "sees at the present time a great and growing body in our population, who are not only dissatisfied with their position in the social order," but who are determined to change it, by one means or another, without much regard to the nature of things. They are perfectly honest in their intention, so far as the main body are concerned, but are groping their way in the dark and are, therefore, liable to misuse the power with which they are endowed, greatly to their own injury. This danger has at length attracted attention to the subject of political economy in a way that never has happened before, and the natural result is a flood of economic discussion, which cannot fail to be ultimately only beneficial. The contributors to this discussion may be divided into two general classes :

1st. Those who are the true builders of the new political economy, who are endeavoring to study facts and to find out in what way our existing institutions have been evolved from those of the past, in order that they may lay the foundations of economic science broad and deep, and may raise a structure of undoubted strength.

2d. Those who build a system on *a priori* theory, and who disregard facts ; or who, when the facts are placed before them, are either incapable of understanding them, or else misinterpret their meaning. The latter class object to statements being printed which show how truly prosperous this country might be and is, so far as production is concerned ; because, if they were to admit the conditions of general prosperity, they would be obliged to attribute want in the midst of plenty to faults which are personal, rather than public or institutional. Their panacea is legislation.

I think no economist has drawn more urgent attention to the adverse conditions of many of the inhabitants of this country than myself ; and it may not be imputed to me as "economic optimism" that I have proved how remediable these adverse conditions may be, if those who attempt to remedy wrongs would begin at the right end ; *i. e.*, by undertaking to show those who suffer want how they might improve their own condition or that of their children, if *they themselves* would take the proper course. The effect of imputing want in the midst of welfare to other causes may be very pernicious.

Mr. Smith takes exception

1st. To my method of showing what an abundance of food we now produce and how small an area of territory we make use of in so doing. He says that in

one place I have put the area of land now in use for the production of articles of food at 302,500 square miles ; in another place at only 265,000. He is wrong in the first statement, but right in the second ; he, however, overlooked the fact that the second statement is manifestly either a misprint or a miscopy of my own. On the page of the Century Magazine opposite the one in which this error occurred the exact facts are given ; and if he had read the article carefully he would have observed that in the 302,500 square miles once named is included the cotton field, estimated at 20,000 ; deducting this, the area devoted to food other than pastures, is 282,500 square miles. An unfortunate misprint makes it about 265,500. In point of fact, however, the latter figure is nearer the mark than the actual figures. If we were to deduct from the actual area in use for the production of grain and other articles of food, all the farms which are so wretchedly cultivated as to yield only seven to nine bushels of wheat per acre or nine to twelve bushels of corn (meagre crops which are not uncommon in the Southern States), it would appear that the great abundance of our food crops comes from less than 200,000 square miles of our territory out of at least 1,500,000 square miles of good arable land.

2d. In regard to cotton, Mr. Smith objects to taking the year 1865 as a basis for comparison, because in that year the crop was only 500,000 bales, as given by Mr. Nimmo.

I did not take the crop year 1865 as a basis ; I took the crop known as the crop of 1865-6, raised immediately after the war, of which the figures are given, showing the marvelous start which ensued after the war and the yet more wonderful progress since. The ante-war crops of twenty-one years are given in the same article ; and it is open to Mr. Smith or to any one else to select any date which he chooses to take for purposes of comparison.

In order to meet some other carping criticisms of this kind, I have prepared another table showing the progress in crops and other matters since 1870.

I will not send this, because it would be much better for my critic to make a few computations himself. All the facts are given by me as to the increase of certain specified products. If he will compare each five years with the next he will soon discover that the common or necessary means of subsistence have increased in much greater measure than population since 1865. Somebody has consumed the excess—who is it ? Have the rich gobbled up all the corn, cotton, iron, etc., etc.? If not, where is it ? Who has enjoyed it ?

Undoubtedly, Mr. Smith can indicate a few, especially in every great city, who have not shared the increase. Whose fault is it ? Can one help those who cannot help themselves, except by dealing with them personally ? Are ignorance, laziness, and vice remediable by legislation ? Are a few very poor because the many prosper ? If there is enough and to spare for all, is it optimism to prove it, in order that the true remedy for want may be found, and that discontent may not be increased from the want of consideration of facts by superficial thinkers ?

3d. Mr. Smith objects to the use made of the prices of Government bonds, and to the computation of interest upon them, by which it appears that $100 *in gold coin* invested in such bonds yielded at one period 16 and 66-100 per cent. interest. This is a fact ; it can be taken for what it is worth.

If it is desirable to consider other elements in the case, it may be safely stated that capital considered simply as capital can secure to itself now only one-half as much interest as in 1860 ; we will omit the comparison with the period of war and inflation, because the issue of inconvertible paper money not only defrauds the people who use it, but enables an astute writer to misuse statistics so that the figures lie even more than is their common habit when compiled by people who do not know what they mean.

4th. Mr. Smith objects to my computation of the value of the hens' eggs of the United States, and to the comparison of this value with the wool clip, the product of pig-iron, etc.

I think he may rightly take exception to my computation. It is now an accepted fact, well proved by many recent observations, that the average consumption of hens' eggs is greater than that of the factory operatives of New England, *i. e.*, more than one egg every other day, and at a higher price than twelve cents a dozen ; I will admit the fact, if he chooses to take exception to my previously carefully guarded statement, that the consumption of hens' eggs is now considerably over $100,000,000 worth a year, and that the animal value of the poultry and eggs combined is greater than that of pig-iron, wool, and silver combined.

5th. Mr. Smith objects to my statement of the "modern miracle of the loaf," and he pronounces it *graphic nonsense.*

He evidently does not comprehend the subject of which he treats. I have ascertained what the facts are at the present time. So effective has agricultural machinery become on some of the Northwestern farms as to render only 300 days, work necessary for the production of 5,500 bushels of wheat ; *i. e.*, three men working 100 days each during the harvest season. Leaving 1,000 bushels for seed, 4,500 bushels suffice for 1,000 barrels of flour. I stated that the milling and barreling of 4,500 bushels of wheat when converted into 1,000 barrels of flour required only the equivalent of 300 days' work of one man. It now requires less. Since that article was written, the movement of the wheat from Dakota to New York has been reduced to less than the equivalent of two men's work for 300 days. Therefore, the machinery of the farm, the flour mill, and the railway has become so effective that 1,000 barrels of flour can now be placed at the mouth of the bakers' oven in New York, with an amount of labor of men corresponding to *less* than 300 days' work of four men. I am prepared to prove these statistics by citation of all the authorities ; therefore the modern miracle of the loaf is not "graphic nonsense," but is a solid fact.

6th. The last point to which Mr. Smith takes exception is my computation of what has been saved by the effective service of the railway, measured by the charge on a barrel of flour from Chicago to New York. I did not put this saving high enough. In 1865 the railway service was very incomplete and had not become consolidated. It is very true, as Mr. Smith remarks, that under such conditions very little flour was moved from Chicago to New York, *all rail.* It became necessary to make use of the slow and tedious service of the canal system at a much less rate of charge than the railway lines ; but Mr. Smith makes no computation of insurance, interest, time, and labor lost on the canal ; admitting, however, that the canal service was cheaper than the railway service, yet my comparison holds good. Very little flour could reach the canal or the water ways compared to what is now carried by rail ; and when the charge for moving by wagon from the farm to the water way was added to the canal charge the cost of transporting flour 1,000 miles was then, in 1865, as great as or greater than the charge which I computed as the rate of 1865, had it all been carried by rail. The fact is that the railway service has made a greater gain to the people than can be represented by a mere reduction of their own charges, huge as that reduction has been.

The greater part of the food which is now brought from the West to the East could not be moved at all except for the railway, and the charge has been reduced to such a point that although the New York Central Railroad pays taxes to the State of New York in larger amount than the sum required to keep the Erie Canal in operation, it beats the canal. I have suggested to Mr. Smith that the

next time he takes exception to statements of fact he should find out for himself what the facts are, and I submit the following proposition :

At the present time the average rate of wages in the United States in nearly every art which is of any material importance is higher than ever before ; higher even, with very few exceptions, than at the worst period of paper money inflation in 1865, '66, and '67. On the other hand, the prices of the necessities of life are lower than they have been since 1840. If we compute wages both in rate and in purchasing power, men of special skill and aptitude who are now occupied as foremen, overseers, or in the very highest departments of the mechanic arts, are 100 per cent. better off than at the date named, for comparison, to wit : 1865–'67. The average mechanic or artisan is 75 per cent. better off. The common laborer is 65 per cent. better off. There has been a short period during the last five years when a good many common laborers were out of employment owing to the sudden cessation of railway building between 1882 and 1884. In the same period a very small portion of the operatives in iron works and other artisans found it difficult to obtain work. The number unemployed was, I think, much exaggerated. That period has gone by. There is work now waiting to be done for every industrious man or woman who will accept the conditions on which it is offered ; and those conditions are, as a rule, better than they ever were before, the exceptions being in some of the most crowded parts of a few large cities. If, then, there is want in the midst of plenty, it may neither be imputed to institutions, to an undue share falling to capital, nor to obstructive statutes in any great measure. It is due in most cases either to physical disability, accidental misfortune, or to mental incapacity, or unwillingness to undertake the kind of work that is waiting to be done. Undoubtedly there are many forms of wrong which are now sustained by National or State legislation which tend to a distribution of product which is not equitable, and the wasteful taxation of cities is a prime cause of city pauperism. The common undertaking in order to remedy these wrongs is to promote additional legislation. We might go on in this way, as they did in Great Britain, until at one period in the early part of this century there were 2,000 acts unrepealed on the statute books of Great Britain for the regulation of trade, commerce, industry, and labor. Then came the true remedy, which led Buckle to say something like this : That the greatest progress in human welfare, which had been made in modern times, had come by the repeal of statutes for the regulation and direction of industry, much more than by the enactment of others directed to the same purpose.

What is needed is a basis of fact either for the enactment or the repeal of laws. Had the true financial relation of this country to others been fully comprehended at the beginning of the Civil War, and had the ability of the people to bear taxation been fully considered, the country might have escaped all the vicious results of the legal tender act, and, in such event, would doubtless have been free from debt at the present time.

Is it not unreasonable to compute the cost of the depreciation of the substitute for true money issued under the name of *legal tender notes*, at the full amount of the outstanding unpaid obligations of the United States ?

EDWARD ATKINSON.

II.

MR. BOUCICAULT ON OPERA.

MR. BOUCICAULT'S great and long-proven abilities as an actor and dramatist give weight and authority to his opinions on any subject connected with the stage. It is, therefore, not without much diffidence that I find myself unable to agree with some of the statements and conclusions in his article on "Opera" in the April

number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW; but it seems as if an extreme devotion to the drama proper, and a striving after epigrammatic brilliancy have led him into injustice, if not to operatic composers and librettists, at least to their interpreters. He states that he has only seen one actor (Ronconi) on the operatic stage, and that *he* could not sing ; and he (Mr. Boucicault) proceeds to ask if any of the "wildest monomaniacs" of the press believe that operatic artists are or have been sufficiently good actors to obtain leading positions on the dramatic stage? I have never till now imagined that I was among the "wildest monomaniacs," but if Mario, Tietjens, Lucca, Patti, and Tamberlik could not or cannot act as well as the average leading man or woman, then am I indeed a fit subject for Bloomingdale. Where can we find to-day a juvenile man with the appearance, the grace, the fervor, and the power of Mario? Who, that ever saw him in the scene of the breaking of the sword in "La Favorita," will forget the mingled power, passion, and dignity which he portrayed? Tietjens, in "Norma" and "Medea," presented colossal figures as deeply charged with the true spirit of tragedy as anything I have ever seen on the purely dramatic stage. Lucca's agony of self-reproach and contrition in the cathedral scene of "Faust" surpassed the acting of Mrs. Herman Vezin, and I think Mr. Boucicault will allow that that lady was a good actress. Surely Patti, in "Il Barbiere," is at least equal to the average *comedienne*. Though I am only too conscious that judgment of acting is simply a matter of opinion, I believe that the majority of my readers, to most of whom these performances are known, will agree with my views rather than with the wholesale condemnation of Mr. Boucicault.

In considering opera as a form of art, Mr. Boucicault calls it "a misconception produced by the improper association of two muses." Why the association of words and music is any more "improper" in opera than in melodrama, I fail to see. In the former the music predominates, in the latter the words. In Mr. Boucicault's admirable melodramas he makes considerable use of music. Is not the effect of his cave scene in the "Colleen Bawn," to which he refers in his article, greatly heightened by the "incidental music?" Yet, if he is consistent, this association is "improper," because music has no meaning. When we attend a performance of opera we go fully aware that in real life people do not sing their emotions, and we overlook the unnaturalness for the sake of the pleasure derived, but have we not to overcome almost as much unnaturalness when we see a tragedy in which all the characters speak in verse?

Mr. Boucicault denounces opera because "if we remove the words and leave the music to stand alone, we find it incoherent, confused, without symmetry, or direction, or completeness." Now, this argument, if pushed to its logical termination, would deprive us of all songs. The music of an opera is no more intended to stand alone than is that of a ballad. It would appear as if Mr. Boucicault really meant to condemn all songs, for he says an "audience would naturally be unable to catch the words of the singer, which must be distorted in articulation."

Mr. Boucicault makes the somewhat astonishing statement that music "loses its charm by repetition." If this be true, why is it that the most familiar airs have the greatest charms for audiences? Are Mmes. Nilsson and Patti ever more effective with or more dear to their hearers than when they sing "Home, Sweet Home!" or the "Suwannee River?" And if this is due in part to the wedding of the words and music, it is a recognition of the principle on which opera is founded. Mr. Boucicault bases another argument against opera on the alleged fact that successive composers send their predecessors into obscurity. Among those he considers "on the shelf" is Mozart, an idea that will scarcely be accepted by musicians and lovers of music, who consider "Don Giovanni" immortal.

To strengthen his arguments against opera, Mr. Boucicault quotes some very absurd lines from a hack-translation of "Lucia." If, however, he had chosen to quote from the original of some of the grand operas, say, for instance, "Les Huguenots," he might have found much to praise, and comparatively little to condemn.

Every art demands a compromise between the reason and the imagination. Opera very possibly demands a greater compromise than any other form of art, but the delight it confers more than repays the extra subordination of the reason. And while amusement is the end sought by patrons of theatres, though Mr. Boucicault may dub opera an "improper association," and say "out with it!" it is very improbable he will accomplish anything toward its banishment.

JULIAN MAGNUS.

III.

UN-AMERICAN AMERICANS.

WHY did not Arthur Richmond, in his brilliant analysis of the political career of James Russell Lowell, refer to the well-known fact of Mr. Lowell's perfect willingness to serve under Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State, though subsequently, after Mr. Blaine's defeat for the Presidency, the same Mr. Lowell loudly proclaimed his abhorrence of the man and his principles? As an American, I have always been proud of Mr. Lowell's literary acquirements, but I confess that of late I have been anything but proud of his political performances. As an American, therefore, I am not surprised at the arraignment of Mr. Lowell by the modern Junius. Let it be a warning to un-American Americans.

WASHINGTON MESSINGER.

IV.

RIP VAN WINKLE'S MANUAL.

THE "Inequalities of Suffrage, complained of by Mr. J. Chester Lyman in the March number of the REVIEW, are not quite so numerous and grievous as he would have us believe. Unfortunately, his article is based upon information derived from "Hill's Manual, 1882," which has led him into many serious misapprehensions. The table presented by Mr. Lyman contains no less than three mistakes in regard to suffrage in North California. It states that citizenship is not required of an elector, which is an error. The length of residence in a county entitling one to vote is given as 30 days, when it should be 90 days. Lastly, it says that an elector "must own 50 acres of land, or have paid his taxes." This was true 33 years ago, but since 1854 the Constitution of North Carolina has not sanctioned a property qualification. It is to be deplored that this Rip Van Winkle's Manual is so untrustworthy; for Mr. Lyman has treated an important subject in a thoughtful manner.

M. H. H. CALDWELL.

CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.

ONE of the most valuable books that have lately issued from the American press is comprised in Dr. Wharton's three capacious volumes,* which set forth the American view of the principles and aims of international jurisprudence. It may be said that this work has a useful rather than an artistic purpose, that it belongs, therefore, rather to professional than to literary compositions. We have thought it scarcely worth while to draw the line so closely, seeing that not a few of the State papers here preserved reflect credit on the artistic proficiency as well as the statesmanlike acuteness of their authors, and in respect of methodical and cogent arrangement, of lucid, forceful, and, at times, picturesque expression, are truly literature of a sterling and high quality. As to the book's utility, it is so patent and so large that the marvel is how any American legislator or publicist could have effectively discussed any international question without its assistance. Of the stores of material here collected, much the greater part lay buried in manuscripts liable to quickly perish and practically inaccessible, or in printed documents of which only unique copies are known to be preserved. Years of unremitting industry must have been spent upon the task of searching out, bringing together, winnowing, condensing, and interpreting this immense mass of recondite and chaotic material; but so patiently, intelligently, and systematically has the work been done, that a moment's glance at the table of contents or the index will enable the statesman or commentator to discover the precise authorities, and all the weighty expressions of opinion upon the American side of any diplomatic controversy. Take the topics which are now, or have lately been, of special and even urgent interest to citizens of the United States—the fisheries question, the duties of neutrals, and the rights of extradition and naturalization as defined by treaties. Upon each of these heads the investigator will find in this huge repository the gist of every authoritative utterance, whether of the executive or the judicial departments of the United States Government. It is but simple justice to the author to add that some of the most powerful and illuminative papers reproduced or quoted in these volumes proceed from his own pen, and we need only point the reader, by way of proof, to Dr. Wharton's exhaustive exposition of the American construction of a much controverted clause in the treaty of 1868 between the United States and the North German Confederation, whereby the rights of our German American citizens temporarily residing in Germany are defined.

Of course, no reader of Dr. Wharton's digest will duly profit by it unless he has previously acquired a tolerable mastery of the general principles and universally accepted rules of international law, as well as of the views taken by European nations of controverted and unsettled points—views which, we scarcely need to say, often differ broadly from the positions maintained by the United States. Those who do not find it convenient to consult the authoritative text writers, and who have not at hand the larger compilations of Phillimore and

*A Digest of the International Law of the United States; by Francis Wharton, LL. D. Three volumes. Washington, Government Printing Office.

Wheaton, will find the elementary treatise* prepared by Professor Davis a useful manual. After a somewhat close examination of this volume we are disposed to recommend it as a text-book to schools and colleges, though not without the warning which cannot be too often repeated to the investigator of this subject, that, international law being uncodified and, from the circumstances of its evolution, a fluctuating and inchoate science, if science it be, the infrequent citation of authorities by Professor Davis—an infrequency prescribed by limitations of space—should be made good by incessant reference to the authorities on the part, first, of the instructor, and ultimately of the student.

It is highly gratifying to those whose business it is to tell the truth about books, so far as they possess the capacity of seeing it, to come upon a piece of literary work so intelligently planned, and, as regards, at all events, the essentials of history so conscientiously executed as is the book which Mr. Benjamin has given us.† In the diction, to be sure, will be observed some marks of carelessness which should, doubtless, be ascribed to haste, and may be easily removed in the second edition that will probably be called for. We infer that the time and labor manifestly given to the examination of authorities left the writer but little leisure for perfecting the final draft of his narrative. The characteristic merits of this book are, first, the vividness and fullness with which it reproduces, from native sources, the legendary history which preserves all that we are ever likely to know about pre-Achæmenid times, unless, indeed, the further decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions shall throw additional light on the early Elamitic conquest of Assyria and Mesopotamia. In the second place, Mr. Benjamin has been at special pains to fill what is felt to be a serious gap in other popular summaries of Persian history, about a third of his volume being devoted to a minute portrayal of the great national reaction under the Sassanid dynasty against the Greek, or Syro-Greek influence under the Parthian kings. On the other hand, the Parthian period is merely outlined as being rather an episode or interlude than an organic phase of Persian evolution. For another reason, namely, that the ground has been repeatedly traversed, and is presumably familiar to the general reader, the revolutions and events of the twelve hundred years that have elapsed since the Moslem conquest of Persia are very swiftly sketched. It should also be noted that throughout, and, even when depicting the Achæmenid and Parthian periods, for which he is obliged to rely largely on Greek and Roman authorities, Mr. Benjamin has tried to write from the Persian point of view, though he is, of course, careful to avoid the national exaggerations and suppressions.

We know of no better corrective than Professor Hosmer's book‡ of the impression made by the venemous indictment launched against a race by Mr. Edouard Drumont in "La France Juive." The first third of his volume, dealing with the history of the Jews in the times preceding the ultimate dispersion under the Romans, is indeed a mere outline, the author wisely refraining from attempting to rewrite the historical parts of the Old Testament and the narrative of Josephus. In so brief a summary there are necessarily omissions which some readers will regret, and we note one error, namely, the statement on page 121, *apropos* of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, that "the Jews have henceforth been wanderers without a

* Outlines of International Law; by George B. Davis, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of Law at the West Point Military Academy. New York, Harper & Brothers.

† The Story of Persia; by S. G. W. Benjamin, lately United States Minister to Persia. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

‡ The Story of the Jews; by James K. Hosmer, Professor in Washington University, St. Louis. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

country." It is well known that the remnant of the Jews continued after the suppression of their revolt by Titus, to resort to Jerusalem, devastated as it was, and were not finally and inexorably debarred from it until about half a century later, when, in the time of Hadrian, their holy city was converted into a Roman colony. It is the second and third parts of this book delineating the mediæval and modern history of the Jews, that furnish an ample justification of its existence. The story of Israelite persecution and rehabilitation is recounted in an admirable spirit. We would particularly draw the attention of those who have read Drumont's acrid comments on the same themes to Professor Hosmer's chapters on the "Money Kings" and "Hebrew Statesmen."

It seems a pity that a collection of brief, popular histories so happily conceived, and for the most part so well executed as "The Story of the Nations" series should in any instance have departed from the general aim of assigning the exposition of a given subject to some writer specially qualified by original research for the work. We are not aware that the compiler of the volume,* devoted to that division of the Northmen which is mainly associated with the Duchy of Normandy and with England, has such special qualifications, which are, on the contrary, undoubtedly possessed by Professor Freeman, or, if he was unobtainable, by more than one other English student of Northwestern Europe in the early middle ages. Hack work, though it may be performed with a certain neatness and dexterity, is, in our judgment, out of place in a series of this order, whose pretensions to fresh and independent treatment have been, upon the whole, well founded. If another recent volume† of this collection seems less open to a like criticism, it is because the scope of the subject is too vast for any specialist, and any attempt to outline it implies eclectic, not to say superficial, investigation. It was, doubtless, no overweening confidence on the part of the compiler, but submission to the publisher's requirements, which prompted the essentially hopeless endeavor to depict in some four hundred small octavo pages the conquests of the Moslems during the six hundred years succeeding the Hegira, in the course of which they not only overrun but occupied at least two-thirds of the Mediterranean world and about a third of Asia. The many shortcomings of Mr. Gilman's book are probably as clearly seen by him and deeply regretted as they will be by any reader, and he needs not to be told that any summary of a theme so comprehensive has the incorrigible vice of satisfying nobody. Nor can we understand why a task so inherently impracticable should have been imposed upon him. We fail to see why, if in this series a separate volume is allotted to Hungary, to Switzerland, to Sicily, treatment equally detailed might not have been given to at least three great divisions of Saracenic history—to the Arab-Berber States that absorbed and, to some extent, transmitted the Latin civilization which they found planted in North Africa, west of Cyrene; to the Damascene caliphate under which the Arab mind and manners received a Greek or rather Byzantine stamp; and, lastly, to the line of the Abbassids under whom the dominating tincture became Persian. It is also plain from the results of Mr. Gilman's experiment that the life of Mohammed, or, at all events, the story of Arabia, should have been separately presented. As it is, half the space at the compiler's disposal is exhausted before he is ready to recount the work of the first caliphs, with which the story proper of the Saracens, as distinguished from the antecedent traditions of Arabia and the life of the prophet, may be fairly considered to begin.

* The Story of the Normans; by Sarah Orne Jewett. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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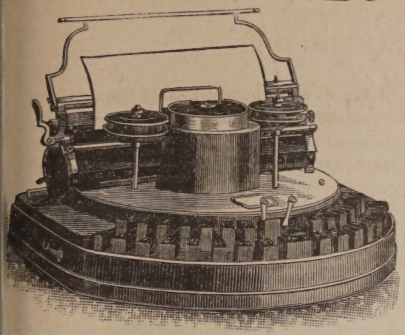

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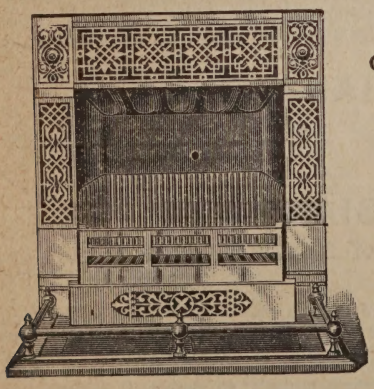

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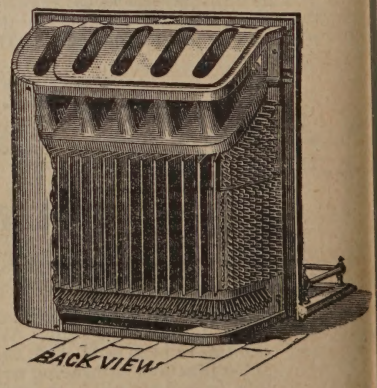

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PARTIES AND INDEPENDENTS.

If twenty or more intelligent gentlemen—several of whom would certainly be independents—finding themselves by chance together in any part of the country, should discuss the prospects of the election of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Blaine in 1888, these two questions, about equally perplexing, would at once present themselves: 1. Which do the people prefer? 2. What are the chances that the parties will allow the true wishes of the people to prevail in the nominations and elections? These gentlemen would thus, without either of them, perhaps, noticing the profound significance of the fact, recognize party interests and aims as something distinct from those of the people—as a vast, separate, political force to be dealt with.

Thus distinction and antagonism are emphasized by the remarks so frequently heard, that the Democratic party—referring to it, of course, in a technical sense, as speaking by its partisan managers—is probably opposed to the re-nomination of Mr. Cleveland, and that the Republican party—in the same sense, and speaking in the same way—is probably in favor of the nomination of Mr. Blaine; while it is generally believed that the people, for whom these managers respectively assume to speak, would, if allowed a free expression of their wishes at the polls, elect Mr.

Cleveland and defeat Mr. Blaine. In another article, I may, perhaps, refer to the probable consequences in the next election of this curious state of public opinion; but now a still more important aspect of political parties must engage our attention, after considering which, we may, possibly, have a clearer view of the significance of the contest to be waged in 1888, and of the partisan and Independent forces which will take part in it.

The facts referred to make it plain that political parties, as we now have them, are by no means what they should be; that is, convenient agencies for combining and expressing on a grand scale and with a true freedom the real views and interests of the people. They are very generally regarded as highly complicated organizations through which politicians are enabled to make themselves a great power for their own benefit and for coercing and baffling the people. We need not stop to consider how disastrous it is to the purity and dignity of all political and official life, to have, in the whole domain of politics, the largest and highest expression of national sentiment thus weighed down and suppressed by a vast selfish organization, pretending to act for the common good and in the spirit of patriotism. The specific evils thus produced are not confined to the long and alarming array of abuses and corruptions which have been more and more in recent years charged against party managers and their vicious methods. These evils have developed a vicious antagonism, on the part of great numbers of worthy people, toward all parties, as being needless, even if they be not dangerous, enemies of the State. A recently published volume, taking this ground, has been largely sold; and, what is yet worse, a large and increasing number of patriotic citizens are declining to vote or to take any active part in politics, because, as they charge, vicious manipulation, corrupt barter of votes for places, and mere management and intrigue, under the control of partisans and demagogues, great and small, defeat all disinterested efforts for the public welfare.

Public opinion now tends to such disastrous extremes as prevail concerning the liquor question; that is, to the formation of a party against party itself. The late elections in the several cities in the West and in Rhode Island, where the Independents have defeated the parties, the enactment of laws in several States for diminishing the frequency of party elections by increasing the terms of governors and judges, the making of the ses-

sions of the Legislatures of many States biennial, the acts—lately passed in several States—for subjecting party caucuses and conventions to penal provisions, the exclusion of various subjects from legislation by constitutional amendments, the passage of the Civil Service acts by Congress and by the States of New York and Massachusetts for the suppression of partisan removals and appointments, and the collection of political assessments—thereby eliminating powerful elements of party despotism and corruption—the rapidly increasing numbers of independent periodicals and journals, and the greater boldness and vigor of the criticism of party methods (even on the part of what may be called party journals) which now demands that the State, and not the parties, shall furnish all ballots and pay, in part, at least, and rigorously limit and regulate election expenses—all these facts are not only decisive evidence that the independent sentiment which decided the elections of 1884 is deeply seated in the public mind, and likely to continue, but that there is a profound purpose to suppress by law the despotism, venality, and usurpations of political parties. Nearly the whole periodical literature of the country is now substantially independent in politics—if, indeed, there is a single periodical of any rank which does not condemn the theories and methods of our party managers generally. We have but to go over the names of the most recent and successful journals in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and all the great political centres to discover that they maintain an independence of parties comparatively rare not long ago. It was the state of feeling thus indicated which made the results of the last elections possible, and no thoughtful man will overlook it when considering the probable results in 1888.

These questions at once present themselves. Whether the attempt should be made to suppress parties? Whether the parties we have are a legitimate growth, and are in harmony with our government? Whether parties may be so organized and managed as not to be oppressive, but to fairly combine and effectively express the opinions and interests of the people?

Let us consider these questions. It is useless to talk about suppressing parties. Parties of some kind will always exist. It is as much a right of persons having convictions and interests in common in the sphere of politics to combine and act lawfully together as it is for those having views in common to thus unite

and act on the subjects of religion, charity, education, or amusements. On the other hand, the theory accepted by partisans and muddle-headed politicians, that a party is a great creative purifying power, almost as indispensable and beneficent as the government itself—a sort of providential, sacred order of political life, into which every man is born, and which he cannot leave without being a traitor—this whole theory is altogether unfounded, and is so repugnant to the great facts of history that no well-informed person can accept it, save as a common delusion about which he has never reflected.

Limited to their true sphere, and acting by open, honest methods, parties may, with great advantage, serve the people and the State. But the view so generally expressed by party leaders and demagogues seeking office and trying to commend themselves to a gathering of partisans,—that parties make nations and governments, or that they are the source and strength of those exalted sentiments and noble acts by which nations become great and strong, is shallow in conception and repugnant to the plain facts of history. No party gave our fathers the conception of the revolution or the courage or support needed for its trials. Not one of the bold patriots who adopted the Declaration of Independence had ever been a member of a party. No party was represented in the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, nor has that instrument a line which expresses a party spirit or was intended to serve a party purpose. The heroic and creative period was past before a party had been known in our politics. During Washington's administration, if it can be said there was a party in any sense, it was of that kind which the party managers of our time repudiate, and was led by such statesmen as they never follow. The first four acts which can be said to have been dictated by a partisan spirit were the alien and sedition laws, the midnight signatures of John Adams, and his refusal to attend the inauguration of Jefferson.

The war of 1812 was fought, and peace was made, without making such questions mere party issues. No party was in power under Presidents Madison and Monroe, but a party established and perfected the spoils system under Jackson, Polk, and Van Buren. The earliest contests about slavery were not party, but sectional contests. The lofty sentiments of justice and duty which first arraigned, and finally overthrew, slavery, did not come from a

party, or from any collision of parties, but were born in the hearts of noble men and women, who had the courage and independence to rise above that party spirit and policy which, for a generation, persecuted them and put their lives in peril. They overthrew one great party and made another. The Whig party and the Democratic party alike rejected the great issue of liberty which the independents had thus raised, in the same blind and selfish spirit which our party managers now reject the issue of civil service reform, which has decided one presidential election, and may yet decide another, if not destroy a party. Having always acted with the party which those earlier independents created, I gladly unite with its other adherents in exalting all the high qualities which it exhibited in the long war it nobly sustained; but let us not forget how vastly greater were the patriotism and courage needed to create that party, and which are now needed to expose and remove the abuse which that party has allowed to grow and which have enabled the old Democratic party to return again to power. Let us not forget that soldiers and generals of all parties fought together on every battlefield. It was party managers, greedy for patronage, who enacted the disastrous tenure of office law, but an independent, non-partisan spirit which repealed it. It was demagogues and partisans, seeking party ends, who carried the vicious pension bills of last winter, but an independent president who vetoed them.

The history of all the great efforts in behalf of justice and purity in political affairs has shown a few brave spirits—true independents—in the lead, opposed, defamed, sneered at by party managers, until they have forced the party to recognize the higher sentiments which they have made formidable. So it is now with the temperance movement and the movement for purifying our elections. As a rule, parties never espouse a cause because it is righteous, but only to gain strength.

It is not only true that parties are not the creators or early friends of those lofty ideals and grand efforts which purify and exalt nations, but it is also true that party spirit and mere party policy are subordinated and made contemptible whenever the patriotism, honor, and the manhood of a nation are deeply moved. So it was in our wars, and so it was in Great Britain during the war in the Crimea and in India. So it would be to-day if we had a great war on our hands.

Nevertheless, in face of such facts, there is a class of politicians who confound the claims of party with those of the nation, and treat the tie which connects a citizen with his party as being as sacred as the allegiance due to his country. They seem to think that the springs of patriotism would be dried up, and that all unselfish efforts for the public good would cease, if the organized despotism and selfishness which now exist in political parties, and which have carried their efforts far beyond their true sphere, should be suppressed. They seem utterly unable to comprehend that he who acts the part of a true independent in politics must have not only the courage and patriotism needed to go with the party majority, but also the higher sense of duty needed to confront that majority, and perhaps part company with friends.

What is a political party? A clear definition is necessary not merely for a proper understanding of our subject, but to meet issues involving titles to office, which may any moment become grave practical questions in the courts. The habitual abuse of public authority for party ends, through party zeal and corruption, has compelled legislatures and Congress to try to protect the people by requiring "adherents of different parties" to be placed on various boards and commissions. The English race has never produced a statesman more competent than Edmund Burke to give a sound definition of a party. He declared it to be "a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavors, the national interests upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." No one whose authority is worthy of respect has ever disputed the soundness of this definition. A party, therefore, is neither an end in itself nor a combination to promote interests of its own. It must promote only the national interests. It is not, therefore, an organization based on patronage or for securing offices or majorities. It must stand on principles. Speaker Carlisle declared, in a late speech at Cincinnati, that "a political party can be of no use in any country unless it has principles and is ready to stake even its existence upon them." It is not a body gathered around a chieftain whom all must obey, but around a principle as to which all are agreed and to which every adherent must be faithful. In other words, a party is a free, natural, and honorable union of efforts and influence for serving the country.

A true party, therefore, cannot be a mere club, having other tests of membership besides its principles. It cannot, therefore,

save by mere usurpation, exact pledges to obey orders or to vote for all party nominees, after the fashion of those highly-organized and most corrupt political combinations in New York and other great cities in past years, which are generally called party machines. These and all other schemes for carrying elections, extorting money, putting favorites into office, and making the trade of politics profitable, may be properly called factions, rings, cliques, or conspiracies, but they are not political parties. A party must be free to all adhering to its principles. A party has no right to make nominations in order to reward favorites, to pay off workers, or to gain profits for itself, but only to serve the public interests. A breach of this rule, not less than a disregard of its principles, dissolves every pledge an adherent can honorably make to act with his party.

This view of parties and party action makes them honorable, identifies them with the public interests, appeals to patriotism and sense of duty, and involves no compromise of conscience or of a manly self-respect on the part of their members. It makes it plain that the proper sphere and activity of a party is in the region of principle, political thought, legislation, broad measures of internal and foreign policy, gathering, combining, discussing, expressing the sentiments, thoughts, and interests of the people, and bringing into office those officials, and those only, who will make the laws the people demand and execute the policy which they have approved. Manipulating elections, coercing voters, or meddling with the details of military, naval or civil administration, or with judicial affairs of any sort is, therefore, plainly to depart from the sphere and true nature of party action. A party is not a body to do the public work, or to coerce public opinion. It simply expresses that opinion. It is obvious that, for leaders of such parties, there are required, not shrewd manipulators, not adroit evaders of great issues, not a cunning, conscienceless facility in bartering with political opponents and suppressing independent thought, not busy intermeddlers with local affairs all over the country, not facile, plausible demagogues, but men of open integrity of purpose, of honest methods, of broad knowledge of public opinion and industries, of sound, candid judgment, and a patriotic and statesmanlike conception of the national honor and interests. A party thus led, faithful to its principles, and putting good men in nomination, would develop to the utmost

whatever patriotic sentiment and courage can come from the consciousness of power and the kindling enthusiasm born of vast numbers working together for a common and noble end. Such a party might keep itself in power for generations, instead of speedily sinking into corruption.

It is plain from this conception of a party that its utility—that the justification for even its existence—depend on three things, (1) the tendency of its principles to advance the welfare of the whole people, (2) the faithful support of these principles by the party itself, (3) the nomination of the most worthy for office. Lacking these, it would be better to have no parties, as under Washington, Madison, and Monroe. The principles of a party and the merits of its candidates are at once the justification for its existence, the source of its strength, the bond of its union, and the test of its fidelity. They draw the people to a party and inspire them with an honest, salutary zeal in its behalf, quite irrespective of securing offices and the control of the government, substantially for the same reasons that the people support the vast numbers of churches, charities, schools, and other organizations requiring the devotion of time and money, without honor or reward beyond what follows the doing of one's duty.

Such strength, such a bond of union, such a test, which is applicable alike to the party as a whole and to all its subdivisions and managers, obviously can exist only where its principles can be enforced and where they are the very issues immediately before the people, upon which their judgment is to be directly given. In this fact we see the reason why the principles of a national party are no restraint and have no proper application in municipal affairs, and in only a limited way to State affairs. In municipal elections party principles are but a mask and false pretense. The power of the party organization is recklessly used for mercenary and coercive purposes far beyond and below the sphere of all true party action. Extortion, bribery, and oppression in their manifold and most repulsive forms are only aided by a complicated system of party machinery utterly needless for any useful purpose in municipal government. We have yet to create a municipal system wholly separate from mere party politics.

It hardly need be stated that it is an utter departure from its true sphere for a party to coerce removals and to force its minions into those subordinate administrative places of the gov-

ernment, federal, State, or municipal, where its principles have no application, where political opinions are no test of capacity, and where the public work should be done in the same way whichever party elected the President or the Governor, or is in majority in Congress or in the Legislature. The practice of doing this on a vast scale, and of using the whole power of the party (1) to make these subordinates effective workers for its candidates, and (2) to compel these officials by threats of removal to pay large assessments on their salaries to be used by the party leaders for their own purposes,—generally to bribe voters and buy the public press,—is not only utterly repugnant to all true conceptions and functions of a party, but is a kind of despotism so insulting, corrupt, and degrading that we may well be astounded that it has been so long endured by a free people. It is against these latter abuses of parties that the Civil Service Reform movement has, with growing strength and encouraging results, mainly directed its efforts, and in these facts we find the cause of the bitter hostility of mere politicians and party manipulators to that reform which is so seriously threatening their trade.

No party deserves to live a day which needs to resort to the enslavement and robbery of the public servants to pay its expenses and do its work, which, in other words, cannot safely rest its appeal to the people on the soundness of its principles and merits of its candidates.

The highest obligation which a good citizen can be under to join, remain in, or give time or money for, a party must surely exist in favor of a party based on principles, and faithful to them. Let us see what that obligation is, according to the true and normal relations between the people and the parties. I do not, therefore, refer to those who servilely scheme for offices in the gift of parties, nor to any man who has made a special promise, express or implied, base or honorable, as a delegate or officer of a party organization, which compromises a manly independence. But has man a right to come under a pledge to any party which deprives him of his liberty to do his duty as a citizen according to his own judgment and conscience ?

Let us do full justice to the facts that nearly all political action, and especially the making of platforms, the selection of candidates, and the enactment of laws require some yielding of individual preferences, and often a considerable compromise in point

of principle. Good citizens must make whatever concessions are essential and honorable in order to secure the requisite harmony and vigor of action. But who is to be the judge on this point—who is to decide whether a candidate is trustworthy and capable—the citizen or his party? If the party, then it is at once recognized as being a power as tyrannical and irresistible as any mediæval despot. All personal manhood would, in a free nation, be prostrate before a tyranny unknown to the constitution and the laws. Considering the citizen as free to choose his party, is he not equally free as to what he will do for it, how long he will adhere to it, and which of its candidates he will support?

There is, I must think, some limitation, not in favor of the party, but of the country, to absolute freedom of this latter sort.

The moral and political duties of patriotism and national allegiance are of universal obligation. They existed before there was any party in this country. They have survived the death of many parties, and will remain unimpaired after all existing parties, and all the issues they raise, are known only to history. These duties require every man to bear his due proportion of the expense, and do his fit part of the work, and the voting needed for maintaining the government. There may or may not be parties with whom he can co-operate. If there are, the question is open for him to decide whether he can best discharge those paramount duties in the ranks of a party or otherwise.

As he decides that question at any time, it will be his duty to work and vote with the party, or to defy its wrath, at whatever cost, by doing his duty to his country in a better way. It does not follow that he leaves his party because he opposes a bad candidate or a bad measure. No man can have a higher sense of the duty of voting than the true independent who braves obliquy to vote according to his conscience, when others tamely submit or shirk in secrecy. A good citizen will not, without good reason, refuse to go with his party when great issues are involved. He should decide in full view, not only of direct, but of collateral and ultimate consequences. For it may well happen, as President Woolsey has pointed out, that one conspicuous act of heroic moral courage may awaken a whole party to the supreme claims of patriotism. If a party is made to feel certain that by nominating an unworthy candidate, or shaping its action to the interests of its most venal adherents, it will inevitably lose the votes of the

noblest characters by which it is adorned, it may, if not too far gone on the road to ruin, change its policy. It is a sad time for a country, and an hour of peril for any party, when the only independents in its ranks whom it fears and courts are its independent rascals—its gamblers, its grog-shop keepers, and its venal voters, who fix their own price. I never feel so anxious for the fate of my party, or so distrustful of its leaders, as when I hear them berate those true independents who act from a sense of duty, while not daring to utter a word against those corrupt independents who fix their own terms and exact them at every election. Is the man who asserts his independence for conscience sake the only citizen who should be denounced for asserting it at all? When we see how many vicious and venal influences are constantly inviting party managers down the road to ruin—how nearly certain history shows it to be that no party can long maintain the moral elevation of its birth, and how few are those who have the courage of their convictions in party politics—we need not fear there will be too many ready to act the part of true independents.

But I repeat that the whole course of events for the last decade, as well as the significant legislation I have cited, indicates a steady increase in the strength of the sentiment of independence in politics. The dominant party in the House of Representatives last winter could hardly carry a single party measure. The President himself was in some respects the greatest independent in the country. He who expects the influence of the independent spirit to be weaker in the election of 1888 than it was in 1884 is, I think, greatly deceived. The young voters are more and more rebelling against partisan despotism and machine politics. Clubs of a novel kind and very independent in spirit, and largely composed of young men, have lately been formed at the great political centres. Even the new party clubs for public discussion are a sort of independent protest and rebellion against the old party managers and the secret caucuses. These clubs tend to a change of leadership and of the centre of political power. The chiefs of the despotic primaries do not like them, and will be compelled to yield to their influence.

It is one of the strange delusions of the old party managers to suppose that true independents seek, or need, to form a new party either to attain their ends or to make themselves a far greater political force. These managers appear incapable of thinking

anything can be done in politics save by a party. It is the whole political world to them. They do not comprehend, any better than Mr. Conkling, the higher public which a few can express but the greatest party despot cannot withstand. Nothing can be more unfounded than the assumption that for a few men of character and patriotism to become a great political force they must form a new party or tamely act through the old ones. It was not thus that a few courageous friends of liberty drove the Democrats from power, and a few disinterested friends of administrative reform drove the Republicans from power. In no way can 50 or 500 citizens of character, capacity, and conscience become so great a power in politics, or do either their party or their country so great a service, as by publicly contrasting the doings of the party with its duty, and resisting every bad measure and bad candidate which the party may approve. In no way can such men become so insignificant and so contemptible, even in their own eyes, as by following a leadership they despise, and keeping silence because the party majority is against them. The supreme need is not to form a new party, but to make the old parties open their eyes to truth and duty. The way to bring about a reform within a party is for those having the courage to do so to speak plainly and justly, at its meetings, of what it does and what it ought to do. The nearer ruin a party is, the more fiercely will it resent such truth.

There never was anything more absurd in politics than the theory, so common, that a man ought to apologize for refusing to violate his conscience and his judgment by going servilely with the majority. An apology for such a vote is a gross act of cowardice. We shall never have parties on a true basis, nor the worthiest for leaders, so long as every speaker feels compelled at all party gatherings to utter nothing but fulsome praise for his own party, and defamation of their opponents. Such meetings must be considered fit places for truth, justice, and the courage of our convictions.

The logic by which supreme party allegiance is defended is curious indeed. Because a man has adhered to a party for a time, in the expectation that it will stand by its principles and perform its duty of nominating the most worthy candidates, it is claimed that he has thereby bound himself to accept any platform it may offer, and support any candidate it may nominate. If he refuses,

he is to be ejected, persecuted, and regarded as a traitor. The party is assumed to be the sole agency through which a citizen can discharge his duty to his country. This is the precise doctrine which church hierarchies in despotic times enforced in the domain of religion. It hardly need be pointed out that the whole theory of partisans is in keeping with that view of party politics, when they insist that every officer, national, State, and municipal, and even the laborers, chimney-sweeps, and scrub-women, shall be of their faith, work for their party candidates, and pay assessments into their party treasury. They allow no liberty of thought or action anywhere, not in the interest of the party, as defined by its managers, who enforce a sort of semi-military discipline over private citizens and public officers alike. Managing politics, in the view of many, is a sort of trade which must be made to yield profits in the treble form of offices, assessments, and rich contracts. A party is a sort of joint stock corporation for sharing these profits. To this whole theory a true independence in politics is fatal.

We have no space for going into questions of casuistry as to how far a party delegate, under peculiar circumstances, may have come under an obligation of some kind to sustain the choice of the majority, however bad; but that rapidly growing sentiment which demands that party action for making nominations and managing elections shall be subject to provisions of law against fraud and corruption, and that the State shall provide for proper election expenses, will not long tolerate the theory that a public delegate may contract an honorable, binding obligation to disregard his public duty by helping a scoundrel of his own party, rather than a good citizen of the other party, into a public office. It looks now as if the next great issue between the partisans and independents would be upon the question whether the State or these managers shall prepare and deliver the ballots to the voters and provide for election expenses. The whole politician class will fight hard for their profitable and vicious monopoly on these points. Let the State but do its duty by requiring a public account of all election expenses, and furnishing the voter with his ballot and whatever facility he needs to freely and honestly vote according to his conscience, without incurring expense and without liability of being cheated and frightened by party manipulators and partisan bullies, and most of the corruption attending our elections will

be suppressed. The experiment has been amply tried with the most salutary results in Great Britain. One or two of our States have enacted laws of this character within a few weeks. No kind of legislation could do more than this to suppress the corrupt despotism of the party machine, to make political activity unattractive to the worst class of voters, or to encourage the manly independence in politics which we so much need.

It is a hopeful and significant sign of the times that a great club, made up of the leading young men of all parties in New York City, has taken charge of procuring such legislation for New York. It is a novel spectacle in American politics to witness the free, bold, but good-tempered, discussions of vital political questions which fill up several hours after its monthly dinners. They are not given to boasting about what either party has done in years past, but to considering what good citizens and all parties can do, and should unite in doing now, and in years to come, especially in the way of removing notorious abuses. While these pages are being written, a New York City club,—recently formed,—all of whose members are adherents of my own party, has made it appear, if we may judge from the printed speeches, that it does not regard good government in this metropolis, or the great questions of national administrations, which had such intimate relations with the defeat of that party in 1884, as deserving any share of the club's attention. These facts certainly add interest to the question whether greater harmony or greater divergence is to exist between partisans and independents in the immediate future. It is certainly being found more and more difficult, in all the leading nations—conspicuously so in England, France, Germany, and Italy, as well as in the United States—to keep all citizens within the lines of two great parties. A greater number of groups and more and more independence of speech and action is demanded as intelligence and civilization advance. Mere party discipline and hope of spoils are being found more and more ineffective for their suppression. Wise is that party which comprehends the tendency and acts accordingly. Nowhere, certainly, more than here, is such freedom in harmony with the theory of the government and the spirit of the people.

A glance at the growth of this freedom in parties in Great Britain may shed some light on the probability of its future development. When despotism in church and State had so far

relaxed that parties became possible, under William III., a very severe party domination in the despotic spirit of the times was naturally provided for. The Prime Minister was to be selected from the dominant party in Parliament, and he was to name the other members of the Cabinet. The veto power was no longer to be exercised. The Prime Minister,—or Cabinet Government, thus constituted, speaking through him,—was not only to wield directly all executive power, but was really (though nominally through the King) to appoint, not only all civil, but all military and naval officers, and also all the great dignitaries of the State church. The same authority took the lead in legislation, gave pensions, conferred orders and titles, and made removals.

The party was thus made supreme through the whole domain alike of legislation, of royal favor, and of executive administration. When "the government"—the party—lost its majority in Parliament a new government was to come in. Thus was party government, close akin to party despotism, established. That system is now failing in Great Britain. A long time ago most of the higher officials not of the government itself began to be treated as removable only for cause. Civil service examinations next suppressed mere partisan appointments and removals in all but a few score of places. The system has otherwise been taken out of partisan favoritism. Our Constitution allows no such partisan system. It provides for the veto; that is, for different policies and politics on the part of the legislative and the executive departments. It contemplates that the majorities in one or both houses of Congress will not be of the same party as the President, and such has very generally been, and is now, the fact. No administration is to go out because without a majority in Congress. Each branch is to be independent largely of the other. Party government in the English sense, or in any true sense, is, therefore, made impossible. The whole matter of religion, and many other great subjects which were controlled by the party majority in Great Britain, and gave interest and dignity to party politics and administration, are fixed by our Constitution, or, in other words, excluded wholly from the sphere of party government.

Our Constitution, therefore, allows far less power to parties, and hence assures far more liberty and independence to the citizen than the British system. It denies the utility of a universal party control. It makes it possible for the government to go on,

and requires it to go on, even if there be no party whatever. Until Jackson's time, the government was administered according to its true spirit, and not at all on the British theory of despotic party management. Jackson and his imitators did what they could to substitute the old British party despotism, which responds directly to the politician's love of power and the partisan's greed for patronage. For a time they were very successful. But patriotism challenged the imported system. When, some years ago, efforts were made to suppress some of the abuses of this naturalized British system in the same way that they had been suppressed in the parent country—that is, by tests of merit through examinations—the partisan friends, of the British system were the loudest in denunciation of what they called a British reform. They only wanted a British abuse, or forgot the origin of the spoils system so dear to them. A British remedy was unendurable. Is there not good reason to believe that the movement, which has already suppressed some of the evils of this imported British system, will go on with increasing force until our parties and our administration get into harmony with the spirit and the principles of our Constitution? Until that time it is certain that the issues the movement raises will be among the most vital and decisive in our politics, however much party managers may seek to suppress them.

DORMAN B. EATON.

MY EXPERIENCE AS A LAWYER.*

THERE is a group of people who seem anxious to belittle me as a lawyer. Speaking of my employment in the De Golyer pavement matter, for instance, they say: "Garfield was not employed as a lawyer; because he is not a lawyer." Now the reason of this is, probably, that all professional men are exceedingly jealous of any one who comes up to their profession through any but the regular channels. The regular channel to the law is to study in a lawyer's office, sweep out the office for a year or two, be a clerk for a year or two more, then to pettifog in a justice's court, and slowly and gradually, after being subordinate to everybody, and the older heads have died off, to feel his way as a practicing lawyer. If after fifteen or twenty years' practice the man gets a case in the United States Supreme Court, and is admitted there, he considers it a red-letter day in his history.

I did not follow that route. I made my study of the law as complete as any one I know of, but I did it in my own room at Hiram, though, to comply with the statute, I entered my name formally with Mr. Riddle, at Cleveland. In 1861 I asked a committee of the Ohio Supreme Court to examine me, and I was then admitted to the bar of the State. When the war struck us I was about forming a law partnership, intending to go regularly into the practice; but I had then never tried or argued a case, and never had any legal experience whatever. The war came, Congress came, and when, in 1866, I had been about two years in Congress, it so happened that, in company with Henry Winter Davis, whom I very much admired, I resisted some attempt to extend the power of military commissions—to give them power to try civilians who had interfered with the prosecution of the war—such fellows as Vallandigham.

I resisted the passage of such a law as being un-American, and contrary to the old English spirit of liberty. Then some of the Indiana Democrats, or, rather, Judge Black, as their attorney,

* Autobiographical notes furnished by the late President Garfield to Edmund Kirke, as materials for a life.

came to me, saying that some men had been tried in Indiana for conspiracy against the Government—conspiring to prevent enlistments and encourage desertions. They had been tried in 1864, while the war was pending, but by a court martial sitting in Indiana, where there was no war, and, being found guilty, had been sentenced to death. Mr. Lincoln had commuted their sentence to imprisonment for life, and they were then in the Indiana state prison. A writ of *habeas corpus* had been taken out to test the legality and constitutionality of their trial, and the judges in the Circuit Court had disagreed, and certified their disagreement up to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Judge Black said to me that he had seen a report of my remarks in Congress, and he asked if I would say the same thing in an argument before the Supreme Court of the United States. "Well," I said, "that depends altogether upon your case." Then he sent me the record of the case, and after reading it over, I said to him, "I believe in that doctrine." He answered, "Young man, you know it is a perilous thing for a young Republican in Congress to say what you are saying, and I don't want you to injure yourself." "That doesn't matter," I replied, "I believe in English liberty and English law. But, Mr. Black, I am not a practitioner in the Supreme Court, and I never tried a case anywhere." "How long ago were you admitted?" he asked. "About six years," I answered. "That will do," was his reply.

Then Judge Black took me over to the Supreme Court, and I was immediately admitted and entered upon this case. The Government side was represented by the Attorney-General, by General Butler, and two others whose names I don't now remember. General Butler had been called in because of his military knowledge, and altogether it was a very strong array of counsel. On our side was David Dudley Field, of New York; Judge Black, of Pennsylvania; Judge McDonald, of Indiana, and myself, four on a side. We went in with unlimited time. I sat down and worked two days and two nights, with only four or five hours' sleep, and wrought out the points of my argument.

The day before the trial was to come off in court all the counsel met for consultation in Washington, to determine upon the course of the case, and when we got together Judge Black said, "Well, we will hear from the youngest member in this case first. Garfield, what do you propose to do?" The scene was very much

like that when I went before Buell, and submitted to him the plan of my Eastern Kentucky campaign. These men were the very foremost lawyers in the land, and I had to show them my hand without knowing the views of any one of them upon the management of the case. I took my points, and stated succinctly the line of my argument, and when I got through, and sat down, they all said, with one accord, "Don't change a line or a word of it."

The next day I went in and spoke two hours before the Supreme Court. McDonald opened the case, I followed, Judge Black followed me, and David Dudley Field wound up the case, and it was unanimously decided in our favor. The arguments were reported in full. The men we represented were paupers and prisoners. I paid for printing my own brief and my own argument, and I never saw the men, never had any relation with them, and have never received a dollar for my services. But this gave me, immediately, a standing in the U. S. Supreme Court, and brought me cases, and ever since I have had from two to seven cases a year in that court.

In another case before the Supreme Court, I was junior of Judge B. R. Curtis, of Boston. It was the last case he ever argued. The question involved was, What effect the war had on a life insurance policy—whether it vitiated the insurance of a man who lived in the South—a belligerent. We took the ground that it did. The question had never been tested in the Supreme Court. One of the judges happened to be sick, and the other eight were divided, four and four, so there was no decision. But a year later —after Judge Curtis's death—another case came up, involving the same question, and I was chosen by the same insurance company to manage it. I won it, the Court deciding that war renders void a policy of life insurance.

I have had a few cases outside of the Supreme Court. One was a railroad case in Mobile, Alabama, which I argued a year or two ago, and another was the great Alexander Campbell will case, in which I was again associated with Judge Black. We were for the defense, and, as Black had to leave, I had to argue it alone. Campbell, you know, was the founder of the Campbellites, or Disciples of Christ. His will was contested by certain people who had married into his family. He left about a quarter of a million dollars, and the contest was made on the ground that he was senile—had lost his memory. It was a ten days' trial, and we

sustained the will. It was to me a labor of love, but all of the counsel were paid good fees. These several cases are enough to show the general drift of my career as a lawyer.

ADDRESSES ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

I have delivered some addresses outside of Congressional topics, to which I would call your attention. The first is an oration on "College Education," delivered at Hiram. Then there is an oration delivered at Arlington, on the occasion of decorating the soldiers' graves; and one also on the life and character of Gen. George H. Thomas; but the one which comes nearer to my own life than any I ever made is one on the life and character of Miss Booth. When I struck Hiram I found her there—a woman nine years older than I, and who, I do not hesitate to say, was in some respects greater even than Margaret Fuller. In fact, I am disposed to think her the greatest American woman I have ever known. She was a very plain-looking person, with no external attractions, but with prodigious intellectual power. I studied with her for two years. She was a teacher at Hiram, and at the same time was fitting herself for college. When I went away to Williams she went to Oberlin, where she graduated in the full college course. Being so much older than I, she took at once one of those grand womanly interests in me, and she did more towards the molding of my intellectual life than any other person, unless it be President Hopkins. I would say that she and President Hopkins were the two great minds, outside of books, that helped to shape my life. You will find in my analysis of her character the story of her studies; and, as I shared them, what is said of her is true of me. Though I do not say it there, I will say to you that the history of my intellectual growth is more fully told in my account of her life than in anything else.

Then I made a speech at Hudson College, on the Future of the Republic, and one before the Business College in Washington on the "Elements of Success." The last was widely circulated. I have also made three or four Congressional speeches not on the usual Congressional topics. One was on Massachusetts presenting to Congress the statues of John Winthrop and General Adams. Another was on the relation of the National Government to science; another, on the presentation of the Carpenter painting, which is a sort of sketch of my idea of Lincoln's char-

acter. Still another was on the death and services of Professor Joseph Henry. That is one, I think, in which you will find considerable meat, for I knew him very intimately. I had made a speech three years before on Morse, which is pretty fully quoted there.

In the Hudson College speech there is a discussion of the railway problem. A part of it somewhat alarmed the railroad people, and yet I was just to them. I tried to hold a position in equipoise between the people and their interests and the great railroad corporations, and justice to them. The two, I think, should be harnessed so as to work harmoniously together.

Among the various speeches I have made was one in January, 1879, on the occasion of the death of Gustave Schleicher, of Texas, a very able and learned German member of the House, for whom I had the highest regard. He was a sound-money man. In that speech I start out by saying: "We are accustomed to call England our fatherland. It is a mistake. One of the greatest of modern historians, writing the history of the English people, has said that England is not the fatherland of the English-speaking people, but Germany." I go into that and say: "The real fatherland of the people of this country is Germany, and our friend who has fallen came to us direct from our fatherland, and not, like the rest of us, around by the way of England." Then I give a little sketch of German character, and what Carlyle and Montesquieu said, that the British constitution came out of the woods of Germany. That speech has made me a host of friends among the Germans.

In 1878 I held two debates with George H. Pendleton, one at Lancaster, and one at Springfield, Ohio, on the issues of the campaign; and in speaking of my Congressional career I ought to have added that on the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, I made a speech in the House in reply to that gentleman. On the 13th of January, 1865, Pendleton made a curious and very astute speech, in which he said that we had no right to amend the Constitution so as to abolish slavery—that such a thing could not be done except by the consent of every one of the individual States, it being—like the reserved right that no State without its own consent can be deprived of equal representation in the Senate—one of those rights which cannot be interfered with. The privilege of sending two members to the Senate, by each State,

irrespective of its size, is, you know, the only thing a Constitutional Amendment cannot change without consent of each and all the States. Pendleton put slavery upon the same basis, and he sustained his point by a very adroitly put argument. He undertook to show that in the nature and essence of the case slavery was such a thing, and that if you should carry every State except one to an amendment, in that one it would be untouched. My argument was to meet that, and I think it did that effectually.

I call to mind also a speech I made on the "Army and the Public Peace," wherein I show the necessity of keeping the army sufficiently strong to come to the aid of any one of the States in putting down speedily such riots as we had in Pittsburgh and New York City. With the large anarchical element which exists among the immigrants who come to us from Europe, and congregate in the large cities, there is always danger of such outbreaks.

There is another branch of this subject that is far too large to be taken up at all, except in a very summary way—my services on the stump. I have been in all the campaigns, save that of 1867, when I broke down in health, and made a trip to Europe. With the exception of that year, I have devoted as much time as any other man to the campaigns, and here at home have stood for honest money in all its phases against the waves of inflation and greenbackism. In the fall of my return from Europe the Republicans of this State had a miserable platform in favor of paying the bonded debt in greenbacks, and had fought on that issue. I had no sooner got back than my friends said to me, "For the Lord's sake, don't say anything on this subject, because the die is cast—the State is swept into the current."

I was on the point of leaving for Washington, and before I should return my successor would be nominated; therefore it was that my friends told me to be careful of my utterances, for the feeling was very strong, and I might miss of the nomination. Well, they gave me a sort of welcome at a place in the district, and at the meeting I rose and gave them a speech for the honest payment of the public debt, according to the letter of the contract, right in the teeth of their platform, and I said to them: "Much as I value your opinion, I denounce this theory which has worked into the party in this State as dishonest, unwise, and unpatriotic; and if I were offered a nomination and election from this district, for my natural life, on that platform, I should spurn

it. If you should ever raise the question of re-nominating me, let it be understood that you can have my services only on the ground of the honest payment of the national debt, according to the letter and spirit of the contract."

Thus I took the bull by the horns, and then I went to Washington. I was re-nominated by acclamation. In this manner I have had to face things at home all the time, risking my political life at every step. But I have never let down at all, pottered with no one. In all parts of the country I have debated this question, and always in the same tone, never yielding one inch to expediency, but standing up everywhere and always for the honest payment of the public debt.

In addition to this outside work, I have written several articles for the magazines—several for the *Atlantic*, and quite a number for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. One in the NORTH AMERICAN on "Appropriations," and a couple on "Army Organization," you had better read. The last were written when the Democrats were trying to tear up the army. They are probably a little too one-sided to have much of them quoted; but the fact of their being written, their scope and character, and the amount of study that is in them, is, perhaps, worthy of mention. Then I wrote in the NORTH AMERICAN in what is called "a symposium" on the question, "Ought Negro Suffrage to be Abolished?" Blaine headed it, and Hendricks, Alex. H. Stephens, Wendell Phillips and I were called in. My part was only a few pages; but you may think I there put the whole thing into a nutshell.

I have spoken of my trip to Europe in 1867. It was full of delight to me, though I was away only seventeen weeks. We struck at Liverpool, and then went down to London, stopping at Chester; were in London about six days, and listened to the great reform debate which let 700,000 Englishmen into the suffrage. Then we went up to Scotland and made the tour of the lakes; crossed the North Sea and landed at Rotterdam; went to Brussels, and up the Rhine to Switzerland; across the Alps into Italy, to Milan, Venice, and Rome; spent a week in Rome among the monuments and ruins; back across to Paris; spent a week there; then to London and Liverpool, and across to Kingston; then a trip through Ireland and home. That was our line of travel. It gave me restored health and the culture of it.

THE SHAKESPEARE MYTH.

I AM asked to write something about the question of Francis Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare plays, and especially touching the cipher which I have discovered in the plays of 1st and 2d "Henry IV."

The argument as to the authorship of the plays is a vast one. In a magazine article one cannot do more than touch upon its shores. It already embraces a literature of its own, as one can see by consulting "The Bibliography of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy," by W. H. Wyman,* which contains the titles of 255 different books, pamphlets, essays, etc.

It is argued that William Shakespeare, of Stratford on Avon, could not have written the plays, for the following, among many other, good reasons:

I. The plays, it is conceded, reveal great learning. Part of "Henry V." is written in French. The plots of some of the plays were derived from untranslated Italian novels, indicating that the author understood that language. There are proverbs quoted from the Spanish. The writer was evidently a master of Greek and Latin. He seemed to know everything.

Francis Bacon was the most learned man of his age; but the Stratford boy could have had no education but that which the rude village school could afford him; and there is no evidence that he ever attended even that. In the country schools of that day the English language was not taught. We have a pretty fair representation of the mode of teaching in the scene in "The Merry Wives" (Act IV., scene 1), where the Welsh school-master, *Evans*, puts the boy *William* through his "*hig, hag, hog.*" And yet "the first heir of his (Shakespeare's) invention," was, we are told, the "*Venus and Adonis,*" which the critics suppose he brought with him from Stratford when he first came to London;

*Published by Samuel C. Cox & Co., Cincinnati, O., 119 pp.

and which is written in the most polished and courtly language of the day; without a trace of the provincialisms of his native Warwickshire.

II. The traditions which have come down to us concerning Shakespeare do not, any of them, point to the habits of a scholar or a gentleman. The first glimpse we have of the family was when John Shakspere, his father, was fined twelve pence, in 1552, for maintaining "a conspicuous *sterquinarium* before his house in Henley street; and under these unsavory circumstances does the history of the poet's father commence in the records of England."* The first tradition we have concerning Shakespeare himself is that of an ale-drinking contest with the "Bidford topers," while yet a young man, in which he became so beastly-drunk that he could not reach home, but slept all night by the road-side. We are told that he was a deer-stealer, and given to all "manner of unluckiness;" and that "Sir Thomas Lucy had him oft imprisoned and whipped." He married a woman some years older than himself, under unusual circumstances, and their first child was born six months after the marriage. The last tradition we have of him is that his death was the result of a drinking-bout with Drayton and Ben Jonson. Neither his father nor mother could read or write, and Halliwell Phillips doubts if there was a book in the house of his parents. There is no reference to any book or papers in Shakspere's will. His daughter Judith signed her name with a cross. Imagine the daughter of Herbert Spencer or William E. Gladstone (and the author of the plays was a greater, wiser, and more learned man than either of them) unable to read or write! It is inconceivable.

The plays show that the writer was a lawyer; they abound in the technical phraseology of the law. Kings, queens, clowns, soldiers, the very women, talk in the language of the courts. When a young gentleman proposes to kiss a young lady, she replies:

> "My lips are no common, though several they be."
> ("Love's Labor Lost," II., 1.)

Francis Bacon was a great and accomplished lawyer; but there is no evidence that the drunken poacher of Stratford was ever in a lawyer's office for an hour in his life.

III. Not a scrap of manuscript of William Shakspere has come

*Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare, J. O. Halliwell Phillips, p. 18.

down to us—not a letter, memorandum, fragment of a journal, remnant of an unfinished play, or anything else has reached us. While the two houses on Henley street remained in the possession of his granddaughter, Lady Barnard, until 1670, and in the hands of the descendants of his sister, Joan Hart, "*down to the beginning of the present century,*" not one of his family was able to give to the famishing curiosity of the world a single scrap of paper, or book, or anything else, that ever belonged to the alleged poet. They did not seem to have ever possessed a copy of any one of the seventy-two editions of the plays or poems published in quarto during the lifetime of the supposed author.

We are asked to believe that the mightiest mind with which God ever blessed the race dwelt for fifty-two years on this planet, in the midst of the busy, bustling age of Elizabeth and James, surrounded by wits, poets, philosophers, pamphleteers, printers, and publishers, and in contact with events which affected the whole world and all history; and yet touched these men and events at no point, and left not the slightest impress on his age as an individual. It is as if a gigantic spirit had descended from another sphere, strode unheeded through the busy marts of men, dropped behind him carelessly vast and incalculable works, and then, striding on, disappeared suddenly and utterly in thin air.

IV. The writer of the plays esteemed them at their real worth. He says in one of the sonnets:

> "Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
> Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read;
> And tongues to be your being shall rehearse
> When all the breathers of this world are dead.
> You still shall live, (such virtue hath my pen),
> Where breath most breathes, even in the mouths of men."

And yet we are asked to believe that the author of these works, whose immortality he so clearly foresaw, whose value he so fully appreciated, never published one of them; never referred to them in his will; never provided for their publication; and although living at the rate of $12,000 a year, as tradition tells us, left eighteen out of thirty-six plays unpublished at his death, to take their chances of oblivion. They were not published until seven years after his death, in the Great Folio of 1623; and then not at the cost of his wealthy heirs, who had boasted on his monument of his literary genius, but as the folio itself tells us, "at the

charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley." The man of Stratford was very particular to sue Philip Rogers for £1 19s. 10d., for "malt sold" (for "the poet" seems to have been running some sort of a brewery), but he died and left "Macbeth," "Julius Cæsar," "Anthony and Cleopatra," "Coriolanus," "Henry VIII.," "The Tempest," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Measure for Measure," the "Comedy of Errors," the "Winter's Tale," and eight others of the great plays unpublished, at the risk of having his intellectual daughter Judith tear the manuscripts up and use them for curl-papers. It is horrible to ask intelligent people to believe any such story.

V. Shakspere himself never claimed the plays. He did not put his name on the title-leaf of any of them; for the name on the title-leaf is in every case, "*William Shakespeare*," very often printed with a hyphen, thus, "Shake-speare," while the three signatures to his will and the two others to legal instruments, these being the only autographs we have of him, are in each case spelled *Shakspere*, which must have been pronounced *Shack*-spere. And this seems to have been the accepted pronunciation in Stratford. In the records of the Town Council the name of Shakspere's father occurs 196 times, and in not one instance is it spelled *Shake*speare. It is given as Schacksper, Shackesper, Shaksper, Shaxpeare, and Shaxper. In "the poet's" marriage bond it is "Shagspere." The name on the title-leaf, and the eagle holding a spear in its claw, in the bogus coat of arms, were all part of the myth, devised by some keener mind behind the scenes. I believe it is now conceded that his wife's name was not *Hathaway*, but *Whatley*, and that she never lived in the Hathaway cottage, which thousands of sentimental tourists have visited with bedewed eyes. It is not certain that he was even born in that Mecca of our race, the Henley street cottage; and some have gone so far so to argue that a critical analysis of his signature proves that he could not read or write, but transcribed his name from copies, and used a different copy at different times. It is argued, with considerable show of probability, that the original name was *Jacques-Pierre* or John-Peter. Halliwell Phillips concedes that his claim to gentle blood was a fraud, and that the allegation that his "antecessors" had rendered valuable services to Henry VII., and that the King had rewarded them with a grant of lands in Warwickshire is all false. What kind of man

must he have been, who would thus attempt to enter the ranks of the gentry with a lie ?

On the other hand, the character and career of Francis Bacon fit, in every particular of chronology, incident, opinion, studies, attainments, occupations, purposes, modes of thought, and modes of expression into the characteristics of the plays.

Let me give three instances, out of a multitude, of perfect parallelism of idea and language :

The first is taken from the "Authorship of Shakespeare," written by Hon. Nathaniel Holmes.*

Bacon says :

"In the third place, I set down character and reputation, the rather because they have certain *tides* and season, which, if they be not *taken* in due time, are difficult to be recovered, it being extremely hard to restore a falling reputation."—*De Augmentis.*

Shakespeare has :

"There is a *tide* in the affairs of men,
Which, *taken* at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries."

"Julius Cæsar," IV., 3.

Mrs. Henry Pott, of London, in her great work, "The Promus,"† calls attention to the following striking parallelism :

In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" (Act IV., scene 2), we have :

Thu. How, now, *Sir Proteus*, are you *crept* before us ?
Pro. Ay, gentle *Thurio ;* for you know that *love*
Will *creep in service where it cannot go.*"

While Bacon, in a letter to James I., written in 1610, which accompanied the sending of a portion of the "History of Great Britain," says :

"This (History), being but a leaf or two, I pray your pardon if I send it for your recreation, considering that *love must creep where it cannot go.*"

Now, as the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" was not published

*The authorship of "Shakespeare." By Nathaniel Holmes. Hurd & Houghton : New York, p. 309.

† The Promus of Francis Bacon. By Mrs. Henry Pott. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.: Boston, 1883, p. 24.

until 1623, Bacon could not, in 1610, have borrowed from Shakespeare; and, as the letter to the king was never published prior to Shakespeare's death (1616), Shakespeare could not have borrowed from Bacon.

Permit me to give a third parallelism which I have observed. Bacon says:

"Some noises help sleep . . . as soft *singing*. The cause is for that they move in the *spirits* a gentle *attention*."—*Nat. History*, § 745.

While in Shakespeare we have the following:

"I am never merry when I hear sweet music,
The reason is your *spirits* are *attentive*."
("Merchant of Venice," V., 1.)

Here we have the same conception in identical language. In each case the philosopher not only observes the same fact, but gives the same reason for the thing he observes.

If space permitted, I could fill pages with equally striking parallelisms. But let those who desire to study this most interesting subject turn to Mrs. Pott's book or Judge Holmes's work, or read that splendid specimen of vituperative eloquence, wherein W. O'Connor* pours forth a mingled stream of honey and vitriol, in reply to Richard Grant White's criticism of Mrs. Pott's "Promus."

The commendatory verses of Ben Jonson, prefixed to the folio of 1623, are often referred to as conclusive proof that Ben, at least, believed Shakspere to have been the author of the Shakespeare writings. But Ben was often in the employment of Bacon; he was one of his "good pens;" he helped him to translate his philosophical works into Latin; he was doubtless in the secret. The commendatory verses were part of the myth. They are full of double meanings, and it is a startling fact that Jonson applied the precise language to Bacon which he had used in these verses in reference to Shakespeare. Addressing the shade of the departed poet, Ben says:

"Or, when thy socks are on,
Leave thee alone for the *comparison*
Of all that *insolent Greece or haughty Rome*
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come."

Jonson left behind him, at his death, in 1637, certain memo-

* "Hamlet's Note-Book." By William D. O'Connor. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886. 78 pp.

randa, called his "Discoveries," and in these he speaks of Bacon as follows:

"But his learned and able, but unfortunate, successor, is he who hath *filled up all numbers*, and performed that in one tongue which may be *compared* or preferred either to *insolent Greece or haughty Rome.*"

"Filled up all numbers," means had written poetical compositions in all measures. What were they? In Bacon's acknowledged works we find no metrical compositions, except the translation of a few psalms, made in his old age, and on a bed of sickness. But, says Ben Jonson, he, Bacon, had written a diversity of poetical works that could be compared with "insolent Greece or haughty Rome." What were they? Were they those very plays which Ben had already told us could be compared with all that "insolent Greece or haughty Rome" had ever sent forth?

The temptation is great, but space will not permit me to go farther into this boundless argument.

Bacon's dearest friend, Sir Tobie Matthew, was undoubtedly in his secret. Sir Tobie writes Bacon a letter in acknowledgment of the gift of "a great and noble token," presumed to be the Shakespeare folio of 1623, and he adds this postscript:

"The most prodigious wit that ever I knew, of my nation and of this side of the sea, is of your lordship's name, *though he be known by another.*"

Bacon, in the sixth book of the "*De Augmentis*," says:

"As for writing, it is performed either by the common alphabet, which is used by everybody, or by a secret and private one, agreed upon by particular persons, which they call *ciphers.*"

That is to say, a cipher is a secret *alphabet*. And we find Bacon corresponding with Sir Tobie, and referring to "works of his recreation," and to "works of the *alphabet*." And then, about the time the Shakespeare folio of 1623, in which, be it remembered, half the plays appear for the first time, is about to be published, we find Bacon writing to Sir Tobie that it is time to "put the *alphabet* in a frame." What was the frame? The folio:—for I shall show that the cipher depends on the paging of the folio, and the paging is as a frame to the text.

But it will occur to many that the proposition that a set of great, recognized writings could be made the vehicle for an internal cipher-narrative is preposterous. It will be asked:—Why, if

Bacon had anything to tell the world, did he not tell it? Why did he go to work

"By indirection to find direction out?"

Why did he set forth in this laborious and hidden fashion what he could just as easily have published broadcast to the world, and sold, for sixpence a copy, from the stall of "The White Greyhound in Paul's Church Yard?"

But these plays were written in the sixteenth century, not in the nineteenth; in the reign of Elizabeth, not of Victoria and Grover. They were written in an age when free thought and free speech led to the scaffold and the stake; when the direful odors of the flesh of burning human beings filled the air and their shrieks deafened the ears of men; when the philosopher Bruno was perishing in the streets of Rome, and the unbeliever Jett was dying in the flames of Smithfield. The age of ciphers ended when the age of liberty came. Despotism always begets secretiveness. To speak is to die. And not all of the dark cloud which then enveloped Europe is dissipated—some shreds of fog still skirt the horizon. We no longer burn men for their opinions, but it is still uncomfortable, and sometimes dangerous, to run counter to the universal belief of the unreasoning multitude. When Delia Bacon announced her conviction, the result of great study and a lifetime of earnest thought, that Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays, all society rose up in insurrection against her, and she was hounded and persecuted, ridiculed and misrepresented, until the brain of the poor woman—the best brain it was in America—gave way under the inhuman pressure. And then her tormentors pointed to her insanity, and have ever since continued to point to it, as conclusive proof of the folly of her theory. As if there were not thousands of women in the insane asylums who believed that Shakespeare wrote the plays himself! As if insanity proved anything but physical degeneration.

It is but a year or two since Richard Grant White soberly proposed that if any man believed that Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays, the proper place for him was the lunatic asylum; and Richard would have sent him there, if the law had permitted him, rather than see the copyright of his books or his stereotype plates rendered valueless. He poured forth an utter flood of Billingsgate over the devoted head of one of the most

learned women of England for having written a book, "The Promus," which is an honor to the English name, and which sought to prove the thesis of Bacon's authorship of the plays.

If such things are possible to-day, how could Francis Bacon have dared to publish the inner history of the court of Elizabeth and James, or his inmost opinions of men and things, in his own time? His head would have rolled from the block. If dead, his body would have been dragged from the grave, as was that of Cromwell, and distributed to decorate the gates of London.

Imagine a mighty spirit, such as was he who wrote these plays. A mighty spirit! Aye: for what other name is fitted to stand beside that which we call Shakespeare? Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Dante, Molière, Goethe,—giants of time they were, but they shrink into mediocrity in this august presence. All of dramatic power the most wonderful, of poetry the most resplendent, of art the most subtle, of philosophy the most profound, of learning the most universal, of genius the most sublime,—this is Shakespeare. Increasing civilization has simply enlarged our capacity to comprehend these wonderful writings; they dominate the race; they are taking possession of the brain and blood of the whole world.

Imagine such a mighty genius as this, but poor and powerless, living in little, dirty London; in petty England, with its three million people, dominated by Elizabeth.

> "A woman, though the phrase may seem uncivil,
> As able and as cruel as the devil."

Imagine how full such a brain and heart must have been:—wrath, revenge, sorrow, shame, pity, wisdom—and speechless!

> "The grief that will not speak
> Whispers the o'er-fraught heart and bids it break."

He has much to tell posterity which his own age will not hear. How shall he tell it?

He lives in an age of ciphers. He has written about them; he has invented them. He has helped Essex to carry on the diplomatic correspondence of Europe in ciphers. He is, by nature, secretive; you see it in the very look of his pictures; watchful and suspicious, as if he lived under the constant shadow of a possible exposure.

But his genius penetrates the future. He labors to improve

the world. He sees in his mind's eye this august American Republic. Speaking in "Henry VIII.," of James I., he says:

> "Wherever the bright sun of Heaven shall shine,
> His honor, and the greatness of his name
> Shall be, *and make new nations.*"

He is interested personally in schemes of colonization of our Atlantic seaboard. This is his NEW ATLANTIS. And it is remarkable how many of his schemes for the good of mankind have already been unwittingly carried out in this fair and blessed land.

He sees that there is a great future for mankind, when religious wars have ceased, and experimental philosophy has opened the way to new inventions, and man's increased power over nature has multiplied the delights and capacities of life.

His writings will not perish. He knew their value. He was the only man in the world at that time who did. Hear him:

> "Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
> Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme."
> *Sonnet LV.*

And again:

> "Nor shall death brag thou wanderest in his shade,
> When in *eternal lines* to time thou goest;
> So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
> So long lives this, and this gives life to thee."
> *Sonnet XVIII.*

He will embody his story, with which his heart is full, in those great dramatic works which have so delighted the multitude by "their facetious grace in writing;" and which "have had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales."

He will give the world not only the greatest dramatic and poetical compositions it has ever possessed, but he will make them a cipher work of incomprehensible industry and ingenuity, weaving together, as in a majestic loom, fact, fiction, history, comedy, poetry, biography, and making thereof a tapestry fit to adorn the palaces of the gods.

But it will be asked, how could he be sure his secret ever would be found out?

He knew a critical age could not fail to draw the contrast, as it has done, between Shackspere's life and Shake-speare's works.

He knew that sooner or later the stupidest lout would exclaim with *Caliban:*

> "And I'll be wise hereafter,
> And seek for grace: what a thrice double ass
> Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
> And worship this dull fool?"
>
> ("Tempest," V., 4.)

And he put into the "Merry Wives," on page 53 of the *Comedies,* in the Folio of 1623, the word "BACON" with a capital B; and on the same column he placed the word "WILLIAM," repeated a dozen times; and on the next column "PEERE;" and two pages ahead "SHAKES." And in the same Folio, on page 53 of the *Histories* (observe the recurrence of the number), he inserted again the word "BACON," and on the next column the word "NICHOLAS" (his father's name), twice repeated, and on the next page, 54 "BACON-FED," again with a capital B; and then the odd word "BACONS," again with a capital B; and on the next page, 55, "FRANCIS," and on the next page, 56, "FRANCIS" repeated twenty times, just as "WILLIAM" was on page 53 of the *Comedies.*

And be it observed that the word "BACON," standing alone, and not hyphenated, and printed with a capital B, appears only twice in the nine hundred pages of the Folio, and each time it is on page 53—first on page 53 of the *Comedies,* then on page 53 of the *Histories.*

And on page 52 of the *Histories,* facing the second "BACON," and like an index-finger pointing directly at it, we find this sentence:

> "Peace, cousin, say no more,
> And now I will *unclasp a secret book,*
> And, to your *quick conceiving discontents,*
> I'll read you matter deep and dangerous;
> As full of peril and adventurous spirit
> As to o'er walk a current roaring loud
> On the unsteadfast footing of a *speare.*"
>
> ("I. Henry IV.," I., 3.)

IGNATIUS DONELLY.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

SOME LEGACIES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

I.

Our civil war in its progress presented many interesting problems, both military and political. Some of these (mainly the military) were solved by the actual experiences of the war, but a number of the most valuable of those having political aspects, have not, it appears to me, received the amount of attention which their intrinsic importance demands or the welfare of the country should exact. Such of them as were not solved by the immediate succession of events, as were most of the military questions, appear either to have passed without notice at the time or to have been forgotten or neglected since.

It is sufficiently apparent that so great a convulsion, involving so many highly intelligent people, characterized by such tremendous occurrences, and leading to such momentous results, both foreign and domestic, lasting through four years of unrelenting war and many more years of internecine strife and bitterness, could not have invaded our history without displaying to our attention many most valuable and novel lessons, the careful study of which at the time could not fail to inure greatly to the benefit of our posterity and the stability of the government we transmit to them.

It is my purpose in this brief paper to invite what attention I may to two or three of these questions which, so far, we seem to have little considered.

It is hardly necessary to say that, although the real and immediate cause of our Civil War was the manifest purpose of the minority of our people to extend the area of slavery, the avowed principle on which the war was waged was the old and long-controverted doctrine of State sovereignty and State rights. The first of these questions has been completely, and the latter in a limited sense, settled by the result of the war, and it is no longer

profitable to discuss them in any relation they bear to the integrity of the government; but so violent a solution of questions interwoven with all our social and political institutions has occasioned so much and such widespread bitterness of feeling on the part of the losers, and such deep-rooted dislike of the theories they maintained on the part of those who were successful, that there was much danger that the natural reaction might carry us so far in the readjustment of political relations that we should inflict on the country political heresies as fatal to the perpetuity of our institutions as any of those which now lie buried in the graves of so many of the best and noblest of our countrymen. We have learned, and have overcome, the disadvantages of the doctrine of State rights. Would it not have been well, also, to follow this by some more study than we have given to its advantages?

It is a little curious, at first glance, to notice that that section of our countrymen who planted themselves upon the extremest doctrines of State sovereignty, and founded a government upon the principle that each of its States possessed complete control of its own affairs, even to the extent of separating itself from the general government without assigning a reason for doing so, had actually within two years almost annihilated these State governments by assuming a control of many of them which never would have been thought of by the Government in Washington, nor tolerated by the people of the North.

The future historian of the war may, perhaps, find the best explanation of the breakdown of the South in the fact that the Southern people, in the early part of the struggle, had, by their own hands, almost destroyed what they professedly waged war to uphold.

It is equally curious to note that, in the North, where theories of State sovereignty almost the precise opposite of those maintained in the South were held by a large majority of the people, the State governments, from the very beginning of hostilities, steadily and rapidly increased in power and influence, until, long before the conclusion of the war, they occupied a position of commanding importance in the conduct of national affairs, unknown to their history theretofore. So far from any attempt being made to impair their constitutional powers or restrict their rights of local self government, it was soon discovered that in war, as in peace, for raising great armies expeditiously and keeping them in

the field successfully, as for administering affairs in profound peace, they were equally admirable and equally efficient instrumentalities. We can realize now, as probably many of us could not then, the important fact that the general government, by recognizing this truth promptly and acting upon it consistently, alone acquired the power to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. In every detail of the service, from the movements of armies in battle down to the supply of the smallest article for the comfort and contentment of the soldier, the hands of the State government were everywhere felt and their good influence everywhere made manifest. They stood by us alike in sorrow and misfortune as in victory and in triumph. But for them our ranks would have been thinner and our spirits lower many times during those long years of bloody strife.

In war, as in peace, our State governments are our sure reliance, and it would certainly show little wisdom in the people of this country, in this or any succeeding generation, to lend their aid to measures likely to jeopardize the true position and rightful functions of the State governments under the Constitution of the United States.

We have dealt thoroughly with the attempt of some of the State governments to overthrow the rightful authority of the United States. Will it not be well for us now to be equally careful that the rightful authority of the State governments be not invaded in like manner? And in all deference and respect, I venture to suggest that the great source of apprehension in this direction does not seem to me to lie so much in any likely action of the legislative or executive departments of the general government as in the interpretations of constitutional and statute law by the courts of the United States, and through decisions, their gradual and almost unobserved usurpation of the powers of the State courts. Surely the extent of the jurisdiction of the United States courts and the detail to which it has been carried, find no parallel in the history of those courts for the fifty years before the Civil War. It seems rather hard to comprehend how a State government can be said to control its own local affairs when a subordinate court of the United States, by its own process, can seize a railroad within the limits of the State and completely remove it and its employés from State control. And this, notwithstanding the fact that the railroad exists

only by permission of the State, and subject to such limitations and conditions as its charter specifies. Not only are the persons employed on the road, as well as the road itself, removed thus summarily from the control of its creator, the State, but it is operated by the court within the State limits by its own employés whether the State consents or not. The State creates a corporation which is permitted to exist and do business on certain specified conditions. The United States courts seize and operate it without consent of its master and absolutely in violation of the conditions and limitations under which the State consented to allow it to live at all. Again, the roads thus possessed and operated by the United States courts, together with the armies of employés working on them, occupy a relation to the criminal law and the police administration of the State altogether different from that held by other people and property in the State. In case of riot among railroad employés or others, in any way affecting the safety or convenience of the railroad, the United States Marshal promptly calls for a force of the regular army and the War Department may and does so order without the request or consent of the State Legislature or the Governor, and so a portion of the State, of its citizens, and of their property are completely removed from the jurisdiction of the State, and an armed police force introduced to apply other rules and measures than those of the State, and directed by other authority, to keep the peace among its citizens. This procedure makes the idea of States rights and local self-government somewhat hazy. No doubt plenty of decisions based on good law can be produced to justify this and like proceedings. It is in human nature that any organization of men possessed of power over their fellow men will seek by honorable means to increase and expand it, and the power to interpret the law creating it is an immense temptation to the judges, even if only to magnify the dignity and influence of the court itself. If there be really danger that the authority of the State governments may be too much restricted for the free and unobstructed exercise of their legitimate powers under the Constitution of the United States (the benefit of which was so deeply felt and admitted during the war), it might be respectfully suggested to the United States courts to try, for a time, the opposite method of determining the extent and character of their jurisdiction; that is, that they study the law for the purpose of

determining how little, rather than how much, they can absorb of the power and authority of the State courts, and the rightful authority of the State, without neglect of their own obligations.

This reverse process of examining and interpreting the law would at once make clear how wide apart would be the results reached by the two methods, and both reached by equally sound decisions; and thus, perhaps, enable the courts to arrive at a conclusion equally removed from both extremes, and, perhaps, also, more conducive to the general welfare and content.

II.

Another question equally important and perhaps more difficult to solve, was left to us by the war and by the events which followed. That question is, how we can absorb and assimilate into our social and political body the population both of foreign nationalities and of distinct races among ourselves? The former have always, the latter only recently, been endowed with the rights of citizenship, but neither of them prepared, by knowledge and experience, to discharge such obligations intelligently. It is a well-known fact that all the peoples who have founded and consolidated great empires, since history began, have possessed one peculiar faculty, the faculty of assimilating populations, of digesting, as it were, the peoples they acquired by conquest or treaty, and of turning into citizens like themselves the almost infinite variations of mankind which in any manner fell under their influence. This peculiar power can be traced clearly in the history of all the great peoples from the beginning. Of the two peoples of the civilized world of to-day who possess it, we are one, and so long as it remains unimpaired and in full force we may look to a future of prosperity and progress. When it ceases to act, we may understand without fear of mistake that we have reached the zenith of our fortunes and must begin to contemplate our certain decline. Until lately we have detected no signs of weakness or decay. We have welcomed to our shores all strangers, from whatever country or in whatever numbers they chose to come, and we have conferred upon them, to such an extent, the rights and privileges we ourselves possess, that absolutely the result of popular elections in many of our Western States is determined often by the votes of foreign immigrants not citizens of the United States; that is, of foreigners who have only declared their intention to become

citizens, and actually thereby, by the laws of these States, do become voters after a residence not one-fifth so long as the United States requires for their naturalization as citizens of this country. So far we have been able to assimilate them, and to make, out of the native of every country in the civilized world, an American in idea and in feeling.

All have adapted themselves (or did so before the war) to the conditions around them without much effort, and it is not too much to say that many of our best and most valuable citizens have come to us, in times not remote, from countries alien to us in blood, in language, and in institutions. Such were the conditions prior to the Civil War.

Unfortunately, however, *since* the war, and attracted by its successful issue, European immigrants have poured themselves upon us in far greater numbers, but of far less respectability and worth, than any of their predecessors. All varieties of the criminal, and the political and social agitator, and the lowest creatures of poverty and ignorance have been encouraged and helped by their own governments to precipitate themselves into our midst, reluctant as we have been to accept them. The agitators, whether Socialists, Anarchists, Nihilists, or whatever they call themselves, have promptly thrust themselves to the front: they infest every public meeting and enliven its proceedings by their presence and their oratory. It is quite manifest by the riotous and, at times, murderous transactions, which have found, so far, their extremest development at Chicago, that our old system of assimilation cannot be applied to such creatures as these. If we desire to appropriate and digest them, we must devise some newer and speedier method of doing so than the old methods that have sufficed in the past. The constantly increasing hordes of such people who are invading us every day, without an attempt on our part to resist, or even to discriminate among them, make it quite apparent that we have no time to lose if we would stay evils which threaten the overthrow, or, at least, the demoralization of our social and political organization.

There is no doubt, I think, that nine-tenths of our fellow-citizens of foreign birth who have been some time domiciled in this country view with even greater anxiety (because they better know the dangers than we do) this constantly increasing influx of political and social outlaws and of hopeless paupers, and would gladly

concur in any measures to restrain if not wholly to arrest it. The first sentiment we must get rid of (and it will be hard, remembering how we have flaunted it in the face of mankind so long) is that "America is the asylum of the oppressed of all nations," unless we couple it with what is much more a truism, "and also the refuge of the scoundrels and paupers of Europe." Late events in various parts of the country make it apparent that we must call a halt in this unjustifiable and most impolitic invitation to utterly ignorant or destitute foreigners, to sit down, unwashed and unshorn, to our banquet of liberty and self-government, at which they immediately assume the foremost position and announce and respond to every sentiment.

III.

More especially should we cease to overload our political stomach with this indigestible stuff until we have digested or in some way disposed of the great mass of ignorant people of a distinct race whom we already have in our midst, and whom the outcome of the war has left in such new and perplexing relations to us. As we ourselves brought these poor people or their ancestors to this country against their wish, and have placed them in such unfamiliar and irritating connections with their old neighbors, we surely owe to them such effort to settle them among us as citizens, and to make more satisfactory their status among the people around them, as our own action toward them imposes on us. Certainly, this duty is far higher and more binding upon us than the obligations of hospitality to such crowds of emigrants as are invading us from Europe. It happened, unfortunately, no doubt, that this great increase of emigration to this country began about the time we so suddenly endowed four millions of colored people with all the rights of citizenship. Certainly, it made the tax upon our powers of digestion greater than any wise statesmen should have consented to impose, but it has been done, and now we must decide whether our duty, as well as our direct interest, does not demand that we provide first for those we have created citizens from among our own population, if, indeed, any choice is left us. The negroes are here, and by our own act endowed by law with all the rights we ourselves possess, though also by our own act they had been unfitted for self-gov-

ernment by centuries of slavery and enforced ignorance. Extraordinary circumstances, and what seemed imperative necessity, forced us to bestow on them the rights of citizenship, and common justice to them, as well as our own direct interest, demands that we put forth every effort to fit them for the duties we have imposed upon them. It is a great task in itself, only just begun, and of doubtful issue still, and, at times, of grievous discouragement. There are portions of this continent we live on and some of the islands of the sea which, no doubt, it would be better for us and for mankind that we should possess, and were they without population, or with such a population as ours, it would be well, perhaps to acquire them, but certainly not till we have arrested or greatly limited the dangerous and troublesome hordes of emigrants from abroad, and placed in a far more satisfactory condition the large number of new citizens so recently added to our population in the Southern States. If we accomplish this task, we can approach the acquisition of new regions and the assimilation of additional foreign elements with some assurance of success. If we fail, we shall be confronted with difficulties greater than any we have yet overcome. Actual necessity demands that we put a stop to any addition to our burden by immigration from abroad, at least until we have made far more satisfactory disposition of what we have.

IV.

There is another singular result developed by the war, which may have such wide-spread influence on the country that, it appears to me, it should be carefully studied, and its significance (if it have any) be clearly shown. I state it with much diffidence, and only because it can be easily verified, and because it involves questions in which we are alike interested in all parts of the country. I disclaim any purpose whatever, other than an honest wish to seek and examine into all that our history has offered us which appears to deserve serious consideration.

Because a truth may not be agreeable to hear, it is hardly the part of wisdom in a clear-sighted, intelligent people to ignore it or put it aside, or even to have any feeling concerning it, except the wish to remedy what is evil and perpetuate what is good.

This singular fact was presented for our consideration at the conclusion of our Civil War. We had passed through four years of a great and bloody war; a convulsion which upheaved the

nation from the very foundations; in which our social and political institutions were at stake and in danger of complete shipwreck; a war which invaded every household and sat by every fireside in the land, and in which every man, woman and child was personally interested.

Such a struggle commanded and obtained the best efforts of everybody, regardless of age, sex or condition. It is needless to say that the efforts were put forth and the sacrifices freely made. For us the war ended successfully, and in its progress the men best fitted to accomplish the work were naturally produced, and did it wisely and well, but when the victory was won we found this curious, and it seems to me, significant fact:

The President was a Western man, the Vice-President a Western man, the Chief Justice of the United States a Western man, the Speaker of the House a Western man, the Secretary of the Treasury a Western man, the Secretary of War a Western man, the Secretary of the Interior a Western man, the Postmaster-General a Western man, the Attorney-General a Western man, the General of the Army a Western man, the Lieutenant-General of the Army a Western man, the Admiral of the Navy a Western man—in short, the whole power of the government, both in its civil and in its military departments, had, during this tremendous struggle, passed into the hands of men from the West. I repeat that I have no purpose whatever in setting forth these facts, easy to be verified, except the honest desire that if there be meaning in them, if they are really of consequence to us as a people, we may recognize and act upon them. It is the fact that, during our Civil War, the most tremendous convulsion that is recorded in history, New England produced neither a great soldier nor a statesman of commanding influence. Several explanations of a result so surprising have been suggested, but none which would appear to be satisfactory. Among the more plausible of them is the suggestion that some of these high functionaries were natives of the Eastern States; but this fact hardly furnishes a sufficient explanation, unless it can also be truly said that the ten or twenty years these men lived among a people so different in modes of thought and manner of education as they found in the West, made no impression upon them, and that they attained the same development they would have done had they remained amidst the surroundings and associations of their youth. Of course such a proposition

could be overthrown by the experience of every man to whom it was applied.

My own consideration of the subject, which I give briefly and with much diffidence, has led me to inquire whether in the common school system of education, which has been long enough in operation in the Eastern States to bear full fruits, but which has only been introduced into the West in comparatively recent times, we may not find some clue to so strange a fact. Is it not true, that such sameness of books, of modes of teaching, and of men who teach, as prevails in our public schools, and must always prevail while the present organization and management is maintained, tends directly to that uniformity in habits of mind and modes of thought which eliminates all originality and leaves the subjects of such teaching with so few differences, that the friction of ideas necessary to individual development and general advancement becomes next to impossible ?

Is it not true that the law of our creation is infinite diversity, mental and physical, and equally true that our system of common school education directly substitutes uniformity ? Is it wise to make systems of education so uniform in all their details that there is danger that they will turn out men as much alike as buttons from a factory ? Is the development of communities and States or of individuals the object of education ? Are not the results of such a system much in the nature of hotel soups, which have such sameness of flavor that no man can tell whether the essential element is fish, flesh, or fowl ? General education carried to the extremest possible limit is not only of all things desirable, but in a government like ours it is essential to its welfare and perpetuity. The question here is not as to the increase and extension of educational facilities and advantages, but whether as now they shall be made to conform to one standard, which must of necessity conduct us to general uniformity, which means stagnation, or whether they shall be carefully organized with a view to general diversity in books and in modes of teaching. Is it better for us, in view of our individual or national development, that we should all look at the subjects presented for our consideration from the same or from many different standpoints ? I beg to be understood as not offering any solution of this question. I am not at all confident myself that I have even indicated the way thereto. I do hope, however, that what I have said may serve to invite more inquiry than seems

to have been made, into a subject which certainly, on cursory examination, appears of sufficient interest to command the attention of those most capable of discussing it. Above all things, however, such a problem should be approached in the true spirit of inquiry, without prejudice and without reluctance to face the results and to tell them openly.

V.

But perhaps the most unhappy legacy which our Civil War has left us, is the general neglect of the obligations and duties of citizenship. It is a sin which is growing daily, and which threatens soon to transfer all the political business of the country into the hands of those least qualified to do it. It is both strange and discouraging that the high privilege of taking direct part in the government of one's own country—a privilege for the possession of which great wars have been waged and whole countries laid waste—should have come to be regarded with so much indifference that, like the air we breathe, we trouble ourselves to inquire neither whence it came nor whither it is going. Yet, scarce twenty years have passed since the mass of our people were exposing their lives on the field of battle to maintain the integrity of the government and the rights of its citizens. Among the foremost of these men are some, many, indeed, of the most grievous of these sinners. Have we the right to complain of corruption in our politics when the best of us subordinates the exercise of this high privilege, even in its simplest form of voting, to occupations and amusements which lead to no end except personal gain or enjoyment? Can we long satisfy our consciences or hope to preserve our institutions, if we studiously neglect or contemptuously disregard privileges and duties essential to their existence? Not thus did those who took active part in the field during our Civil War learn the obligations of duty. Whilst the world only contemplates the victory, as it regards other great successes of government, these soldiers knew how the results were achieved, how the victory was won. They knew that not alone to the bravery and skill of our troops in the battle was the triumph due, but to that careful attention in advance to every detail of service, and to that conscientious performance of the smallest duties, which brought our armies into the battle in the best condition to win it. How comes it that the rules of con-

duct which gave us the victory in war should so soon have been forgotten or neglected in the administration of the government they preserved, even by many of the very men who profited so much by them? Can we expect to be more successful in peace by neglecting our most important duties as citizens, than in war by neglecting the first duty of the soldier? Do we really believe that our administrative machinery can be honestly and efficiently conducted by the most ignorant and corrupt, any more that we believe that battles can be won by the incompetent and cowardly of the army? How can it be explained that the very men who faced death in a hundred battles merely to preserve their government and the institutions built up under it, are willing at once to trust its administration to people whom they know to be unfit or corrupt, or both? Politics, the daily history of our country, the embodiment of its wishes, hopes, and purposes, and which, in days not remote, furnished the highest and most honorable career to the capable and ambitious men of this country, and which was believed to be, and actually is, the highest secular vocation among us, has come, by the mere fact of the neglect of so many, and of such citizens to perform their civil duties, to be considered a career to be avoided, rather than sought by those best qualified to pursue it successfully. There appears to exist no longer in this country much respect for high office, nor for the men who hold it. The "talents" of the Romans, coined and stamped, are, of necessity, in such a condition as this, far more efficacious in securing public office than the talents supplied by nature and made useful by culture. The annual salary is now the measure of the importance of a public office, not great duties and high responsibilities. Naturally all this follows the low respect with which so many of our best citizens treat their political duties and the scarcely concealed scorn and suspicion with which they view those of their fellow citizens more conscientious than they in the matter. To say nothing of the higher duty of patriotism in its large application to the nation, it would be naturally supposed that municipal government, in which every citizen is directly and personally interested, financially as well as otherwise, would at least command a certain amount of active effort from those who are the victims of it. It is not pleasant nor satisfactory to witness the slow, but not less certain, confiscation of property which is going on in our large cities through the operations of a municipal government whose officers

are nominated by the irresponsible and ignorant of both political parties, the election of either of which is alike injurious to the interests of good government. It takes but little observation to discover to how low a condition our politics have sunk in the estimation of the people, and to what evil consequences such a downward drift is carrying us. It is the fault of the intelligent and honest among us that this deplorable state of facts obtains. From the top and not from the bottom come the evils which are degrading us, and which threaten, if not corrected, to destroy everything that is admirable or valuable in our government. How to reach this evil and to abate it is certainly worth the consideration of the American citizen.

JOHN POPE.

WHY AM I A JEW?

In less than one year my people will enter the thirty-third century of its separate existence as a nation, and now you ask me why I am a Jew! Certes, the reason must be strong, since the same reason has animated my ancestors all these centuries.

Why am I a Jew? Because in the spring month of the year 2448 A. M. my fathers went forth from Egypt, as a nation destined to march in the van of human progress, called into existence only for the mere purpose of leading, as the first-born of God,[1] His other children of earth to Him, the Father of all.[2]

I am a Jew because I believe that the Jew is a necessity to the world. I am a Jew because I recognize the rôle of my nation to be that of the servant of God in ministering to mankind's greatest wants.[3] I am a Jew because I understand and acknowledge that my people has no other logical reason for its existence on the stage of history in the face of tempests, changing scenes, "wars, alarums, and excursions,"—in the face of all ethnological law and historic experience, except as that conservative principle without which progress becomes unreal and evanescent and civilization unstable.

Why am I a Jew? Never are my thoughts directed to present the Jew in his attitude to the world, but on the canvas of my mind a historical figure appears. It is that of a man whose face bears the marks of suffering, physical and mental, as if to the pangs of the flesh have been added, times beyond count, agonies which have wrung from his heart-strings the saddest sounds of human woe. He is pictured as if rising from the ground on which he has fallen; in one hand is the pilgrim's staff, in the other is a scroll which he presses to his breast. From his eyes beam forth strength invincible, resolution unconquerable, intelligence unquenchable, while tear-marks on his cheeks and care-lines on his

[1] Exod. iv. 22. [2] Malachi ii. 10. [3] Isa. xlii. 5, 6, 7.

forehead, rents in his clothing, and bloodstains upon it, arrest attention. Speak to him, and he will say he has traveled far, he has endured many a storm, has undergone much ill-treatment, has been hurled in the dust ten thousand times. Ask him why he has suffered so much, and with a ring of pride in his voice, he will say because he is a Jew—the Jew of history, the centuried pilgrim of the ages, the Jew, as his prophet pictured he would be, "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,"[4] "esteemed stricken, smitten, and afflicted"[5] by peoples whose transgression of all laws of justice wounded him, whose iniquitous persecutions bruised him, who thought that by his sufferings, his stripes, they were healed.[6] Ask him why he was a Jew, to suffer so in the past. His eyes will light up with the deathless fire of Faith as pointing to his scroll, he will say: "This is why I am, why I was, and why I will be, a Jew."

IN THE PAST

oft was I asked why was I a Jew? I was asked it by the waters of Babylon, where first I paused in the pilgrimage in which I was to accomplish the world-work I neglected in my fatherland. I simply pointed to the temple of Bel. I asked was it possible for me to honor Mylitta? I turned away in horror, in protest against prostitution, cruelty, vice, all the hateful curses of Zebaism.[7] I passed into Greece. The witching beauty of Mythos attracted me. Very powerful was its fascination; but there floated in my mind the melody of Mi Camo'ha, and these echoes of MaCaBI[8] kept me faithful. I could not reconcile the teachings of Greek myth or Greek philosophy with what is in this scroll. Therefore I remained a Jew. I heard Epicurus on happiness, the wisdom of Socrates, Plato's Republic, Aristotle's philosophy, but their teachings or lives opposed[9] the "Ye shall be holy" of my Torah.[10] I passed into Italy. I found the same absence of spiritual life. Inhuman laws,[11] religious superstition,[12] the licentiousness, murder, betrayal, espionage, horrified, disgusted me.[13] What if

[4] Isa. liii. 3. [5] Ib. 4. [6] Ib. v. 5. [7] Cf. Lange and Schaff's Com. on Ezek. (Introd.). [8] Makabi or Maccabee is from the letters M. C. B. I., initials of the words Mi Camo'ha, etc., meaning, "Who is Like to Thee," etc. (Exod. xv. 11), the battle cry against Greek thought (167–162 B. C. E). [9] Hist. of Lit., Blacky., chap. iii.; Xen. Memor. II. xi. [10] Levit. xix. 2. [11] E. g., the law of debt. [12] Cf. Cato's wondering that two soothsayers meeting could avoid laughing (Cicero De Div. ii. 24). [13] Cf. Tacitus Annals, xv. 37 seq.

Satirist stung me?[14] What if I was urged to throw off the Taleth and assume the Toga? I remained a Jew. Blame me not, nor blame those whose souls revolting bade them leave the gods of Rome to follow my teachings.[15] Or would you have had me follow Egypt's cult, which dazzled so many in superb Rome? One day, as I walked in the grove of Egeria,[16] I heard of the infernal trickery which Mundus and Ide practiced on Paulina, under the cloak of worship of Isis and Anubis.[17] Was that an isolated instance of a villain taking advantage of the too common credulity of a woman to seduce her in a temple or grove recess, under the impression that a god honored her? Why was I a Jew? Let the world to-day be grateful that I was a Jew. Apion asked me that question in Alexandria, "If the Jews be citizens of Alexandria," said he, "why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?"[18] Many were there who wondered why I preferred denial of rights, curbed liberties, and social ostracism to any abandonment of my ancestral teachings. Succeeding ages declare that I was right.

About this time I stood amid the dead and dying nations around the great inland sea, when the new faith appeared, bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh, to purify and vivify the world which owned Rome's sway. Slowly my daughter conquered every pagan stronghold; but when urged to take her hand, I looked her in the face. Lo! her features had changed.[19] She asked me why was I a Jew, and bade me quaff her waters of spiritual life and salvation. But I tasted the hills of Olympus and Ida in the doctrine of Incarnation;[20] the soil of Egypt in that of the Trinity;[21] and the Gnostic and Magian flavors came, I knew, from the sands of Asian streams. I saw her grow up and her children multiply; there were Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians or Monophysites, Acephalites, Monothelites, Monarchians, Mariolatrists, Pelagians, Semipelagians, Patripassians, Artemonites, Beryllians, Sabellionites, Montanists, how many more I know not, twin-brothers some seemed to me, but all like the son of Hagar, with hands against each brother, and each claimed to be the true guide to the

[14] Juvenal Satires, xiv. [15] Graetz Hist. Jews, Vol. iv.

[16] Sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judæis. Satire iii.

[17] Josephus Antiq., xviii. 3. [18] Josephus Cont. Apion, ii. 6. [19] Draper Int. Dev., i. 9. [20] E. g., Minerva assumes human form, Odys. I. [21] Draper, ch. vii.

mother. I heard published the solemn decisions of the great Councils of the Church ; I marked their contradictions. To have always embraced the dominant form of Christianity would have stamped me as an unprincipled turncoat. Not to be thought insincere and thus lose the good opinion of the Christians, I remained a Jew. Then the lives of the clergy ! If those were Christian lives, what wonder if I grasped the Scroll and not the Cross ? Could I countenance immorality which cloaked sensuality, avarice, and pride ?[22] Could I subscribe to the policy of ignorance which burned the Palatine library and fettered study ?[23] Could I tolerate the superstition which made men credit that Peter wrote from Heaven, urging with the Virgin Mary, that Pepin of France should aid Pope Stephen against the Lombards ?[24] Or that Eucherius, Bishop of Orleans, saw Charles Martel of France in Hell's torments because he took what the Church wanted,[25] the very Charles who saved Christendom from Musa's threat that he would preach Islam from the Vatican.[26] Ah, those Popes ! Hot tears, bitter tears, tears of shame does History let fall when she unfolds the story of the Popes for men to read !

With Catholics burning Protestants, Protestants burning Catholics, both driving forth sons of the Scroll and the Crescent, amid massacres and imprisonments, tears and blood, I remained a Jew to perform my part in the world. Of what I have done for mankind I boast not. No more than the leaf can boast of its magic to purify the atmosphere, or the trembling dew of its beauty, or the rainbow of its glowing colors, can I boast of my world-work to purify the moral atmosphere, to make humanity tremble with joy at religion's kiss, to show all earth the glorious colors of human happiness. 'Tis all I was created for.

Would you trace the influence of Jewish thought in the world's progress ? If all the seas were ink, all the reeds pens, the skies parchment, and all men scribes, they would be insufficient to set forth the story. In philosophy, Pythagoras[27] and Aristotle[28] must be mentioned. In trade, the Jewish invention of Bills of Exchange and Letters of Credit.[29] In medicine, "in the 11th cen-

[22] Van Antwerp, Church History, pp. 72, 186, 216, 300. [23] Draper, ch. xii. [24] Codex Carolinus, epist. vii. [25] Draper, xii. [26] Ranke's Hist. of Popes, vol. i. § 2. [27] See Josephus cont. Apion, i. 22. [28] Ibid, also Etheridge, Jerus, and Tiberias, p. 269 ; Dr. Schleiden, Sciences among the Jews, before and during Middle Ages. [29] Dr. Schleiden, loco.

tury all the physicians in Europe were Jews."[30] In science, enough that when Europe was wreathed in the gloom of the dark ages "all my people had light in their habitations"[31] in the land of their sojourn, and from that light you lit all your lamps, from that light Europe has become enlightened! In religion,—as from the Mekor Hayim of Ben Gabirol the Jew, Albertus Magnus, Aquinas and other fathers of the Church drew wisdom, so from Maimonides, the Albigenses found inspiration.[32] And when were heard the greatest thunders of the storm these Reformers commenced, when Luther and Melancthon launched their lightning, Jewish literature flooded the land,[33] to give wings to the storm kings and strength to the blasts which swept from their new system what they hated in the older one of Rome. Thus was my past. I remained a Jew, 'spite the sharp argument of the sword, the eloquent tongue and burning power of the flame of the auto da fe, 'spite the stern logic of expulsion. Was I not right?

THE PRESENT.

Why am I a Jew, now, in the present? Because my world-work is not completed.

Right well I know that ye who are Christians consider that my people's world-task has been merged in yours, that "Christianity must be regarded only as a divine continuation, a higher and more expansive form, or spiritual renovation, of the Mosaic institution,"[34] that you are "Jews gone to blossom and fruit."[35] But my destiny saith that my race is to religionize mankind; it is to be "in the midst of many peoples as a dew, as the showers upon the grass."[36] As the dew and the tender shower bring forth the fragrance, and call into life the buds of hope, the leaves of promise, the blossoms of beauty in nature, so my destiny is to bring forth the fragrancies and blossoms, the buds and sheltering foliage which are to characterise human nature. I find that I must still hold my scroll for all men to read. For the cross hath not eradicated the noxious growths which poison society, paralyze energy and destroy happiness.

I find that there are wrongs, evils, errors to be corrected

[30] Draper, II. 4. [31] Ex. x. 23. [32] Graetz Hist. Jews, Spanish era. [33] Eman. Deutsch, Remains. art. Talmud. [34] Schlegel, Philosophy of History, sect. x. [35] Letter of H. Ward Beecher to President Cleveland, Feb. 12, 1887. [36] Micah v. 8.

from which such growths spring. I claim that humanity is not religionized if women need escort of a night; if not a morning paper can be left on the table without columns in it containing news which purity and refinement cannot read and suffer not; if truth and trust are at so low an ebb that trade is fenced with precautions; if wealth flaunts while want kills; if young girls go wrong as they do, and young men stray because there is no one to raise the masses to higher thoughts and worthier pleasures; if the hands and the brains of a nation are at variance, as so oft they are; if the service of the country, or patriotism, shrouds trickery, personal motives and abuse of public trust; if statesmanship means craftily taking advantage of another state's embarrassment or misfortune; if millions of men are kept from the loom and the plow, the spade and the throttle; if, even as it does at this late day, despite the gospel of peace and good will, the gospel of might over right, the evangels of anarchist bombs and mob's violence, obtain with such mighty force that Peace trembles, Justice pales and Honor weeps in shame[37].

You will say that the correction of these social evils is what Christianity aims at. I agree with you. But only true Christianity can accomplish it, and true Christianity is what the founder taught, until the wish fathered the thought which brought the Roman hand to his throat[38] and the Sonship was made to mean more than Moses meant it.[39] And true Christianity to that point was what? THE LAW OF MOSES,—"Till pass Heaven and earth, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled;"[40] so spake Jesus. And I, the pilgrim of ages, the wandering Jew, was 'despised and rejected of men, wounded and stricken and smitten, bruised and led like a lamb to the slaughter'[41] because I kept to that law, this Scroll! O the mockery of Time! That I should have been so treated by Christians, when my only sin was that I was a more truthful follower of the teachings of him they adored and a worthier exponent of his views of peace and good will than they were themselves! "Peace and good will,"[42] I come to that. You ask me why am I a Jew? I reply by asking you but one question. Is the world to-day contented,

[37] It would be easy to cite instances of these "ifs." [38] The wish of the Hebrews to be free from Rome's oppression kept Messianic hopes constantly alive. [39] "Ye are sons," etc., Deut. xiv. 1. [40] Mat. v. 8. [41] Isa. liii. [42] Luke ii. 14.

happy, truthful, honorable? It is not. Therefore, I am a Jew. And I remain one to try and make it so.

THE FUTURE.

When the harp of Judah sounded, thrilled with the touch of inspiration Divine, among the echoes it waked in the human heart were those sweet sounds whose witcheries transport the soul into the realms of happiness. The melody was carried to the rivers of Babylon, to all the shores of the Roman world, through the vales of France and Spain, and the woods of Germany and England. It has been our source of courage, our solace and our strength; and in all our wanderings we have sung it. It is the music of the Messianic age, the triumph-hymn to be one day thundered by all humanity, the real psalm of life, as mankind shall sing it when our world-task of teaching it shall be accomplished. Its harmony is the harmony of the families of earth, at last at peace, at last united in brotherhood, at last happy in their return to the One Great Father.[43]

In the achievement of this, the Jew is a necessity to the world.

First, as to Universal Peace.

I do not propose to picture the horrors of war, the loss to a country due to thews and sinews withdrawn from industrial pursuits. I have no wish to remark upon the glory of making widows and orphans wholesale, the logic which always makes right side with the best cannon and fighters, the justice which makes small states tremble at the thought of crossing a powerful neighbor. To my thinking, war is an insult to intelligence. See how this scroll frowns upon war. "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it then proclaim peace unto it."[44] When the Hebrews entered Canaan to dispossess the nations whose influence was destroying the morality of the world;[45] when the four hundred and more years of respite[46] had passed with the warnings such as famines,[47] the destruction of the cities of the plain[48] disregarded, as were also the preachings of the patriarchs except in rare cases, what course did they pursue? They offered three

[43] Zech. xiv. 9. [44] Deut. xx. 10. [45] For the horrors of human sacrifice and such Canaanite customs which spread with Phœnician colonization, see Rollin's "Religion of Carthage," and writers of antiquity there quoted. [46] Gen. xv. 3, 16; Ex. xiii. 40. [47] Famines were regarded anciently as punishments, at least three occurred in this interval. Gen. xii. 10; xxvi. 1; xlii. 1. [48] Gen. xix. 25.

conditions, "make peace with us, or leave the land, or fight;"[49] the Gibeonites made peace,[50] the Girgashites emigrated.[51] David was not allowed to build the temple because he had shed so much blood.[52] The theme of prophets' song,[53] the ideal of psalmist,[54] the culmination of priestly blessing,[55] are all alike—peace. "The only source of blessing," saith a rabbi, "is peace."[56] As a Jew, "the witness of God,"[57] I protest against war. Intelligence, Justice, Righteousness, demand the settlement of all international disputes by arbitration such as the prophets of my race sang of in days when brute force crushed opponents, and none but inspired men dreamed of any other possible settlement. That arbitration, sanctified by religion, raised above suspicion, and proceeding ever from disinterested judges, is provided for in the picture of the future portrayed by the son of Amoz,[58] as by the Morasthite,[59] "Out of Zion shall go forth Law, and the Word from Jerusalem, and He shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many peoples: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Since the world has not yet learned to abolish war and seek arbitration, though it recognizes the curses, the wickedness, the injustice of war, am I not right to remain a Jew in order to promote this ideal of Peace universal?

Secondly, as to Universal Brotherhood:

A writer speaking of this scroll, the Bible, says: "Here are exhibited a blaze of splendor and a loftiness of view which are a fiery fountain of divine inspiration, by which our greatest poets, down to our own day, have been stimulated to their boldest flights."[60] Not only poets, but all pioneers of human progress have been so stimulated. Progress and brotherhood march hand in hand. The triumphs of human progress, proclaimed by the

[49] Siphre. For interesting information in this connection see Conciliator of Menasseh ben Isra., vol. 1, ques. 183. [50] Josh. xi. 19. [51] Procopius states that the Phœnicians (Canaanites) expelled by the Hebrew leader dispersed over Africa and built a castle in a city of Numidia, now called Tigisis. There are still standing in that place two pillars of white marble, on which is engraved a Phœnician inscription: *ἡμεις εσμεν οι φυγοντες απο προσωπου Ἰησου του ληστου υιου Ναυη* (de Vand. lib. ii. 9. Bochart Canaan lib. i. 24. Jahn, Heb. Commonwealth, vol. I. [52] I. Chron. xxii. 8). [53] Is. lvii. 19. [54] Ps. lxxxv. 10. [55] Numb. vi. 26. [56] Rabbi Shimon ben Halephta, Talmud, Treat. Oketsin Perek iii. 12. [57] Is. xliii. 10. [58] Is. ii. 3, 4. [59] Micah iv. 2, 3. [60] Schlegel, Hist. of Literature, lect. iv.

steam-throb, published by the electric flash, and voiced by all the elements now yoked as mankind's slaves, have all tended to draw men, nations, races, together in closer brotherhood. But I saw, as I wandered in my pilgrimage, how progress and brotherhood had been hindered in the name of religion. The fathers of the Church opposed the onward march; Popes used force to stop it.[61] Copernicus escaped persecution only by death, Bruno was burned, Galileo was imprisoned, humiliated,[62] because they said the earth moved or was round. Catholics and Protestants condemned a Copernicus[63] and a Kepler,[64] even as the Protestants of Holland sought to torture Descartes, while the Catholics denied him honors of burial.[65] The Dominicans forbade study of medicine, natural philosophy,[66] and chemistry.[67] Arnold de Villa Nova was excommunicated and driven from place to place, charged with sorcery;[68] nor was he the only physician who suffered. Pope Innocent III. forbade surgical operations by priests. Pope Boniface VIII. declared dissection to be sacrilege.[69] Vesalius, the anatomist, was persecuted.[70] Martyrs to science, their name is legion! My scroll says study: "Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these things, who bringeth out their host by number,"[71]—"He that sitteth on the circuit of the earth!"[72] Read ye this book of Job; doth it not breathe the spirit of inquiry, a lesson for man to learn, fresh from the lips of God?[73] But mark this difference: There are "mysteries that are the Lord's;"[74] search out the phenomena of nature, itself but the hem of His garment, but remember that the expansion of space, the suspension of this orb, the dividing of the seas, the tremblings of Heaven's pillars, are but "parts of His ways; and, even thus, how little a portion is heard of Him! *Then, the thunder of His power who can understand?*"[75] So writeth Job. And a poet of my people[76] thus ends a sublime effort: "O, mortal, apply thy reasoning powers, reflect and consider within thyself what thou art, whence thy existence, who it was that formed thee, endowed thee with intelligence and with the faculty of motion. Behold Heaven's mighty powers; awake thy soul, examine His glorious

[61] Dr. White "Warfare of Science," p. 21. [62] Ib., p. 71 (see also Prof. Tyndall's Belfast Address). [63] Dr. White, p. 38. [64] Ib., p. 65. [65] Ib., 41. [66] In 1243, ib., p. 92. [67] In 1287. [68] Ib., 101. [69] P. 100; copious authorities are cited in footnotes in Dr. White's work. [70] Ib., pp. 105, 106. [71] Is. xl. 26. [72] Is. xl. 22. [73] Job ch. xxxvii-xli. [74] Deut. xxix. 29. [75] Job xxvi. 14. [76] Jehuda Hallevi, Yotzer Hymn, Rosh Ashana, Sephard Minhag.

work; but stretch not forth thy hand against Him when thou seekest the end and the beginning of things occult and in mystery shrouded." That is to say, "Study, but do not dethrone the Creator. Study, but in reverence. Study, but know that thy finite mind cannot compass the infinity of God." And we have studied at all times. The rotundity of the earth is referred to in Talmud,[77] but there is no record of extermination, excommunication, or condemnation. Medicine was practiced; operations,[78] even the Cæsarian operation;[79] dissection;[80] many opinions[81] in accord with most modern medical thought are mentioned in the Talmud, that mass of learning gathered when Europe was mostly morass and forest. But the physician was honored, not persecuted. Gamaliel, president of the Sanhedrin, had his study hung with charts of the moon's phases,[82] and boasted of an instrument to bring distant objects visually near,[83] but he was not accused of sorcery.

Without this spirit of search, study, experiment, progress is impossible; brotherhood is retarded; and lost to the world is that essence of true religion, the foundation of civilization, the beginning of wisdom,—I mean the fear of God, which is the reverence which fills our souls when we think how great He is, how little we are.[84]

To bid man advance in the march of progress with the rhythm of the hymn of brotherly love to cheer him until brotherly love shall be universal, but to teach him that the key-note of all wisdom is reverence of God, 'tis part of my world-task, therefore I am and must remain a Jew.

Thirdly. Universal Happiness.

The highest happiness is the close association with those whom we love and esteem.[85] The highest happiness thus is a drawing near to God.[86] Hence the most torturing punishment is the unsettled state of the soul, "the daughter of a king, remembering the glory of her origin,"[87] seeking the fellowship of the Father, but self repulsed and hurried away by the consciousness of guilt.[88]

[77] Talmud, Jerusalem, Treat. Aboda Zara, 13 b. [78] Treat. Yebamoth, fol. 75 b. [79] Aboda Zara, Tosafoth, fol. 10. [80] Niddah, fol. 30 b. [81] Niddah, f. 31. For these and other notices see Dr. Illowy's letter; Occid. vol. xiv. Rabbinowitz, Medecin du Talmud. [82] Rosh Ashana ii. [83] Erubin, 43 b. [84] Law of Moses, Rev. A. P. Mendes, ch. iii. [85] Cf. Biur on Numb. xv. 31. [86] Cf. Psalm xxiii. 28. [87] Bechinath Olam of Rabbi Jed. Badrasi (Investigation of the World), ch. xxvi. [88] Sefer Ikkarim, Book of Principles, Rabbi Joseph Albo, iv. 33.

Now there can be no happiness between two individuals unless they are at one with each other. If they are brought together by means of a third party, and not by mutual acceptability, congeniality, mutual respect, will that union or friendship continue? So if man is brought near to God by an intermediary and not by his own fitness, he cannot remain acceptable to God. He must approach God himself, by his own efforts. This is a logical consequence of my Monotheistic religion. No one can save another by suffering for him. "The soul that sinneth it shall die." [89] "He who sins against Me I will blot out from My book," [90] was the Divine answer to Moses, who sought to be the vicarious atonement for his sinful people. We are brought near to God, to Happiness, by our own efforts, by our own merits. These alone can save us from that removal from God's favor, the mere thought of which is torture more exquisite than that of any Dantesque hell. These alone can effect our approximation to or union with God, and this being at one with Him is the true At-one-ment. God invites us. The *response* which we make depends upon our own efforts, is evidenced by our own merits. This is the meaning of personal *responsibility* of the individual to his Maker, also a result of my Monotheistic doctrine. No man can intervene, for not even Moses was accepted to die to save men. No God can intervene, for there is no God but ours. For this I and my people are witnesses. To bring about the recognition of this truth, we are the servants of the Most High. "Ye are My witnesses, saith the Lord, and My servant whom I have chosen: that ye may know and believe Me and understand that I am He: before Me there was no God formed and neither shall there be after Me. I, even I, am the Lord, and beside Me there is no Saviour." [91] Will you have me after all these centuries accept him of Nazareth as my Saviour, accept him as a God and thus give the lie to Script? O perish the tongue before my thoughts thus wing its words. God is not a man that He should lie, [92] the strength of Israel will not lie! [93] Nor hath He changed His mind to bid us reject Moses, [94] or the Law, [95] for any new dispensation, for "I am the Lord, I change not, and ye, ye children of Jacob, are not consumed." [96]

No, we are not consumed; we live on, deathless, never to be

[89] Ezek. xviii. 4. [90] Exod. xxxii. 34. [91] Isa. xliv. 10. 11 [92] Numb. xxiii. 19. [93] 1 Sam. xv. 29. [94] Exod. xix. 9. [95] Isa. lix. 21. [96] Mal. iii. 6.

followers of Mohammed because he rejects Moses, never to be Christians because you reject Monotheism and Moses, one or both. Your many disagreements on essential doctrines render it impossible for me to cast aside my scroll for your New Testament. Nor is it necessary that I should do so, for there is nothing that is good in your Testament that is not taken from my holy law and my sacred lore. And how can I accept your book when you yourselves are in doubt as to its binding, whether it ought to be Catholic or Greek, or in one or more of the many colors of Protestantism; when you yourselves acknowledge my God, who does not change, but yet you reject the unchangeable law, His will, or you pray to other beings than to Him who saith, "Worship not any other God;"[97] when you yourselves acknowledge that He who proclaimed Himself ONE;[98] who declared that there was no God with Him,[99] and who does not lie, is nevertheless three, and has others with Him.

You are disunited. Without union there can be no real happiness. I say unto you, be united; bow, all ye people, to the one God who created us;[100] worship the one Father.[101] There will not be, there cannot be, any Universal Happiness until this be accomplished. To bring it about I exist—to achieve Universal Peace, Universal Brotherhood, Universal Happiness is the reason why I am a Jew, why my nation is on the stage of humanity's history.

How shall I accomplish this? By means of this scroll. It teaches purity of personal life,[102] purity of social life,[103] a simple religious life of being at One, an At-one-ment with God.[104] We believe in the religion of deed,[105]—"to learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."[106] We do not say we alone hold the keys of Heaven, or that you must believe as we do to be saved. The righteous of all have a portion in the world to come;[107] all the sheep need not enter the pasture by the same gate. But we insist upon morality. Ten million intercessors cannot die to save an immoral man. What more need ye?

Farewell, I have answered you why I am a Jew. Think not that I

[97] Ex. xxxiv. 14. [98] Deut. vi. 4. [99] Deut. xxxii. 29. [100] Ps. lxxxvi. 9. [101] Mal. ii. 10. [102] Lev. xix. 2. [103] Ibid. vv. 11-18. [104] Deut. vi. 5. [105] Ethics of the fathers (Pirke Aboth) i. 17. [106] Isa. i. 17. [107] Maimonides "Yad Hachazaka," Sefer Madang, on Repentance, §iii. 5.

forget the bright blossoms which have sprung up where the cross has been planted. Think not that I wish to criticise Christianity. Think not that I have spoken too unkindly. But you put the question to me. I dared not decline to answer without being coward and false[108] to my duty as a would-be true and fearless witness of God.

PEREIRA MENDES.

[108] Jerem. i. 17-19.

PARNELL AS A LEADER.

WHEN by arms and bribes England destroyed the domestic Parliament of Ireland and passed the Act of Legislative Union in 1800, that self-betrayed body did not represent the people of Ireland. It was not a National Parliament. Three-fourths of the people were disqualified by religious proscription from sitting in it. For only seven years prior to its self-betrayal this majority had enjoyed a nominal right to vote for members of it, but the privilege was encumbered with conditions which practically continued their disfranchisement. They remained in this state until 1829. The franchise, however, was so modified and the masses of the people were so degraded by the effects of the penal laws and the machinery of landlordism, that they continued to be without a National representation at Westminister, as they had been without one when the Irish Parliament sat in Dublin. Those of them who were entitled to vote were compelled to elect either their landlords or their landlords' nominees, or to suffer eviction, exile, or death, as the penalty of their insubordination.

As late as 1853, when Mr. Gladstone introduced the Irish income tax, 72 out of the 105 members for Ireland, more than two-thirds of the whole, voted against it. He paid no more attention to their opposition than he would have done had they been sitting in the moon. He knew they did not represent the people, whose votes they procured for the most part by intimidation. When, at a later period, a minority of the members for Ireland proposed Home Rule, he replied, in substance, "You do not speak for Ireland. It will be time enough to consider Home Rule when the people of Ireland ask for it through a majority of the Irish members."

In 1873 a Home Rule conference was held in Dublin. The requisition convening it was read by none other than Mr. King-

Harman, who, having obtained a seat in the House of Commons upon that platform, abandoned his constituents, and is now the Tory Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Ireland, urging coercion instead of Home Rule. The requisition recited that "We feel bound to express our conviction that it is necessary to the peace and prosperity of Ireland and would be conducive to the strength and stability of the United Kingdom, that the right of domestic legislation on all Irish affairs should be restored to our country." Upon that fundamental declaration about 60 Home Rulers of varying degrees of earnestness or insincerity, were elected to Parliament. They accomplished nothing. A few were brilliant speakers and occasionally enlivened a debate without changing a vote. A greater number were place-hunters. Some were landlords whose residence in London suited their convenience and gratified their tastes. Ireland was still without a genuine National representation.

In 1874 the Home Rule League held a council in Dublin to select a candidate for a vacancy in Dublin County. Mr. Parnell was agreed upon. When he rose to speak he broke down. When the votes were counted he was beaten. But the group of stalwart patriots who, in those twilight hours, were watching the dawn of Ireland's legislative independence, perceived that the young man who had failed on the rostrum and lost at the hustings was needed in the Home Rule League, and the next year a seat was found for him. When he entered Parliament in 1875 he was not quite thirty years of age. Irish by birth, his education had been wholly English. He had no political training, except such as comes by intuition from family traditions; two of his ancestors had filled seats for Irish constituencies with ability and honor. His habits and prejudices were necessarily aristocratic. His associates in Parliament found him seclusive. For two years he applied himself with rigor to mastering the rules of the House and to investigating public questions. He rarely spoke in the House or publicly out of it. In private he was courteous and taciturn. At the end of those two years it was found that, although men of more impetuous disposition and more showy gifts were much better known in the United Kingdom, Charles Stewart Parnell was the strongest man to lead the Home Rule party in Parliament. This result was due first to his skill in procedure. How he acquired it he doubtless divulged to one of his colleagues

of a later day. "How shall I learn the rules of the House?" was the question put to him. "By breaking them," was the quiet reply.

The choice of Mr. Parnell as leader was due, secondly, to the intellectual qualities which had been slowly disclosed by his conduct. These were constructiveness, tenacity, courage, patience, and reserve. He had resolutely carried out an aggressive mode of action. It is now known as obstruction. He saw, what every patriot had seen from the beginning of Ireland's representation at Westminster, that no attention would be paid by that body to the interests of Ireland, except under compulsion. Unlike any of his predecessors in the leadership, he had the boldness and the *finesse* to clog the wheels of the Parliamentary coach until drivers and passengers thrust their heads together to ask what was the matter, and how the obstacle could be removed. To the principle of obstruction he added that of incidental co-operation. Standing aloof from both English parties, he gave to each substantial support on deserving proposals as a means of winning reciprocal consideration. It is not strange that he worked hard for a bill which appealed to the intense humanity of his nature, that to abolish flogging in the army.

In 1879 the time seemed to have come for the organization of a true National party. Many of the nominal Home Rulers had gone to their reward—some to office, some to oblivion. Isaac Butt, the most impressive figure in the party, and its first leader, had passed to the grave, leaving a fame which soon perished except among his own people. The first man at the bar of Ireland, with few superiors at the bar of England, with none in the House of Commons, a man of prodigious attainments, remarkable eloquence, and varied personal charms, he had fully demonstrated that oratory could not conquer the English Parliament for Ireland, nor superb arguments, enrapturing her oppressors, loose a solitary link of her lengthened chain. It was manifest that a new party, a new leader, a different mode of attack, concerted action, discipline, and specific objects, were indispensable, if Home Rule should cease to be a dream. Meanwhile famine was again creeping along the horizon like a mist coming stealthily in from sea. The Gladstone land-laws had proven futile under landlord ingenuity and tenant helplessness. To rescue the people from the danger of starvation was as necessary as to found a new party. With

instinctive sagacity, Mr. Parnell believed the second was the shortest road to the first.

The new party was organized in Dublin in the autumn of 1879. Mr. Parnell was elected President. Mr. Davitt, its co-founder, was one of its Secretaries. To give it the most solid of foundations, it was planted squarely on the land. Its name was the Land League, and its objects were defined to be to secure a reduction of rack-rents and to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupiers. It was clear that money would be needed to put the new movement in operation, and a resolution was passed requesting Mr. Parnell to visit America to secure funds. Mr. John Dillon accompanied him.

Although not explicitly formulated, it was perfectly understood on both sides of the Atlantic by the Irish race that the method of the new party was to be strictly constitutional; that the means to be employed were to be essentially moral. The people were to be aroused, organized, educated, so that when the next general election arrived only genuine Nationalists should be sent to Parliament.

I happened to be one of a committee to lay out the route for Mr. Parnell in a portion of the United States. Had I not, in the fulfillment of the task, enjoyed unusual and close opportunities for studying Mr. Parnell, I should have felt compelled to decline the request of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for an estimate of his abilities and career as a leader. I comply with it with diffidence, even possessing this personal knowledge; whatever value my judgment may have is largely founded upon my observation of him in those days when, surrounded by men not selected by himself, and all of them total strangers, beset by perplexities and novelties, wearied with long journeys, harassed by excessive kindness, he must have appeared in his simplest manner and generally at his worst.

I was impressed first by his delicacy and refinement. The one was constitutional; the other, if a grace, was so harmonious with his nature that it seemed a part of it; not a garment upon his character, but inherent in it. His habitual modesty was matched by an acuteness of perception and a thoroughness of comprehension which speedily changed hesitation and uncertainty into clearness and confidence. When he first spoke in my hearing in public his voice was unsteady, his address without evidence of previous men-

tal plan, his ideas, each sharp and substantive, without cohesiveness, his feeling toward his audience timid and ineffectual. He stood erect as a young pine, his handsome face winning admiration and his pose and figure arousing trust; but his defective articulation, his feeble monotone, and excessive shyness proved seriously disappointing to great gatherings eager to have another O'Connell bring their hearts into their mouths and fill the air with their shouts of slumbering passion and reawakened hope.

In a few weeks all this was changed. The man who had faltered at Indianapolis was the calm, cold, clear, convincing speaker at Chicago. Twenty thousand filled the Exposition to see and hear him, and although only an O'Connell could have been heard by such a multitude in such an area, Parnell was heard distinctly by a great portion of it. Every sentence he uttered was clear-cut, incisive, apt, and telling; his speech, as a whole, while not ostentatious, was one of a series which made a profound impression upon the American people. I never heard any human being, whether uncouth or cultivated, doubt his sincerity, or hesitate, after seeing and hearing, to trust and follow him.

But the mist that had been creeping up from the sea had become a deadly cloud. Vague and horrible rumors were no longer to be discredited. Three years of declining harvests, especially of the potato crop, which is the life of the people, had culminated in their ruin. No matter whether the farms produced the rents, the rents had been ruthlessly exacted. Thousands were suffering pangs of hunger, and there was every reason to fear that if aid were not sent forthwith, the gigantic tragedy of '47 would be repeated. There was plenty of food in Ireland; exports of it continued to go out of every harbor. But it was not the people's, although their labor had produced it. It was the landlords'; and although the producers perished like dogs around them, their rents must be collected in foreign markets. Have Americans ever realized that the word famine, as applied in Ireland, is an untruth? Its popular meaning is deficiency of the yield of food, causing hunger and death. But there has never been such a deficiency in Ireland. When a million and a half died of actual starvation in 1847, enough food for more than twice the entire population was exported. When A. T. Stewart's ship entered Queenstown bay with food, she passed three English ships carrying food out. Famine in Ireland meant in 1847, and meant in

1880, that, although the soil and the people together had produced adequate harvests, all went to the landlords as rent; while the failure of the potato crop left the people in danger of death, if money were not furnished to them to buy back from the landlords the other foods produced by Irish labor out of Irish earth.

Parnell had come to this country glowing with noble aspirations as the chosen leader of a new and sanguine movement for the recovery of the parliament of a nation. What visions must have filled his imagination! Like a man on a mountain top beholding the land of his birth regenerated, he saw her fair fields in possession of her own sons—seas of gold as the autumn sun shone upon their ripening crops. He beheld dingy villages expanding into smoke-crowned manufacturing towns. He saw the great rivers turning busy wheels, and bearing Irish commerce down to the sea. Sitting in the ancient Parliament House in Dublin he beheld the legislature of his nation, its members freely chosen by all the citizens, without distinction of creed or class, the old feuds forgotten, the old proscriptions dead, the old hates, fomented by England to postpone this day of happiness, completely past; a tranquil, virtuous, active people, progressing in common love and complete harmony. The apostle of this vision had been sent to the exiled of his race in a great free land, and the commission which he bore to them was to make known the resolution of their countrymen at home to make this vision fact. All at once the picture faded. He saw only the dismal hovel, the smoldering hearth, the rags, the wan faces, the fever pallets, the evictor, the jails and poorhouses, the rotting bodies in the ditches, the ships going out of the coves with the harvests, the husbandmen and their families dying of hunger. It was a change to break a weak man's heart. The landlords—for I will not blaspheme by saying it was "the will of God"—had altered his commission by substituting famine for national regeneration.

Proud, sensitive, aristocratic, he told the story of the now confessed danger with simple pathos. He spoke of political hopes and party plans with subdued spirit. He asked money, not to put a party on its feet, but to save a people from extermination. Nor did he ask it in a lordly way. He was no longer the leader of a great political movement; he was the brother and servant of the suffering Irish peasant. With grave countenance and simple modesty he passed his own hat among the graver

throng; and from many a swarthy face, from out blazing and furious eyes in which flashed the fire of frenzied memory, dropped tears with tribute.

The most conservative of British political economists define agricultural rent as the surplus due the landlord after the tiller has had out of the proceeds of his labor upon the soil a living for himself and his family. When it was manifest that if the landlords did not make a reduction of rents in the autumn of 1879, on account of the shrinkage in crops and the loss of two-thirds of the potato-yield, famine would ensue, the government stated, through a mouth-piece in Parliament, that it had no intention of bringing in a bill for the reduction of rents The humanity of the world took up the duty the government of Ireland rejected. The London *Times*, with characteristic truthfulness, declared in the same autumn "food has been and is everywhere cheap and plentiful." At the same time nearly 60,000 persons were receiving support in the poorhouses, against 50,000, the highest number in the famine period of '47, while the out-door relief had broken completely down. Charity saved at least 500,000 people from death by starvation. The money was sent from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, South Africa, the United States, Canada, South America, the Australias, and Fiji; from the four continents; and every dollar of the total, which amounted to over $4,000,000, was paid to Irish landlords in violation of the fundamental principle of the conservative British school. The Irish landlord has been the pet of Providence.

Indeed, he may be truly described as the pet of the Irish race, as well as of Providence and the world. The land in Ireland has not produced for forty years the rents exacted of the tenants. Every year their kin in America and the British colonies have sent remittances to make up the balance. Is it strange that English Radicals like William Saunders, and other honest and practical economists, should have opposed the supplementary bonus of millions of pounds to these fortunate men out of the British treasury,—that is, out of the working people of the United Kingdom,—as proposed in Mr. Gladstone's abandoned land bill? Is it not a more enlightened policy on the part of the Irish in America, who ought to keep in this country the money earned here, to contribute toward the abolition of this system of landlordism rather than to continue to pay these rents?

The general election of 1880 caught Mr. Parnell unprepared. Famine was in possession of the country, and the funds which would have been devoted to legitimate political expenses went to the landlords. The result was that sixty-eight men were returned as Home Rulers; but he had not selected all of them, and he entertained doubts of many. There were even doubts whether Mr. Parnell would be confirmed in the leadership. When the Home Rulers met in London to determine the question, only forty-one were present; twenty-three voted for Mr. Parnell. From that hour there was no rivalry. The disloyal, the self-seeking, the worthless, fell out or were dismissed. The fight of those bitter and tormented years in Parliament, the struggle of the people against landlordism on the one hand and against the government on the other, after the passage of the Gladstone Coercion Act,—the re-imprisonment of Mr. Davitt, the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and many of his colleagues,—all this cannot be touched within the compass of this paper. Twelve hundred citizens, nearly all men of the highest integrity, were kept in jail without trial, denied bail, subjected to plank beds, prison diet and all the indignities of their situation, for no other offense than constitutional agitation.

Blameless women were dragged into courts and thrust into jails under an obsolete statute designed for the restraint of the dissolute; their offense was the charity they extended to the victoms of landlordism. The history of Ireland in 1881, and up to 1884, is as foul a page as will be found in the annals of disgrace which England has written for herself in more volumes than she has statutes.

Unlike the prisoners of old Rome who, weakened by agony, returned under torture to the gods of the empire, Ireland grew stronger and more resolute under Mr. Gladstone's coercion law. Her press was gagged; her platforms were silent; her prisons were filled; her streets were patrolled by soldiery; her courts were polluted by the perjurer, and her bench, always defiled more or less, became an offense to civilization. Yet the heart of a nation continued to throb with energy and fervor; and perhaps it was worth those years of sorrow and exasperation that the great statesman who had bound and gagged Ireland should live to learn from the lips of his captive the lesson of statesmanship, humanity, and

reparation which he is now teaching, with no uncertain result, to the thinking masses of England, Scotland, and Wales.

With recovered freedom, Mr. Parnell set to work organizing Ireland for the general election of 1884. All the resources which Liberals and Conservatives could throw into Ireland against him, he had to contend with. Against unlimited wealth he had only the voluntary tribute of his race. Against intimidation, such as was never known even before the passage of the ballot act, he had to rely only on the confidence of the constituencies. The result was that contesting eighty-nine seats,—the others were hopeless,—he won 85 out of 103. To this total was added one seat in England, the Scotland division of Liverpool carried by Mr. T. P. O'Connor. When he returned to Parliament with this formidable and compact body, both English parties acknowledged that a new era had set in in British politics. Home Rule became the irrepressible question, and Charles Stewart Parnell was the second personage in Parliament. In the management of his augmented power, he developed striking faculties as a debater. His minute knowledge of the operation of the land laws, his familiarity with the changes which were constantly occurring on the face of the country, his expertness in the rules, his absolute indifference to English statesmen and his independence of English parties, his silent scorn of revilement, his soft answers to ignorance and foolishness, his defiance of privileged ruffianism, his fidelity to his own men in small things, and to his country in everything, has enabled him to hold in the political world a position without precedent or parallel. Steadfast in his convictions, stringent in his adherence to constitutional methods, and scrupulous about the morality of the means exclusively employed by him in their promotion, he has been consistent in his career from the day he made his first speech in Dublin down to this hour. His greatest triumph thus far has been that he was able to confront Mr. Gladstone with his old declaration, that it would be time enough to take up the question of Home Rule when Ireland demanded Home Rule through the mouths of a majority of her representatives.

The general election of 1886 reaffirmed the confidence of his country in him and his colleagues. He had pledged himself "to remain independent of all English parties." In the fulfillment of that pledge, he antagonized first one and then the other with skill so consummate that their union against Ireland was rent in twain.

He has now for his ally the progressive democratic element of the British people, under the leadership of the most illustrious statesman England has ever produced. Astute, when his foes thought him only inert, and when friends may have deemed him excessively cautious, Mr. Parnell has shown extraordinary sagacity in refusing to offer a Home Rule bill at any time. Events have demonstrated that any bill submitted by him which would have satisfied the least expectant of the Irish people would have been rejected by a combination of the English parties as often as it might have been proposed. It was necessary that the Home Rule measure should be fathered by one of the British parties. Mr. Parnell fought both, until one coquetted with the subject just enough to hasten its earnest assumption by the other; and although the passage of the bill has been delayed by demagogues, and a coercion bill is put on passage in its place, the majority of the voters of the United Kingdom have cast their ballots for Ireland's liberty. It is fairly probable that another general election will send up to Westminster a majority of representatives instructed for Home Rule.

It is not in Parliament only that the evidences of Mr. Parnell's influence as a leader must be sought. If the evidences are to be found only there, be they ever so persuasive, they would not be sufficient. We must seek them in the temper and progress of the people in Ireland, in their temper as showing increased self-control, in their progress as seen in their eagerness for education, and the improvement of their social condition so far as that is within their power.

Wolfe Tone's crude attempt at insurrection toward the close of the last century, Emmet's effort in the beginning of this, the resolve of Young Ireland in '48 to try the sword once more, the Fenian outbreak—not altogether a failure, according to Mr. Gladstone himself—were the spasms of an exasperated people unable to realize that the practically unlimited military strength of an empire would be used to crush them without difficulty and without remorse. Parnell has made the brain of Ireland defy England by resisting the old impulse to throw herself on English bayonets. The conflicts of the world are no longer carried on by war alone. The little and the weak have new means of contesting with the mighty and the brutal. Minds have come to count for more than artillery, and passive resistance Parnell has demonstrated

to be more dangerous than unequally matched battalions. The self-control of the nation finds a corresponding development in the conduct of the people as individuals.

"The man who commits a crime is an enemy of his country," was spoken by O'Connell and reiterated by Davitt. Irish crime is a subject upon which general misinformation prevails in this country, and general misrepresentation in Great Britain. A man who pays no special attention to statistics may be pardoned for supposing that the chronic condition of Ireland is a criminal one, for that belief has been forced upon him by the persistent falsehood of the English press. Alleged crime has been made the excuse for a hundred and more repressive legislative acts since the Act of Legislative Union. Yet those unimpassioned witnesses—the Blue Books—show that in proportion to population there is always less crime in Ireland than in either of the other divisions of the United Kngdom; that what crime there is has a direct relation to the degree of starvation prevailing and the number of regiments quartered upon the people. During periods and in districts of fair crops, crime in Ireland has been almost unknown. During periods of deficient crops, when the landlord oppression is proportionately increased, and in the large centres where the idle and vicious soldiery predominate, crime reaches its Irish maximum. But that maximum is moderate compared with the crime always prevalent in England and Scotland.

In Ireland, in 1877, the indictable offenses committed were in the ratio of 11.8 in 10,000 of the population. As partial famine gradually extended over the country, the percentage rose to 13 in 1878, to 15.1 in 1879, and to 16 in 1880. "The last year when there was a similar increase," reads the Blue Book,* "to that of 1879 was 1862. . . . The pressure was greater than in 1862, and more nearly approached, in some districts, the effect of the famine of 1847. The figures indicate the effect of the pressure of distress in producing crime." And the remedy in 1847, in 1862, and in 1881 was coercion!

Strange as it may appear, although there was no famine in England or Scotland in 1880, the Irish number of more serious offenses was only 743 greater than the proportional number for

* Criminal and Judicial Statistics, 1881.

England, and was 771 less than the corresponding proportion for Scotland. It should be added that in offenses against morality,—which is the true test of the national character of a people,—the proportional figures were for Ireland, 119; for England, 175; for Scotland, 238. For perjury,—we have heard about the impossibility of getting convictions in Irish courts,—Ireland, 8; England, 27; Scotland, 36, in the same proportions of population. Offenses against property with violence, Ireland, 584; proportionally for England, 1,315; for Scotland, 3,310. Offenses against property without violence, Ireland, 557; England, 1,825; Scotland, 1,467. Yet we are told that the Irish are a criminal people! A suggestive group of figures may be taken from the same volume and for the same year in Ireland, 1880.*

	Proportional numbers.		
	Irish.	English.	Scotch.
Assaults on women and children	469	495	495
Theft and embezzlement	6,083	11,982	18,285
Bastardy	2	1,017	1,015

It is of record that 90 per cent. of the persons proceeded against that year of misery in Ireland were of previous good character, while the known thieves were only one-fifth as many proportionately in population as those of England and Wales.

But let us compare the Ireland of 1880 with Parnell's Ireland in 1885—the latest accessible returns. His constant admonition to the people was to avoid violations of the law. The total of all crime, indictable and non-indictable, in 1880, amounted to 23.4 in 10,000 of the population. In 1885 the figure was 14.5.

The government headquarters, military and civil, are in Dublin. Nearly one-third of the indictable offenses committed in Ireland are within the Dublin district, which contains only one-sixteenth of the population of the country. Yet in 1880 the crime of Dublin was less proportionally than the crime of Manchester.

Another highly significant fact in the criminal statistics of the countries is the proportion of convicts for felonies to all offenders. In the year 1881, when the showing would have been exceptionally bad for Ireland, the proportional figures are, for Ireland, 7.3 per cent.; for England, 23.3 per cent.

* See p. 18, *ibid.*

The decline of crime of all kinds in Parnell's Ireland is most comprehensively shown by this table:

	Committed.	Convicted.
1881	5,311	2,698
1882	4,301	2,255
1883	3,025	1,740
1884	2,925	1,546
1885	2,850	1,573

It is safe to assume that a National spirit which, in spite of political and social irritation, exhibits increasing self-control year by year, will be found year by year making greater progress in education. During the period of Parnell's leadership, the school enrollment has annually increased, notwithstanding that the landlord system continues annually to diminish the population by emigration practically compulsory. The rate of increase of school enrollment found in decades from 1850 to 1880 is doubled between 1880 and 1885. In the table issued by the United States Bureau of Education in 1882 our own country led the world, with Ireland abreast, in the proportion of elementary school enrollment to population. I am confident that the figures for the last year will show Ireland ahead even of the United States. Germany is third, England and Wales fourth, and then follow Switzerland, etc. What an answer to the epithet of "ignorant" upon the Irish people! Ignorant indeed they were, made so by the penal code which reduced more than half of them to compulsory illiteracy. In 1841 53 per cent. of the population could neither read nor write. It might well be supposed that a country without free and acceptable elementary schools was a country without taxation. But from 1832 to 1852 the aggregate of taxes which England extorted from Ireland was $443,335,875, and the total appropriated out of that in the same period for elementary education was $6,996,065. Was the reproach of ignorance upon the Irish people just?

It was a happy omen that the first bill which Mr. Parnell's obstruction tactics forced through Parliament was an intermediate Education Act for Ireland. The Nationalists have made every year a stubborn and sagacious fight to secure larger appropriations for education purposes, and the world is witness that, as crime has diminished and school enrollment increased, the Home Rule feeling has grown throughout the country. While the penal

code buried the entire body of Roman Catholics in a political tomb, the sacred fire of liberty was fed by the genius of Irish Protestants and the valor of Presbyterian Republicans. To-day, under Protestant Parnell, all Ireland, with the exception of inveterate Orangeism, demands Home Rule. Even in Trinity College, which before the Union was the cradle of Irish patriots, and exclusively Protestant, and which, since the Union, sectarianism palsied as a national force, has at length organized a Home Rule club that includes many of the most distinguished names in Irish science and letters.

A splendid proof of Mr. Parnell's fitness to be a National leader is seen in the talents of the men he has chosen for colleagues. Had Grattan been free from jealousy of Flood, he might have retained on their country's side a man his equal in many gifts. O'Connell's intolerance of men of ability who differed from him on secondary matters is a stain upon his reputation. From the beginning of Parnell's career he has sought for associates the ablest and noblest of his countrymen without conjecturing how he might suffer by contrast. When only an indifferent speaker himself, he solicited the association of the late A. M. Sullivan. By no means an indifferent speaker now, he keeps in the front of his ranks orators far exceeding him in brilliancy of figure and polish of period—Sexton and John E. Redmond. Without distinction in literature, he counts among his supporters Justin McCarthy and Thomas Power O'Connor. Not an expert with the polemic pen, he chooses for colleagues Edmund Dwyer Gray, T. D. Sullivan, and William O'Brien. A small-minded man might have hesitated before trusting his own fame against the fascination that a personality like John Dillon's exercises over an emotional people. The heir of that spurious superiority of class over manhood, he has held to be indispensable men drawn from commerce and manufactures,—Biggar, and Lane, and William Murphy. Never was his wisdom in general more emphatically approved by experience, or his judgment of individuals shown to be sounder by trial, than in his choice of Patrick Egan for treasurer of the Land League. In what other country could a great political movement have continued after its officers were imprisoned as the National movement went on in Ireland, with only Patrick Egan free and he a voluntary exile in France? The government assumed that if the engineers were jailed the engine would stop

running. To their amazement it went on with undiminished power and steady direction; and when Patrick Egan begged release from his country's service to return to the service of his family, Mr. Parnell's prudence was displayed once more in naming as his successor the Quaker business man, Alfred Webb.

The fashion of finding members of Parliament only among the rich or the titled he set aside with unconscious disdain. One of the most brilliant of living parliamentarians Mr. Parnell transferred from the modest duties of his own private secretary to a seat in the House—T. M. Healy. He went into the profession of medicine, for men like Dr. Kenny, Dr. Tanner, and Dr. Fox; from the student's desk, the bar, the counting room, the farm, the manufactory, he has taken Harrington, Arthur and John O'Connor, Deasy, Tuite, Maurice Healy, Mathew Harris, Clancy, Commins, Chance, O'Doherty, Blake, William Redmond, Hooper, and many more whose names are less known to us on this side of the water.

Ten years ago the suggestion would have been scoffed at that men hidden, most of them in Irish villages, should ever contend for intellectual supremacy with the hereditary wealth and culture of the United Kingdom. Most of them are young, and their contemporaries of corresponding age in the House, born in luxury, reared in leisure and recreation, or equipped for careers in great universities, make their presence known in the Imperial Legislature by after-dinner folly, or by preserving a more respectable silence. In no other age, in no other Legislature, has been seen a parallel for the now familiar spectacle of the most eminent in both the great English parties finding in these Irish youth their peers in forensic ability, in knowledge of subject matter, in tactics of discussion, in endurance and in determination. In the turbulent days, when Conservatives and Liberals were one against Parnell and Ireland, it made little difference whether Salisbury or Gladstone were premier. The entire combined array of their first-class men were continually routed by the ingenuity and skill of the Irish patriot party; and their joint invention of cloture was confession that they were compelled to resort to brute force to overcome a numerically insignificant body, who overmatched, in mental power, their consolidated strength. Mr. Parnell's lofty appreciation of his leadership as a national trust is seen in his conduct toward Mr. Davitt. That heroic political felon is held

very tenderly in the heart of his country. He has shared with Mr. Parnell the direction of the movement out of which the Parliamentary party has grown—the land movement; but he has declined to enter Parliament, and he has come to hold, on the land question, views not identical with Mr. Parnell's. Their mutual respect, and the perfect confidence each feels in the other, which malevolence or shallowness has not been able to disturb, is not only proof of the manly fibre in both, but a testimony to the political integrity of the nation and the generation which has given them birth.

Races have an evolution more appreciable than that of species. The struggle for existence finds in the Irish race a palpable example. Moral purity and physical strength have carried it through ages of resistance, under which an immoral or feeble people would have disappeared. The race development shows its highest type in the character of Parnell. The intellectual traits which control him are those made inevitable by a persistent race struggle against superior physical odds. Composure, patience and wariness have succeeded impetuosity, vain daring, and wasted valor. At the same time there is not a noble trait of the past of his people which is not preserved in him. Whoever saw his bared head accepting alms for his suffering country saw a man who would seize the sword with joy, were the sword the weapon to conquer his country's freedom. Nor has her long martyrdom failed to affect his blood. The famines, the massacres, the coercions, the exile of millions burning with a sense of wrong which can expire only with life, has made it impossible that all Irishmen shall possess his calmness. He will not depart a hair's breath from the constitutional methods to which he is pledged. But as sublimely as ever martyr stood at the stake has he remained silent when England has demanded that he shall denounce her victims, whose extreme views are the natural result of her centuries of brutal oppression.

That man is greatest who most sagaciously applies available means to desired ends. Parnell may not be a Napoleon, but he will never lead an army to Moscow in midwinter. He stands today the representative of a people resolved to recover National independence. He has nearly succeeded. The sympathy and admiration of all generous men, and the love of his race, surround and sustain him.

ALEXANDER SULLIVAN.

THE COURT OF PUBLIC OPINION.

CERTAINLY no class of men should show less bad feeling when they are made the subject of adverse criticism than newspaper writers, and it is greatly to be doubted if any class in existence has more of it to contend with. It is astonishing how many people there are in the world who honestly believe themselves capable of conducting a daily newspaper infinitely better than the men who have given their lives and risked their fortunes in newspaper enterprises, and it is even more astonishing how charmingly frank these people can be in giving out their opinions.

A full year's issue of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW could scarcely afford room for a complete list of the faults ascribed to the press. Its sins of omission and commission embrace about all the acts that human frailty can be responsible for; but not until very recently has the criticism been advanced that one of its chief evils was its zeal in doing good. We have been told that the press was vulgar; that it pampered to vicious tastes; that, in describing daring felonies, it made heroes of rogues; that it gave an impulse to crime by familiarizing the minds of low and weak persons with its details; that it had ceased to be independent and sincere, and had become the organ of monopoly and the tool of bad political partisanship; that its better tendencies were enthralled by the greed of its proprietors; that its editors were only superficially informed, and saw only the surface of events anyhow; that it was encouraging a taste for light, insipid reading; that it was poisoning the language by gradually substituting the vernacular of the Yahoo and the bog-trotter for the rich and classic paleography of politer days. All these, and a thousand other offenses, have been urged with delightful candor, but it was reserved for the friends and legal champions of the "Boodle" Aldermen of New York and the anarchical thugs of Chicago to present, as a further indictment against the press, the horrid crime of excessive zeal in the performance of its admitted duties.

The Aldermen, say these new critics, have not had fair play. The "safeguards of innocence," which are so striking a feature of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, have been thrown down by the press. Trial by jury is in danger of being superseded by trial by newspaper. The "streams of justice" must be kept as free from the corrosive acid of prejudice as from the muddy waters of corrupt influence. The conceded right of just and timely criticism on the part of the newspapers must not be permitted to degenerate into malicious license. Public offenders must be sought out but not pursued. Judges and juries who have come to a presumably conscientious decision must be protected from the cruel thorn of newspaper censure. Their minds must be unembarrassed in the reception of evidence. In coming to a verdict or in rendering a decision they must not have before their eyes the dread of rebuke. An advocate who is "doing his best to save an unpopular client" must be shielded from the caricaturist's pencil and the reporter's icicle quill. While a case is on trial, and before it has been decided, the press must stand off and "confine its strength to the enforcement of fair play."

This sort of argument suggests that the trial of persons accused of infamous crimes is an affair in the nature of a prize-fight, in which all respect must be paid by the friends of either contestant to the code of the ring. It suggests that lawyers retained to defend alleged criminals are not only justified under their oath in "doing their best to save" their clients, but that really it becomes their bounden duty to secure the release of the accused, no matter how guilty he may be. And it bluntly says in effect that "fair play" on the part of the press requires that it shall stand off with never a word of protest, while artifice, legal chicane, official dereliction, and the methods and tricks known only to the typical ward politician, triumph over justice and right, to the infinite discredit and harm of the public. There are hosts of people, beyond doubt, who do look upon a criminal trial as a sort of fight in which both sides engage with equal merit. I am sadly afraid that the number of lawyers who would hesitate about "doing their best to save" a client without regard to their opinion of his guilt or innocence is considerably larger than it should be. But the press, quite unanimously, I am happy to say, takes a widely different view of these things, and, in urging its view with all the vigor it possesses, it has no intention of

usurping the functions of judge, jury, or prosecutor. It does not aim, either, to pervert the established machinery of justice. On the contrary, it means to see to it that trial by jury shall not become a fraud; that the forces of misrule, always so large and powerful in great cities, shall not override public decency and public honor, and that quibbling, pettifogging lawyers, who sell their cleverness for a price to any knave that has the money to buy it, shall make conspicuous and healthy failures when they "do their best to save" a gang of conspirators against the public welfare.

The press does not need to disturb itself about the escape of ordinary evil doers. If the murderer of that unhappy girl whose nameless body was found at Rahway is never discovered, it will not make murder and outrage perceptibly more popular. Burglary will receive no extraordinary stimulus or get beyond the bounds of police control, even if the slayer of Lyman S. Weeks dies without the hangman's aid. But every case of unpunished bribery ejects upon the body politic a thousand filthy spawn. Having ferreted out the colossal conspiracy entered into by the promoters of the Broadway Surface Railroad and the Board of Aldermen, the newspapers determined that the guilty men should be driven into exile or into prison. The forces arrayed against them were innumerable, insidious, powerful, and alert. The "Fatties," and the "Mikes," and the "Tims," and the "Barneys," all looked upon a prosecution of bribery as a direct attack upon their means of livelihood. When it became the custom of the courts to send a man to Sing Sing for blackmail and extortion, their business was gone. The city's public officers were all under more or less obligation to these creatures. I think it is safe to say that Mr. De Lancey Nicoll, whose appointment as Assistant District Attorney was the personal act of Mr. Martine, accomplished in spite, and to the infinite disgust of the "halls" and the "organizations," was the only public official likely to have any connection, however remote, with these prosecutions, who was not indebted in some way to the Broadway conspirators or their friends. Their financial resources were practically unlimited. The year had been an uncommonly fine one for "business" in the Board. Aldermen who, the year before, had been day laborers, were now buying real estate and setting up saloons. Nearly a dozen railroad franchises had been acted upon under the

act of 1884. All the resources of the bribe-givers were theirs to command, and men who had paid $500,000 as a bribe were ready enough to spend five times that sum to escape the penalty of their crime. And back of all this there was a certain "respectable" influence. Several prominent legal firms, whose members were excellent citizens and notorious Christians, had been mixed up in the company's application. They were ill-disposed to have the record of their legal conduct brought out in evidence before a jury. Planted directly in front of this extraordinary combination—reaching, as it did, into the very courts of justice, into each political party and faction, and into all ranks of society—was an army of shrewd, cunning lawyers, whose well-understood business was to "do their best to save." The press of New York had been through one epidemic of municipal corruption. It had no fancy for another. It saw at once that the first court before which these knaves should be brought was the Court of Public Opinion!

It will be a bad day when, for the trial of such secret, pestilential crimes as this, the powers of that greatest of all tribunals, the court of public opinion, shall cease to be invoked. There are causes upon which no other bench is competent to pass. Its functions are those of the sovereign. It exercises original jurisdiction and the authority of final appeal. The ordinary machinery of law, of government, of justice, are tributary to its august powers. These cannot be abdicated nor laid aside. They will, they must be exerted. The very constitution of the Nation, of all civilized nations, derives its force from them. Those who imagine that the operations of legislatures, of administrations, and of courts are the only orderly methods of making and enforcing law, take a small, narrow, and unpractical view of human affairs. We, the People, distinctly reserve autocracy to ourselves. We make no mistakes. It is silly to find fault with our imperial action. It is stupid to describe our revolutions, even when they are accomplished in a carnival of blood, as wrong or ill-advised. They have to be. They are destiny. When we act, it is with deliberation. The blow we strike may be swift and sudden. It may startle even ourselves by its terrible effect. But it is the result of long and serious consideration. The history of all time proves that the ultimate decisions of the court of public opinion are wise and righteous.

It was before this high bar that the press determined to bring

the wretched creatures who had betrayed New York and dragged her honor in the dirt. It required a whole year of appeal before the attention of the court was really riveted on the case. The court was fair and cautious. It asked what the defense could say for itself. It demanded all the facts on either side. The newspapers responded fully and frankly to this just requirement. Their columns were freely opened to the accused. It is a most important fact, and one which of itself disposes of the charge of injustice on the part of the press, that not a single fact urged in defense of the Aldermen in the courts was omitted from the evidence laid by the newspapers before the people. In fact, hundreds of false claims that the accused dared not produce where their perjuries could be punished were placed to the credit side of their account in the press. The newspapers tried their case for them with far more skill than it has ever been tried before a sworn jury. The court of public opinion, once summoned, lent a most attentive ear. It heard all that could be said on either side. And when the evidence was all in, when both sides had exhausted their testimony and their pleas, the court pronounced its solemn and deliberate judgment—Guilty! It followed all the rules of evidence, which are nothing more nor less than codified common-sense. And when its infallible verdict was returned, it left the fallible machinery of justice to register its decree, or to fail in that duty.

The newspapers did nothing more than to concede the correctness of the people's judgment, and to throw a flood of light upon the proceedings by which that judgment was to be carried into legal effect. So long as fraud, as trickery, was at work to defeat the ends of justice, their duty was not fully performed. They placed a close watch upon the jury-fixer and the legal sharpers who were "doing their best to save." They cut away from the case all the poison ivy of claptrap, subterfuge, and nonsense. Who is it now that finds fault with the press and resents the course it has conscientiously regarded as a public duty? I have not heard that the public prosecutor, whose work has been performed with fidelity, but certainly not with malice—for all the men he has convicted were his political friends—I have not heard that he considered the press to have usurped his rights and privileges. There has been no intimation from the learned judges, one of whom, the Hon. Frederick Smyth, stands as an impregnable bulwark against the lawless elements of New York, and the other of whom, Mr. Jus-

tice Barrett, has emphasized by his moderation, his firmness, his impartiality, and his great learning, the golden opinion in which he has always been held by his fellow citizens,—there has been no intimation that they resented the conduct of the press as an encroachment upon their high domain. Not a bit of it. The howl of protest, which has attributed malice and cruelty to the newspapers, comes only from the guilty men and those who are "doing their best to save" them, and from a few good people who take these fellows too seriously. Their object is as plain as a mountain. Hopeless of saving their clients by showing their innocence, they have no recourse left but to warp and blind weak jurors. They appeal not to their judgment of facts, but to their false pride. Are you men, they ask, or cravens? Have you the manliness to reach out a rescuing arm to a poor, helpless, persecuted mortal, or are you such cowards as to join the army of his destroyers? There he sits, crouching in terror at the slave-drivers, whose lash has deprived him of all power of resistance. Will you raise him up? Will you bid his ruthless, bullying foes, be still? Where is your manhood? Knowing, for experience has taught them, the utter futility of submitting the case to a jury on its merits, they hope, by such tactics as these, to shame one or two weak spirits into error. This is "doing their best to save." If trial by jury becomes a mockery and a fraud, its degeneration will be caused far more by the contemptible artifices of dishonest advocates than by the usurpations of the press.

But the public has little to fear. The streams of justice will remain pure so long as rogues and their apologists are made to stand in healthy terror of the court of public opinion. The machinery of justice will not become deranged. And the people may safely leave with the press of the country the duty of summoning that august tribunal whenever its omnipotent voice is demanded.

LEMUEL ELY QUIGG.

THE LODGING-HOUSE VOTE IN NEW YORK.

THE lodging-house—distinct from the hotel proper—plays an important part in New York politics, while at the same time it presents a curious and interesting phase of Metropolitan life. For the payment in advance of ten to fifty cents, the lodger can be accommodated with a bunk in a partitioned room, occupied by many others in common tenancy; or he can indulge in the luxury of a single bed, clean towel, and fresh water for his morning ablutions. These caravansaries are the growth of the last twenty years, and those of the lower grade are situated in the slums of the city. To visit them is one of the favored incidents of the new fad, "slumming," recently borrowed by fashionable society here from abroad, where it has been indulged in as a sort of philanthropic recreation for several years.

Prior to the year 1867, the lodging-houses were few in number and practically uncontrolled by local authority or supervision. About that time public attention became directed to them and laws were enacted looking towards the amelioration of the condition of their inmates, and to prevent the breeding of pestilence in the cramped and unhealthy quarters in which they existed. The proprietor of the lodging-house is now bound by law to provide accommodations, and the health authorities of the city can only issue permits for those houses where the dimensions will afford each lodger not less than 600 cubic feet of air space—a regulation which is practically ignored in those of the lower grade.

There are in all about 300 lodging-houses in New York, licensed as such by the Health Department, which are allowed under their permits to accommodate 17,530 persons. Those issued since October 1st, 1886, alone afford accommodation for 2,480 persons. Deducting this from the total, we have 15,050 persons who, if these houses were full, and if the lodgers were all *bona fide* voters and registered, would represent eight per cent. of all the electors

in this city. More than twenty per cent. of this total actually voted at the last general election.

The sanitary condition of these places has improved under health regulations; but in the inverse ratio of this improvement they have become a dangerous element in municipal politics. They have become the centres in which corrupt and fraudulent voters herd together immediately before each election, and shamelessly hold their votes to the highest bidder of any party or faction. Three thousand one hundred and seventy-five electors cast their ballots at the election in November, 1886, from 256 of these hives of the franchise. That they were not of the order of men who make up the greatness of the State goes without saying; that they were mainly composed of the vagrant lost to every sentiment of manhood and honor, who subsists principally by mendicancy and petty thieving, tramping the country and suburbs during the summer, and gravitating towards the city with the return of cool weather, does not admit of contradiction. Very rarely indeed is the workingman proper to be found among the tenants of the lodging-house.

It is questionable if the great bulk of these lodgers are entitled to vote, as an examination shows that they are mainly thirty-day voters in the election district. The elective franchise, which is held so lightly by many of our more intelligent and wealthy citizens, is highly esteemed by the voters of the lodging-house. To them it represents not so much a principle, a right, or a privilege, as a pecuniary possibility, differing in value as the canvass may be grave or interesting to the captains of the disciplined workers of the machines in the various Assembly and Election Districts. The workers recognize the lodging-house vote as a potential factor in deciding the fate of candidates; and, while it is but just to admit that it is more often used to decide the fate of the Alderman in his district than any other office-seeker, practically the result is to determine the election of other candidates who are bunched with this local officer. In this sense it may even be claimed that a President was elected in 1884 by the lodging-house vote in this city. There is no desire in making this assertion to detract from the just deserts of the Stalwart Republicans, the Mugwumps, or of the Reverend Doctor Burchard, but as these votes can be concretely estimated, and are always safely

delivered for the proper consideration, there are substantial grounds for claiming this credit for the inmates of the lodging-houses in this city. The potentiality of this vote is acknowledged by the politicians of both parties, and it is sought by both ; still, it is practically controlled almost in its entirety by the Democratic organizations, who secure this advantage by reason of the location of these places. The vote of last year was smaller than that cast from the lodging-houses in many former years. 1886 was an off year, the only State officer running being the Judge of the Court of Appeals. In the Presidential contests of 1880 and 1884, it was asserted that from 8,000 to 10,000 persons voted from the lodging-houses of this city. To prove this statement now would be a matter of some difficulty, and would involve a great deal of labor ; but it is fairly sustained by the logic of progressive statistics, and by the facts as we find them at the present time. The computation of the lodging-house vote given above is made from official sources, and is strictly confined to those houses which appear in the permit books of the Board of Health as licensed lodging-houses. It does not include private lodging-houses, which are beyond domiciliary visits. It represents only those who voted. The registry of this vote was necessarily larger. Considered by districts, it shows the natural preponderance towards Democracy. Of the thirteen Assembly districts in which this vote is cast, four are Republican and nine Democratic. The strong Democratic Second District heads the list with 1,018 votes. The Eighth (so long under the domination of the leader of the Republican machine) takes the second place in numerical order, being entitled, however, to the credit of the largest individual house vote in the city, the domicile in question being No. 41 Bowery, with a record of 142 votes. With space to accommodate many times less, the vote from this one house is two and a half times larger than that from the Fifth Avenue, the Windsor, and the Hoffman House combined, and is almost one-fourth of the lodging-house vote in the whole district, viz., 564. The Democratic Third District sheltered 493 of these voters. The First, Fifth, and Sixth Assembly Districts, all Democratic, respectively voted 291, 255, and 141, while the Ninth, Seventh, Fourth, Tenth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-first are represented in a lesser degree. The workers for the machines recognize the value of these votes, and provide for them in the disbursements of the campaign. Indeed, it has been

claimed that any closely contested election in which there were three tickets running, could be carried for the side securing the lodging-house vote. The arrangements for the lodging-house vote are made generally by the men in charge of the election districts. It is secured by purchase—pure and simple—and when completed, the voters are marched to the poles in squads of twos, threes, and fours, depending on the ability of their conductor to hold them together, and prevent interference from others. They are compelled to hold their right hand up with ballots exposed, so that, in the expressive language of the adroit campaigner, they can do no "funny business in changing ballots." Their ballots are taken generally unchallenged; or, if challenged, their vote is sworn in. Their reward is paid them by another worker—generally quite a superior person—after the vote has been deposited to the satisfaction of their conductor.

At times, the lodging-house keeper is himself a politician, and then he makes his own arrangements with the party representative, or the candidate personally, for the votes of his lodgers. In one case of which the writer was informed in his investigations, the competition was unusually active on the local candidates, and the lodging-house keeper locked his voters up and kept them under duress, until he had voted them all in convenient squads.

That this vote is decisive is beyond dispute. It decided the election of one Mayor since 1880, of one Congressman in 1880, of a Judge of a Court of Record in 1884, by its vote in one Assembly District, and in the same year it elected the Alderman who was first convicted for bribery in office.

The investigation of this subject opens up an interesting field for discussion by the municipal reformer and political economist. It is apparent that some steps should be taken to lessen the opportunities for bribery thus afforded by aggregated masses of easily corrupted voters. To meet the evil and provide a remedy, its existence must be judicially admitted; yet, during the last seven years not one conviction has been had for bribing a voter. That few cases are brought to public notice, and practically none to trial, is due largely to the unwillingness to inform, although either party to the transaction can be a witness, but the real obstacle in the way of the prevention of this crime is the freemasonry existing between the politicians who run the machines

of both parties. Their enthusiasm and personal interest in the results of the campaign have blunted conscience and patriotism, and the responsibility for crime is evaded by "hiring" the voter, instead of paying him for his vote in individual cases. If they fail themselves, vote-bribers will not inform on the opposition worker, who has secured the prize by a higher bid or superior adroitness.

It will be difficult, if not indeed impossible, to destroy this wholesale traffic in votes, until the honest conscientious men in both parties make up their minds to eradicate it. Not alone by creating better public sentiment on the subject, but by the more practical plan of a strict scrutiny of the lists of registered voters, challenging at the polls, and earnest co-operation of the police, must this crime be met and prevented.

The act of bribing usually requires the co-operation of three persons; the voter, the person who accompanies him to the polls to see his vote deposited (in this matter nothing is taken on trust), and the person who pays the money. To this last transaction there are but two parties, the briber and the bribed. The unity of interest is thus preserved and the oath of the one is as good as that of the other participant in the crime. The care and secrecy thus necessitated may account for the fact that during the last seven years there have been no convictions found for the bribery of voters, and as far as could be ascertained no indictments found therefor during the same time. From 1880 to 1886, both inclusive, the total convictions for all other violations of the election laws were but 20 in number. The bribing of the voter would be made more difficult were the existing laws more strictly enforced. Electioneering in the polling-place and handing the voter a ballot are misdemeanors, transgressions of law which are committed in many polling places in this city, under the very eyes of the police at every election. New laws might be passed to render more difficult the possibility of bribery at elections. Public opinion ought to be aroused on this subject, and discussion invited as to the best means of eradicating this growing evil. To the Legislature in session, and to the Constitutional Convention, when elected, must we turn for the proper remedy to be applied.

It is not good policy in any public man to advocate a limitation of the elective franchise. The attempt made in recent years to limit the right to vote in this city on certain questions to those

electors who possessed a property qualification met with stubborn opposition and ultimate defeat. It is probable that any effort to attach an educational test to the franchise—denying it to all who cannot read or write—would meet with opposition from the demagogues in both parties; yet if this could be accomplished (and it would appear to be not a violation of the Federal Constitution for such an amendment to be adopted and submitted to the people of this State, when ratified by them), it would be of inestimable advantage to the city and State, and the dwellers therein who desire to see better methods applied to municipal, State, and social questions.

The present system of voting, intended to give the voter a secret ballot, practically does nothing of the sort. By the exercise of a little adroitness on the part of the Inspector of Elections, who is the selected officer of party, the voter's intention is easily ascertained and the vaunted inviolability of the ballot becomes a mockery. Our system is not advanced enough for the present day. We are a quarter of a century behind the age. More scientific methods are in use in younger communities, which give the elector absolute freedom of choice and the necessary secrecy, such as the very act of voting contemplates in a free community.

It is to be hoped that our Constitutional Convention will provide or suggest suitable amendments to accomplish this purpose.

HENRY A. GUMBLETON.

THE AMERICAN VEDAS.

[It would be impossible, under any circumstances, not to be touched by the subtle flattery of my countrymen in attributing to me the strength and spirit of another writer. Under a constant misgiving as to the acceptableness of my theology, their testimonial of respect comes to me almost as a special providence. While I cannot forget that it is my too kind critics, and not Mr. Arthur Richmond himself,

"Whose sweet 'I will' hath made us one,"

I do not think it my duty to forego the advantage which even the suggestion of such an alliance may bring. So long, therefore, as a genial and discriminating press will continue to discover, and especially to "reveal," that there are no other generals than Agamemnon, whatever disguise he may assume, Agamemnon ought not to be blamed if he construe it as encouragement in that which cometh upon him daily—the care of all the churches. I trust, also, it will be construed as a warning to all men who may be meditating a theological onset upon these pages, that no little device of signature or trick of style will avail to divert from me the credit of all the sound theology which appears in this Review, and which modesty alone forbids me from saying I feel amply able to furnish!

An over-anxious observer permits himself to be agitated as to the possible "consequences of this revelation." Heaven alone knows. But it will be a most mortifying consequence to me if curiosity about the things I do not write should absorb attention to the exclusion of interest in the things I do write.]

The New Departure theologians, and not the conservative orthodox, are the spiritual descendants of the iron-bound-creed-makers of old Andover. It is over the iron-bound Andover Creed that flags are flying, bombs bursting, cannon roaring, hot shot pouring. Conservatives declare that new orthodoxy, while not decrying, is practically defying, the creed, but, on the contrary, this is exactly what conservatism is doing. The very word which the creed uses is made by the conservatives a watchword of battle. The very word on which the New Departure men stand as their justification, as, indeed, their word of command, is a word of the iron-bound creed welded by the Andover founders.

They required of their professors a belief in "the Word of God . . . *contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.*" This the New Departure theologians accept, declare, expound; but the conservatives protest that this will never do;

that it is not enough to say that the Bible *contains* the word of God ; that in order to be really orthodox, to be wholly in unison with the founders, we must believe the Bible to be in every part and parcel the word of God—a unit, a solid, from which no splinter, no moss, can be detached without throwing the whole block away. It is one of the marvels of metaphysics that Professor Phelps and Professor Park, and the Andover complainants, and the clear sighted, common-sense theology of the West, can adopt this position in full view of the creed, which declares the word of God *contained* in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

So far as Andover is concerned, the whole question is decided when this position is seen to be historically false. But truth is to be served by showing that it is also irrational. The consequences of a true theory of the Bible do not diminish the stress of truth, but there are no consequences to be feared. Professor Phelps apprehends that if the Bible only contains the word of God, and is not itself in every part and parcel the word of God, the inevitable sequence will be "that the major part of the Old Testament, to-day, and to us, has no more moral authority than the Vedas. Whether it has as much, what means has the unlettered mind of knowing ?"

It has, at least, the means of reading the Vedas, and comparing them with the Scriptures. But the unlettered mind cannot read the Vedas. Yes, and therein lies the gist of the argument. The Vedas have never had sufficient moral impulsion to get themseves translated for us, and transported to us, and transplanted in us. We know practically, religiously, nothing whatever about the Vedas. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament we do know about. From being the sacred books of a barbarous tribe, of an insignificant province, of a scattered and homeless race, they have insinuated themselves into the very heart and life of the widest and highest nineteenth century civilization, the most powerful civilization in the history of humanity. All the churches of Christendom are founded on them. All the politics of Christendom are amenable to them. The unlettered mind knows nothing about the Vedas, and it knows more about the Bible than about any other book in the world. It knows that the Bible has more moral authority than the Vedas, because it feels and recognizes the authority of the Bible, and does not know the Vedas.

That loosening of the moral authority of the major part of the Old Testament to-day, and to us, which is foreboded as the result of not considering every part and parcel of the Bible to be the Word of God, is a loosening which has already occurred even under the theory that the Bible is a solid, a unit. The Andover professors and the Princeton professors, orthodox or heretic, no more observe the Levitical law than if it were inculcated in the Vedas. Why is it more dangerous to say that the Levitical law has no authority for us, than it is for us to pay no regard to it? Why is it more heretical to say that a law is obsolete, than it is constantly to violate it? The most conservative and orthodox portion of the religious world has done precisely what it is striving to prevent the advancing regiment of the religious army from doing to-day; it has rightly divided the Word of God. Reverently and devoutly studying the Scriptures, it has decided and taught that what was imperative and elevating for the Jews is inappropriate and retrogressive for us. It takes this unit, this solid, this Bible, every word the Word of God, and it says of one part: This is the ceremonial law, and we need not observe it; and of another part: This is moral law, and it is binding on us. By what right, on whose authority, does it limit one word of God to the Jews of Palestine, and spread another word of God over all the world? By right of its own reason. But no pretensions of heterodoxy or heresy can be more radical than this. Unless Professor Phelps worships God with a candlestick of pure gold, six branches coming out of the sides of it, three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side; three bowls made like unto almonds, with a knop and a flower in one branch, and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, with a knop and a flower; four bowls made like unto almonds, with their knops and their flowers, a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick, their knops and their branches of the same, all of it one beaten work of pure gold, there is a considerable part of the Old Testament which has with him no more moral authority than the Vedas. There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them who would bring to any other part of Scripture as devout a heart, as close a scrutiny, as wise a dis-

crimination, as Professor Phelps has brought to the law of the Lord delivered to Moses upon the mount of Sinai.

The Word of God in Genesis says that Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head. The Word of God in Hebrews says Jacob worshiped leaning upon the top of his staff. Alford renders out the *leaning*, and says that Jacob worshiped upon the top of his staff. The Vulgate still further takes out *upon*, and says that Jacob worshiped the top of his staff. The learned Dean says it was Jacob's own staff upon which he leaned. Dr. Taylor says it was Joseph's staff. Professor Thayer says that Jacob did not worship at all, but simply paid homage to Joseph after the Egyptian fashion, as a high officer of state. *Every* word the word of God? Whose—Thayer's or Alford's, the Vulgate or the Septuagint, Genesis or Hebrews?

Is not this staff of Israel a very, very bruised reed to lean on? If Professor Phelps's principle is the true one, that the Bible is a solid, a unit, every word the Word of God, and that we cannot throw away one part without throwing away all, then we must give up the Bible with its legacy of love, and truth, and comfort, and hope, with all its sacredness of generations, because the vowel points were not invented in season for the Septuagint translators to know whether the word was *hamittah*—bed, or *hamatteh*—staff; because M. Chabas was not born soon enough to tell King James's translators that bowing one's self on the Superior's staff of office was an ordinary Egyptian mode of recognizing the Superior's authority. Must we, in spite of modern reverent research, still cling to the head of Jacob's bed, or sink in the troublous ocean of life, unbuoyed, unsustained by the wonderful Word of God?

But in any other theory Professor Phelps finds absurdity. "That He has given to a lost world a book inspired here and not inspired there, historic now and mythic then, blundering sometimes and by hap right at other times, and that he has left it to man's infirm intuitions to divine whether it is oracular anywhere, is absurd. It is not like God to build such a rickety structure."

I am in despair at my own temerity, but to me it seems exactly like God. What can be a more rickety structure than this world which He has made? Doubtless to its Creator's eye it goes on its stately course undisturbed in eternal order, but to us who live in it, what ricketiness! It is shaken by earthquakes, it is pierced by lightnings, it is swept by cyclones. The sea plucks at the

land. The land slips under the sea. The rivers ravage the meadows. Vineyards are overwhelmed by volcanoes. Man is born upon the earth and he cannot emigrate to another planet. He is fastened to this, yet here he is preyed upon by fire and water, and bug and beast. And what a rickety structure is man himself—complicate and wonderful in design, but so imperfectly completed, so ill-adapted to his surroundings, that multitudes perish before the journey of life is fairly begun, and multitudes more sink by the wayside from pain and weariness. Of all the millions born, so rickety is the world-construction that the number is infinitesimal who pass, without pain or trouble, through well-rounded days to the full complement of their years, and enter Heaven gently, from glory to glory. It is such a rickety world, such a piece of damaged goods, a machine so out of gearing, that Professor Phelps himself is fain to call it "a lost world," and all theology of all ages agrees in calling it "a hurt world." If the structure of inspiration given by God is to correspond to the structure of the world made by God, it must have one pervading and prevailing principle of life, a continuous and upward line of movement; but it must be very rickety in that part of its construction which comes within human experience.

What Professor Phelps declares absurd is exactly what has been given us—a book inspired here and not inspired there. "I command," says Paul; "not I, but the Lord." And soon after he adds, "the rest speak I, not the Lord"—a specific declaration that his word is inspired here and not inspired there. "Historic now and mythic then." Certainly. David was undoubtedly the historic king in Jerusalem. The tempter of Eve was as undoubtedly a mythic snake. So the Bible itself tells us hundreds of years afterwards, for the serpent which coils itself into the first book as a beast of the field is cast out of the last as Satan, which deceiveth the whole world. "Blundering sometimes, and by hap right at other times." Yes, Peter was right when he pronounced, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God," and he received the solemn confirmation, "Upon this rock will I build my church." But he blundered straightway in contradicting Jesus, and was instantly and unflinchingly suppressed. "Get thee behind me, Satan. . . . Thou art an offense unto me."

What is meant by "infallibility?" What is meant by "authority?" What is meant by "inspiration?" Is not a stress often

laid upon the words which is wholly unwarranted? Suppose we admit—leaving aside all questions of text and translation—that the whole Bible, as a unit, is inspired and infallible; do we mean that Abraham was directed by God to offer up his son Isaac, or that Moses was directed by God to tell the story? Suppose both, what of it? Suppose the book of Genesis to be infallible, what of it? To whom does it give authority to do what? A man who should attempt to sacrifice his son to-day would be arrested. A man who did sacrifice his daughter was shut up in a lunatic asylum. Since the Chicago bomb, a man who should preach the duty of sacrificing children would probably share the same fate. Suppose the book of Exodus to be inspired, infallible, and authoritative in every part and parcel, what of it? Assuming that God did direct the Jewish master to bring his faithful servant to the door-post, and bore his ear through with an awl, no American master is going to do so. To a bad servant he would sometimes like to do it, but the law would not allow it. The servant would not permit it. Suppose Matthew was divinely inspired to narrate the story of the tribute-money found in the fish, we are not ordered to pay our taxes by such recourse. There is hardly a word in the Old Testament, there are not many words in the New Testament, directly addressed to us. Most of both is narrative, directions, sermons, songs, remonstrances, arguments, all with a strong personal bearing upon men who have been dead for generations. The stress of these instructions has quietly lapsed with the lapse of time, with the change of institutions. Whether God told the Scriptures writers in so many words what to say, or whether their inspiration was the inspiration of genius, enthusiasm, love to God, love to man, just the same have we all—Professor Phelps and Professor Park, Andover, and Bangor, and Princeton—taken liberties with it, taken leave to say what part we would accept and what part we would reject, what part we would practice, and what part we would discard. God said: Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, but Professor Phelps practically says: not so, Lord, I will remember the Sunday to keep it holy. God says the garments which the priests shall wear are a breastplate, and ephod, and a robe, and a broidered coat, and a mitre, and a girdle, but Professor Phelps prefers a plain frock-coat and trousers when he addresses us upon the necessity of having a theory of inspiration "*which makes the authority of the Scriptures imperative!*"

Inculcating the necessity of the literal verbal plenary inspiration of the Bible, Professor Phelps makes merry—gently—over Starr King's attempted explanation of inspiration, "it is—hm—it is a kind of mental uplifting; it is an illumination; it is—well, it is an *inspiration* of the whole man." We must have something better than this, protests the Professor. "We must have the doctrine in a bold and decisive form," which "plain men" can *use*. And for Mr. King's glittering and sounding generalities he substitutes something which must "make the Bible resonant with the very voice of God. It must be something which the soul can hear in the far distance, when conscious of estrangement from its Maker. It must give visions of truth which men can see in the dark." This is lofty and admirable. I think it is also true. My theory of inspiration does all that. But it seems to leave as much to the imagination as did Starr King's definition. A theory that gives visions of truth which men can see in the dark is certainly and markedly a theory of "illumination." "Plain men" will find no more difficulty in grasping the theory of a "mental uplifting" than a theory "which the soul can hear in the far distance."

But, says Professor Phelps, "a theory of inspiration, of which the final outcome is that Moses contradicted Christ, that the imprecations of David conflict with the epistles of John, and that St. Paul could not even repeat himself correctly, abrogates all claim of the Scriptures to imperative and divine authority. God has not thus contradicted God."

Oh, for words to express in the highest style of theological discussion the imperious conviction that this beloved disciple has certainly got the cart before the horse! He is so great, and so good, and so venerable that he shall drive in that fashion if he chooses, for whichever way he drives he is always heading towards Heaven; but it behooves the commonalty to harness in regular order. No theory causes the contradictions. The contradictions are there. What we want is a theory that shall take them in without throwing the Bible away. God has not thus contradicted God, therefore there are no contradictions, says the old theory. God has not contradicted God, therefore the contradictions are not of God, says the new theory. One might as well deny day and night as deny the contradictions. "Thou shalt cause a bullock to be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation," says the Lord through Moses,

"and thou shalt kill the bullock before the Lord, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger, and pour all the blood beside the bottom of the altar . . . it is a sin offering." Speaking through Isaiah, God says, with every mark of disgust, "I delight not in the blood of bullocks. Who hath required this at your hand? Bring no more vain oblations!"

"He shall burn a perpetual incense before the Lord throughout your generations," says God in Exodus. "Incense is an abomination unto Me," says God in Isaiah.

The service of the Lord in the Chronicles required the Levites to offer all burnt sacrifices unto the Lord in the Sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the set feasts, continually before the Lord. But in Isaiah the Lord said: The new moons and Sabbaths I cannot away with! Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth.

"Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?" asked the Pharisees, tempting Christ.

"What did Moses command you?" he replied, warily.

"Moses suffered to put her away," they said.

"For the hardness of your heart," answered Jesus, "he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

Can contradiction be sharper? Does not our Lord apparently summon Moses for the very purpose of contradicting him? Is it any theory about inspiration that makes these contradictions? Is there any theory in earth or Heaven that can make them anything but contradictions? Must we throw away the Bible because Moses and Isaiah contradict each other, or throw away our own reason by asserting that they do not contradict each other? Never! Neither! But with the golden thread of truth and righteousness running unbroken through both, and by aid of these very contradictions showing the development of human reason under the cherishing light of the Divine Reason, let us weave a theory of inspiration which shall fit the facts of earth, and to that extent at least must be the inspiration of Heaven.

But such a theory, says theology, would give us a volume which it is not "like man to interpret truthfully. The uncul-

tured mind especially cannot solve the riddle of such a book." But even on the rigidest old solid unit theory, the Bible has not been truthfully interpreted. The uncultured mind and the cultured mind have alike failed to solve its riddles. It was because they looked upon the Bible as a unit, solid, inelastic, without perspective, inspired everywhere alike, never contradicting itself, oracular everywhere, that men hung the witches. Slavery in the Southern States planted itself flat-footed on the law of Moses and stood there. Polygamy transplants the institutions of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in modern Christendom, and breathes out threatenings and slaughter against the Spirit of Christ. There is hardly an evil institution, hardly an evil deed under the sun, which the Bible does not buttress, if the Bible is to be taken at the foot of the letter, solid square to scientific truth, like the multiplication table.

Any other than the mechanical theory of "an obvious authority, an imperial authority, an authority from which there is no appeal," is spoken of as a new theory, "a new departure." But there is nothing new about it. It is the oldest theory there is. It is as old as the Bible itself. The Bible theory of inspiration is not of an external authority, but of inward influence, inbreathing. Man makes things by external measurement and means. God makes by inward growth. Man battered away at poor old Charleston for four years and only displaced a few stones. The mighty earth-force touched her for one quivering moment and left destruction. Man makes a house noisily with saw and hammer. Silently God makes a tree. Man governs by Courts and Congresses. God writes his law unseen, upon the unseen heart. In human work man is always at the fore. He alone is God who hideth himself.

Professor Phelps cannot think it possible that God has left it to man's infirm intuitions to divine whether the Bible is oracular anywhere. But that is just what He has done apparently, and apparently it is oracular nowhere. We are ever clamoring that God should be oracular, and he never is. Sometimes we try to make the Bible oracular by opening it at random and putting a blind finger on a verse. But this, also, is vanity. God is inexorable. He will not say to us yea or nay. All the authority of Scripture serves simply to give each man a warrant for his own convictions, a reason for the hope that is in him. He can intrench himself in error behind the breastwork of the Bible just as

strongly to his own convictions as he can intrench himself in the truth. The light of Revelation may shine in darkness, and the darkness comprehend it not. We have the Revelation of Jesus the Christ. We have the Revelation of the earth and the Heavens; and we have within us that vital spark of Heavenly flame, Reason, which must be to each man his judge of all Revelation. This reason we shrink from using. We are ever sinking down into the animal nature up from which we sprung, out from which we are bidden forth, and asking to be controlled, asking for an outside, tangible authority, for an "obvious authority, an imperial authority, an authority from which there is no appeal." But God has made us free agents and He requires that we control ourselves. He tells no one what to do, or think, or say, or believe; but within every man, differentiating him from the beast, making him in the image of God, is a something by which he must say, and do, and think about all things for himself, both of this world and the next—the spirit of man and the law of God. All the way is strewn with blunders; but so only is the right way learned. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding, but not in any manner or to any extent that forbids the human understanding to be often at fault. Men make a thousand blunders even in their highest attempts at pure reasoning. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, but discharging no man from responsibility for his own belief. For a thousand years it has said to no man: Do this! Believe that! It is the deposit of ages of human experience under the unseen government of the universe. It marks the highest revelation of Deity to humanity. We trace in it the footsteps of the Creator from the first brooding darkness of our material universe to its culmination in the redemption of man through Jesus Christ, our Lord. All that is contradictory in it, all that is unmeaning, is but the inevitable limitation of the human minds through which it was conveyed, of the human minds by which it is to be apprehended. The Divine element in the Bible is so strong, so sane, so overpowering, that, through all the errors of all the ages, through the bickering of churchmen, the ignorance of scholars, the mistakes of translators, the prejudices of commentators, through the besetment of savage barbarism and barbarous intolerance, sweet, and pure, and clear, it shines, with a steady

and increasing light, justifying itself by its own radiance, slowly but surely softening the world with its warmth, transfusing ignorance with knowledge, penetrating manners with kindness, changing ferocity to gentleness, displacing selfishness by love; slowly, slowly, but surely, wresting—say, rather, releasing, redeeming, dissolving—this world from the dominion of the Beast, and bringing us into the Kingdom of our Lord, Christ, what we were originally created to be, the children of the Highest.

GAIL HAMILTON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

PARNELL AND THE "TIMES."

THE London *Times* produces a letter, dated May 15th, 1882, signed Chas. S. Parnell, which the *Times* asserts was written by Mr. Parnell and addressed to Mr. Patrick Egan.

Mr. Parnell denies that he ever wrote, or dictated, or authorized such a letter to Egan or any one else.

Mr. Egan denies that he received such a letter from Mr. Parnell.

The letter is confessedly not in the handwriting of Mr. Parnell, but in that of some one to whom, the *Times* asserts, Mr. Parnell dictated it.

There is the matter, which, judged dispassionately, appears to have the following features, from which may be drawn these simple questions:

1. Where is the envelope of this letter? Let us see the postage-stamps of England and the United States, with dates.

2. The party to whom Mr. Parnell dictated such a letter, so compromising (being diametrically opposed to his public professions at the time), must have been a confidential secretary or employé; to none other would he confide such a business. Who is this party? One so employed by a great public leader would be known. Let him be produced as a witness to the signature which Mr. Parnell repudiates as a forgery.

3. The evidence of an expert (Mr. Netherclift) who says he cannot affirm, one way or the other, as to the genuineness of the signature, is hardly acceptable. But there may be evidence in the handwriting of the employé who wrote the body of the letter; the capital letters suspiciously resemble the commercial hand taught in the United States, and the whole composition has an American form.

4. Is the obligation of settling this matter incumbent on Mr. Parnell, who simply declares his signature to be a forgery, or with the newspaper that brings the accusation?

5. The *Times* states that it is in possession of further proofs—it does not describe whether direct or indirect. Is it not incumbent on the journal to produce them?

6. The *Times* states that the letter has been in its possession for some time. Is it not incumbent on the journal to explain why so grave a charge was kept until the great political crisis and party struggle arrived at its present stage, and not until then brought forward?

The public utterances of Mr. Parnell at the time the letter is dated, May, 1882, are patent, and a part of political history. To supplement this record, Mr. Gladstone states that in 1882 he was approached by Mr. Parnell, shortly after the assassination of Cavendish and Burke, and privately consulted as to a step which Par-

nell felt inclined to take—to relinquish his leadership of the Irish party and to retire from political life. He said that he felt so horrified by his relation to and connection with Irish affairs, and so satisfied that the blow dealt by the assassins was mortal to his country, that he preferred to vacate his position, and have no more to do actively in a cause which was so disgraced. He seemed to rely on Mr. Gladstone's advice in this matter. Is it fairly conceivable by any unprejudiced mind that this proceeding was a silly and unnecessary imposture, and one at variance with the character of the man—*nemo fuit repente turpissimus.*

If the charge made by the *Times* had been made against the Speaker of the House of Commons, or against Mr. W. H. Smith, would not the editor or printer of the newspaper be brought to the bar of the House to answer the outrage upon the dignity of Parliament?

Does not the matter take this shape?

The newspaper is bound to furnish evidence to show that its charge was made in good faith.

The House of Commons is bound to vindicate the honor of its body—attacked in the person of one of its most conspicuous members.

The position is assumed by the *Times*, and indorsed by Mr. Chamberlain, that the accusation against Mr. Parnell is a criminal imputation, and his simple plea of not guilty is insufficient to satisfy an impartial and intelligent jury of his countrymen. Is this so? When a charge is made before any court, imputing a crime, the defendant puts in his plea denying the crime. Is it not incumbent on the prosecution to make out their case, and produce their evidence? Is it just, is it proper, to make a charge and then summon the accused to defend himself? The public is the court before which the case must be tried. The *Times* has brought its charge before that tribunal. The defendant can fairly claim that the proceedings should follow the course that justice prescribes in all other courts. Is it competent to any person or journal to point to a citizen and say, "You are a murderer: defend yourself from my imputation, or consider yourself branded?" Is it not, therefore, incumbent on the *Times* to prove that the letter is genuine? To be blind to this obligation indicates an amount of prejudice that is in itself an accusation which the intelligent will appreciate.

DION BOUCICAULT.

II.

THE TELEPHONE OF 1665.

"THERE is nothing new under the sun," not even the telephone. Permit me to state that in the year 1665 there was published in England a book with the title of "Micrographia." The full name, as indicated by the title page, is "Micrographia, or some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies, made by magnifying glasses, etc. London, 1665, in fol. avec 38 plates, 12 à 15 francs. Vendu en maroquin rouge, 18 francs, Patu de Mello, et 29 francs, Fourcroy." The author was Doctor Robert Hooke, a celebrated scientist, mathematician, and philosopher, who was born in the Isle of Wight in 1635, and educated at Oxford. The work referred to contains various philosophical descriptions of minute bodies, made by magnifying glasses, as indicated in the title, together with "Observations and Inquiries" on them. In the preface, the learned scientist asserts that the lowest whispers, by certain means (which he does not make public), may be heard at the distance of a furlong; that he knew a way by which it is easy to hear any one speak through a wall three feet thick; and that *by means of an extended wire, sound may be conveyed to a very great distance, almost in an instant.*

This is certainly a most accurate description of the telephone, and far ante-

dates the developments by Philip Reis, who gave his first public lecture in 1861, before the Physical Society of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and whose claims have been championed by many scientific writers of the past decade. As an index of the value of the work of Dr. Hooke, it may be well to state that a second edition of his "Micrographia" was published two years after the first appeared, and there is a copy of it to be found in the Boston Athenæum.

It would seem that the eminent author, in addition to being a mathematician, was also the Edisonian wizard of his age. He distinguished himself by many noble inventions and improvements of the mechanical kind; devised astronomical instruments; completed the invention of the air-pump; produced in 1666 a model to the Royal Society for rebuilding the city of London, then destroyed by the great fire, and which was preferred by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the plans submitted by the City Surveyor; published many scientific works, and was a lecturer before many societies.

From these data, it would seem that Mr. Bell was not the first to discover the secret that sound can be conveyed by a wire, although he may have been the first to put the discoveries in this line to a thoroughly practical use.

Mr. Hooke's work, under the title of "Micrographia Restaurata; Copper-plates of Hooke's Discoveries by the Microscope, Reprinted and Explained," was published in London in 1745, in a huge folio volume, and a copy of this is also to be found in the Boston Athenæum.

CHARLES ROLLIN BRAINARD.

III.

BOUCICAULT AND WAGNER.

IN the April number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. Dion Boucicault makes an attack on opera as an art-form. Such attacks are by no means novel; they have been familiar to the critical world ever since the days of Addison. What makes Mr. Boucicault's protest somewhat remarkable, however, is the fact that it comes at a time when a great revival of popular interest in this form of art is taking place; when the audiences of our great cities are beginning to understand and appreciate at their true worth the later masterpieces of Richard Wagner; when, in a word, the world is beginning to reap the benefit of what may, perhaps, be called the greatest revolution that has ever been witnessed in art. Of the practical results of this revolution Mr. Boucicault appears to be uninformed. He shows his knowledge of the fact that a man called Richard Wagner has lived, by mentioning his name. More than that cannot be said. By accepting, as an exemplar of all that can be accomplished by a union of the drama and music, the old-fashioned Italian operatic type, that is now everywhere drawing its last breath, he talks like one for whom the events of the last twenty years have had no existence.

To that part of Mr. Boucicault's article, urging the absurdity of Italian opera, I can take no exception. Mr. Boucicault makes fun well. His experience as a libretto-maker is amusing, and his description of an operatic *finale* in "Lucia" does full justice to the inherent absurdity of the scene—which is saying a good deal. But why brandish a sword over a corpse? Italian opera—rest its soul—is dead, very dead, and will never more injure the drama. A phenomenon like Adelina Patti,—probably the last of her kind,—can still induce people to listen in spite of themselves to "Lucia," and "Sonnambula," and "Marta," because the *diva* sings nothing else. But it is Patti they care for, not "Marta."

But there is a serious side to Mr. Boucicault's attack. He denies that the

drama, under any conditions, can be properly made a vehicle for music. To use his own words, opera is "a misconception produced by the improper association of two muses." And this experienced playwright and actor, believing that its existence as a competitor for public favor is detrimental to the dramatic art which he represents—in his opinion the only true dramatic art—cries: "Out with it!" and would have us banish the music-drama from the boards. With a love for his art and a clear perception of its ends, Mr. Boucicault has fixed his canons of construction and analysis, and anything that runs counter to these is, in his opinion, bad art. But has he not forgotten one thing? The music-drama, and the drama pure and simple, attain their respective ends by very different means. Although they are cousins, rules that apply to one are useless for the other. Mr. Boucicault has virtually constructed a little syllogism, which runs thus:

The only form of dramatic art that should be allowed to exist is drama.

Music-drama is not drama.

Hence, music-drama should not be allowed to exist.

The music-drama has quite legitimate claims to a niche in the temple of art. Moreover, I contend that the sphere of the music-drama is superior to and more ideal than that of the drama.

All art, inasmuch as it is never an exact facsimile of Nature, is artificial. Shakspere's "holding the mirror up to Nature," however excellent a precept it may be for an actor, cannot be interpreted literally and made to apply to creative art. This is an elementary proposition that sculptors, painters, novelists, and dramatists must recognize at every step of their work. No amount of genius could construct a drama by simply representing three hours of any man's life on the stage. One must alternately condense, elaborate, transpose, suggest, and magnify, as occasion requires, in order to construct a work of art. But the amount of divergence from Nature differs in each art-form. Thus, the methods of novel-writing are peculiarly favorable to the greatest possible amount of realism, and permit an attention to details and delicate psychological analysis that would be impossible in the drama, where quick action is indispensable. Novel-writing stands at what may be called the *realistic pole* of all art that has for its subject-matter human action. Next in order comes the drama, further removed from reality, somewhat more idealized, but still eminently natural. What is called the realistic form of drama, joins hands with the novel on common ground, and then stretches on towards the *ideal pole*, where, as we shall soon see, stands the music-drama.

Regarding the romantic drama as a part of what Mr. Boucicault calls the transcendental drama, and accepting his definition of the latter, we find that it is "the highest form, in which the personages are grander than Nature, their acts more important, their sufferings more heroic." Commencing where the realistic drama leaves off, the transcendental form pushes on towards the limit permitted by purely natural means of expression. Here the proper realm of the music-drama has been reached. We have been getting farther and farther away from the mere imitation of Nature, so that now we seek for some means of expression more powerful than human speech, even of the most exalted kind. At this point Music comes to the aid of Tragedy.

But is it permissible thus to utilize such an unreal thing as music? This suggests another question, the answer to which is the keystone of the foundation on which the music-drama rests its claims to legitimacy.

What is the first object of all dramatic art?

To arouse the emotions.

In doing this what art has a tithe of the power of music?

It is a legitimate union then, this of music and drama, if thereby an art-form

is produced which shall excel all others in arousing the emotions. The drama must give up still more of its realism, if it is to be wedded to music. Is it worth it? Will more be gained than lost? That is the only question.

In the Italian operatic form, more was lost than gained. The libretto was, as Mr. Boucicault says, a mere skeleton, the situations unnatural, the action mutilated, and even the music generally vulgar, inappropriate, and undramatic. It had no right to exist as a species of dramatic art-form, because what should be common to all such forms, illusion, was never present. The distortion of the drama was so complete that if one thought about the situation at all it could only be to laugh. In the Wagnerian music-drama, more has been gained than lost. The texts, finished before a note of the music had been composed, are complete in themselves, and admirable merely as dramatic poetry. The absurdity of having several characters shouting at the same time has been removed by the abolition of concerted music. Where Wagner's true style is cultivated, the strictest attention is paid to distinctness in enunciation; the vocal score is really only the musical embodiment of emotional speech, moving with perfect melodic independence of the orchestra, and the action moves rapidly and naturally. In short, music has been made to give up all those artificial forms which would tend to injure dramatic propriety, and yield itself to the exigencies of the action. In Italian opera, the libretto was a mere excuse—a peg upon which to hang musical raiment. With Wagner the drama is the fountain source of inspiration for the music, and his later works are well able to stand the test of a critical analysis from a purely dramatic standpoint.

Mr. Boucicault has expressly denied his intention of concerning himself with the musical element in opera, and I have consequently been constrained to speak only of the dramatic side of this art-form. But my protest would manifestly be incomplete if I did not point out at least one legitimate means of powerful emotional expression that springs directly from the union of drama and music, and *which could not exist in any other way.* Concrete examples are always best, so let us take a scene from the second act of "Tristan and Isolde."

In the garden of her castle, *Isolde*, consumed with love, is awaiting with feverish impatience the coming of her lover. By extinguishing a torch, she has thrown prudence to the winds, and given the signal for his approach. The whole act has led up to this point as to a climax, and everything combines to make the few moments preceding his entrance a situation of the greatest emotional excitement. How force the spectators to sympathize fully with this? If possible, they must be made to feel somewhat as *Isolde* feels, her heart beating wildly in expectation, her blood aglow, her senses strained to the utmost. The mere existence of the situation will not suffice. It must be elaborated by art. Drama alone cannot do this, for nothing would be more absurd or unnatural than to make *Isolde* indulge in a soliloquy descriptive of her own excitement. The feeling is too subjective—too purely emotional to find expression in words. It needs some collateral commentary. The Greeks might have attempted it by means of their chorus. We accomplish it *by means of music.* While *Isolde*, mounting the steps of the castle, waves her scarf impatiently at the approaching *Tristan*, her agitation is reflected by the headlong, hurrying stream of sound that wells up from the orchestra. And how reflected? Its intensity is magnified tenfold, and the audience, carried away by its resistless sweep, merge their identity in that of the lovers. Nor could music alone have produced this effect; for unless the mind be directed to the dramatic situation and the feelings thus predisposed to emotional receptivity, half the significance and power of the music will be lost. As it is, music, laying hold of what the drama suggests, elaborates subjectively its

emotional contents with a force peculiarly and exclusively its own. Moreover, all the opportunities for acting, *per se*, that would have existed in a drama, are present to an *Isolde* in this scene. There is nothing to sing, so the *artiste* is free to cultivate facial expression and "stage business" with as perfect freedom from restraint as though a musical accompaniment did not exist. Here, then, by the union of drama and music, a peculiar and perfectly legitimate instrument of dramatic expression has been created, without which Art would be distinctly poorer.

The mere presence of music as a factor in the construction of a music-drama must, to a great extent, determine its dramatic form. Music is emotional, not demonstrative. It reflects great passions, but will not lend itself to the emphasis of trifles. Hence the music-drama must give up all attempts at that delicate characterization which is so successfully accomplished in the realistic drama. Even more than the transcendental drama its outlines must be bold, strong, and simple; its figures, motives, and results of heroic mold; its delineation broad and noble, rather than refined. Adding music to a fine play will not make a good opera. Music and drama must be created together, each with a view to the requirements of the other. For this reason every attempt to make operas out of Shakspere's tragedies has failed. The music-drama is something by itself and requires different methods of construction.

Wagner understood this perfectly. He chose his subjects from mythology. His characters are ideal, inasmuch as they are prototypes; they are natural, inasmuch as their actions are never motivated by conventionalities as they would be in modern life. Their passions are the very opposite of what we find in the plays of contemporary French dramatists. Instead of being involved, mixed, and conflicting, they are as simple, direct, and unalloyed as is the fear or anger of a child. In construction the same principle has ruled. To find a parallel for the simplicity with which the action of "Tristan and Isolde" is developed, one must seek as far back as the Greek tragedies. The intensity and directness of its dramatic motives lend themselves perfectly to musical treatment, and the whole work becomes a finished harmonious production in which one looks in vain for traces of joinery.

I trust I have now made clear what was meant by saying that the music-drama stands at the ideal pole of those arts that illustrate human action. Its very limitations are the measure of its nobility, and its claims to dramatic legitimacy can no more be questioned than the power of its emotional effects can be rivaled.

Concerning Mr. Boucicault's condemnation of operatic artists for their alleged inability to act, I can only believe that his impressions must be the result of inadequate observation. Had he seen Malten's *Kundry*, Lehmann's *Isolde*, Fischer's *Hans Sachs*, Scaria's *Wotan*, or Albert Niemann in any rôle, he could not have said that "operatic acting is ridiculous sound and fury, signifying nothing." It is almost a saying among German actors—not, as a rule, given to too great admiration of their operatic brethren—"from Niemann we can all learn something." I will not say that Mr. Boucicault might also find this true. But in his case, as with many others, a little time spent in examining the best German operatic methods of to-day might help to infuse into the dramatic profession a certain spirit of tolerance—tempered even with something of admiration—for a sister art.

EDGAR J. LEVEY.

IV.

COURAGE.

THAT element in our natures which enables us to face foes, to laugh at danger, to defy fate, is not always courage. Far from unfrequently, it is recklessness. Very often it is pride, or the love of praise, or the fear of scorn. When the latter is the case, cowardice is made to seem as courage. A certain philosopher said: "A truly brave man is often unconscious of having courage, and only discovers it when some emergency arises which calls it out"—certainly a logical deduction. If a man may possess genius unawares, why not a lesser attribute like courage? Not that courage is insignificant, but because genius is the greatest and the rarest thing in the world.

There is a proneness to look only to openly demonstrated heroism for courage, and never to grant its existence elsewhere. Courage, however, is not essentially a matter of noise and bombast, but more often of the extremest quiet. The man, who, in the midst of poverty and privation, toils unflinchingly and uncomplainingly for the sustenance of his family, in full consciousness of the fact that he can never rise superior to his misfortunes, is a man of courage. The man who, intrusted with vast sums of gold, which he might, if he would, make his own, but who faithfully deals back to each creditor his due—he is a man of courage. The man who has views which are in advance of his age, and, with them, sufficient daring to coolly express and calmly discuss them—he, also, has courage; but the bravest man of all—the one who has the best and most unimpeachable right and claim to courage, is the man, who, to shield and protect others, accepts open insult and submits unmurmuringly to open censure, criticism, and indignity. This is harder than heading an army, harder than wearing a royal crown, harder than preaching truth and right to a generation of fools. In all my life, I have known of but one such man; and though I never have met him, I revere him as a god; and yet, the world would question my sanity if I wrote his name, where it belongs, high up in the list of heroes.

GEORGE SAND.

CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.

They whose knowledge of the lives of men and women in the France of the first half of the sixteenth century is derived from contemporary memoirs may not be altogether edified by the collocation of Margaret of Angoulême in the same series with Susanna Wesley and Harriet Martineau. Doubtless, she, who was Duchess of Alencon and Queen of Navarre, who was, upon the whole, the most conspicuous female figure at the Court of Francis I., and who was the undoubted author of many tales of the Heptameron, and the reputed author of them all, may justly be clasified among "famous women." But one aspect of her fame was anything but what the feminine readers of her biography would in our day consider "fair," and the universally credited accounts of her relations with the other sex do not readily adapt themselves to exculpatory and expurgatory treatment. To ascribe to Margaret of Augoulême the stainless reputation, upright instincts, pure thoughts, and refinement of feeling, which are now happily accounted indispensable in women, is to wholly metamorphose her, is to make her something that she neither was, nor cared to be, nor was by her contemporaries wished to be. Better not paint her at all than deliberately falsify the picture. If we see nothing exemplary or savory in the moral standards, customs, manners, and habits of speech of even the most splendid and least odious actors in the Italian and French renaissance, let us not seek for heroines among them. Above all, let us not put in the hands of young girls a book,* which will not only prompt them to read the Heptameron, but essays to palliate and condone the rankly offensive features of those too often salacious stories.

The author of "Cathedral Days"† has given us a noteworthy and really useful study of some of the finest achievements of architectural genius in the British Islands, although she speaks of her narrative with genuine humility, and has written it, she tells us, with no other purpose than that of transmitting to others some tincture of the pleasure she herself derived from a tour through Southern England. She evidently knows more about the aims, principles, and processes of medieval architecture than she professes to know, and although she modestly eschews anything like technical or esoteric terms, and shuns the affectation of pedantic familiarity with ogees, ambries, corbels, and crockets, she is capable of making and does make observations, interesting and suggestive to the professional as well as the ordinary reader. There is not a chapter in this book which is devoid of light and charm, but we have been particularly struck by the author's account of the Glastonbury memorials of the old world and of the once splendid but now drooping little burgh of Wells, which is aptly described as "an enchanted city."

When we are reminded that Mr. Poore's acquaintance with Washington reaches back over more than half a century, and consider the opportunities of observation sought after and gained by an indefatigable collector of news, we should expect to find in such a man's reminiscences a magazine of interesting anec-

* Famous Women Series; Margaret of Angoulême by A. Mary F. Robinson. Roberts Brothers.

† Cathedral Days; by Anna Bowman Dodd. Roberts Brothers.

dote and comment. We are not disappointed in the substance of his book,* on which the future historian of the events and scenes here described by an eye-witness will probably draw largely for striking, suggestive, and illuminating details. The author's style, while having no pretensions to extreme literary finish, is fluent and readable; Mr. Poore can tell a story neatly, and depict a person or an incident with a few rapid, telling strokes. Nor should we omit to mention that the publishers have done their share of the work well, contributing, by numerous illustrations of more than average merit, to render the book attractive to a wide audience. We scarcely need say that the volume that is likely to give most pleasure to the present generation of readers is the second, which deals with the quarter of a century beginning in the last year of Mr Buchanan's administration. The impressions made at the time on an intelligent spectator by the stirring and pregnant events that have taken place in the Federal Capital during the momentous period just named are here delineated with the joint efficiency of a practiced pen and skillful engraving. The prospective usefulness of such a record may be measured, if we reflect how much life and spirit might have been infused into the pages of Bancroft and Hildreth could those writers have availed themselves of similar assistance for the epochs they described.

Few persons who have not themselves tried their hand at it have a just conception of the difficulty of putting a French novel into idiomatic English, which shall satisfy Dryden's definition of a translator's duty to his original, to be "true to his sense, but truer to his fame." The difficulty is, of course, redoubtably enhanced in the case of authors accustomed to think in metaphor and whose analogies and similes take a wide range, and often stray into recondite or technical fields of knowledge or activity. Perhaps the work of no French prose writer, not even Theophile Gautier's, lends itself less tractably to adequate reproduction in English than that of Balzac. Not only, moreover, is his style peculiarly refractory to transplantation, but the vast extent and variety of the ground covered by the novels grouped under the general title of the "Comédie Humaine" are calculated to dismay the most accomplished and self-confident translator. It is, therefore, hard to speak, except in terms of superlative satisfaction, of the American translation of Balzac's novels which is now in course of publication. The particular volume† of the series which now lies before us, the version of *Le Médecin de campagne*, is a memorable example of what translation ought to be. In the first place, it is a faithful transcript of the original, faithful not only to the nicest shades of meaning, but to the play, the color, the analytic subtlety, the infused emotion, the nervous energy of Balzac's diction. Secondly, while scrupulously accurate, it is at the same time singularly free from Gallicisms; it is not French-English, but good English, idiomatic, flowing, racy, smacking of the soil and hitting the nail on the head. We do not mean to say, indeed, that the translator has not shrunk from disclosing the crudities and nudities in which Balzac was at times permitted to indulge by the widely different composition of the French novel-reading public. But even what might seem to an American or English ear indelicacies of expression are not austerely excised or utterly denaturalized; they are only, so to speak, parboiled in a lukewarm paraphrase.

* Perley's Reminiscences, or Sixty Years in the National Metropolis; by Ben: Perley Poore. Two volumes. Philadelphia, Hubbard Brothers.

† Honoré de Balzac; The Country Doctor. Boston, Roberts Brothers.

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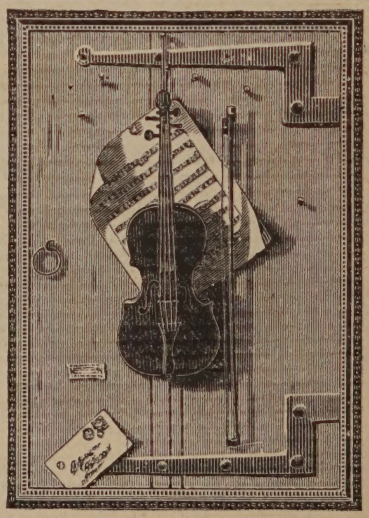

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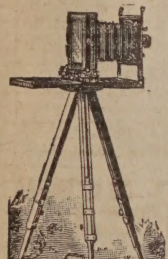

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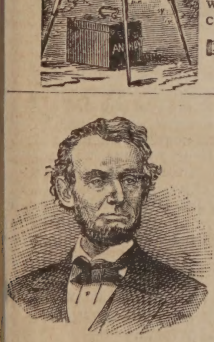

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